

# ENCYCLOPEDIA OF AMERICAN INDIAN HISTORY

Bruce E. Johansen and  
Barry M. Pritzker, Editors





Encyclopedia of  
*American Indian History*







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*American Indian History*

*Bruce E. Johansen*

*Barry M. Pritzker*

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A B C  C L I O

Santa Barbara, California • Denver, Colorado • Oxford, England



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**Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data**

Encyclopedia of American Indian history / [edited by] Bruce E. Johansen,  
Barry M. Pritzker.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-85109-817-0 (set : alk. paper)—ISBN 978-1-85109-818-7 (ebook)

1. Indians of North America—History—Encyclopedias.

I. Johansen, Bruce E. (Bruce Elliott), 1950– II. Pritzker, Barry.

E77.E48 2007

970.004'97003—dc22

2007011970

11 10 09 08 07 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Production Editor: Vicki Moran

Editorial Assistant: Sara Springer

Production Manager: Don Schmidt

Media Editor: John Whithers

Media Resources Coordinator: Ellen Brenna Dougherty

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ABC-CLIO, Inc.

130 Cremona Drive, P.O. Box 1911

Santa Barbara, California 93116-1911

This book is also available on the World Wide Web as an ebook. Visit <http://www.abc-clio.com> for details.

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and for future generations*

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# Introduction

A BOOK CAN BE A TIME MACHINE, opening a window on the unquestioned judgments and assumptions of authors in other times. Many of these have been delivered with a sense of European-American self-congratulation. Consider John D. Hicks, who, in *The Federal Union: A History of the United States to 1865* (1937) opens a 700-page tome with the words “The civilization that grew up in the United States . . .” implying that nothing worth the name occurred before Columbus planted European seeds here (Hicks, 1937, 1). Paragraph two begins: “America before the time of Columbus had developed no great civilizations of its own” (Hicks, 1937, 1). This text states authoritatively that the Mayas, Aztecs, and Incas could not match “the best that Europe had to offer” (Hicks, 1937, 1), despite the fact that accounts of the Cortez invasion expressed a sense of awe at the Aztecs’ capital city Tenochtitlan when they first saw it. In the same paragraph, Hicks develops reasons why he believes that Europeans surpassed America’s “primitive civilization”: “racial traits may account in part for this failure, but the importance of the environment cannot be overlooked” (Hicks, 1937, 1).

No time and no people speak with a single voice, however. So while Hicks’ assumptions of racial superiority remind us of Richard Henry Pratt’s advertising slogan for the boarding schools he built (“Kill the Indian, Save the Man”) even Pratt’s and Hicks’ time were informed by other voices that asserted enduring value to Native American peoples and cultures. While Pratt’s slogan is sometimes interpreted as an endorsement of genocide in our time, to him it was friendly advice to peoples whom he assumed would die culturally as well as genetically if they held fast to cultures that he considered out of date in a modern world. Multicultural ideas that inform public discourse (as well as census reports) in our time had precedents in Pratt’s and Hicks’ time. The majority society was just not listening. Consider Walt Whitman, for example, during 1883, as Pratt was fashioning his campaign to save Indians by killing their cultures:

As to our aboriginal or Indian population . . . I know it seems to be agreed that they must gradually dwindle as time rolls on, and in a few generations more leave only a reminiscence, a blank. But I am not at all clear about that. As America . . . develops, adapts, entwines, faithfully identifies its own—are we to see it cheerfully accepting using all the contributions of foreign lands from the whole outside globe—and then rejecting the only ones distinctly its own? (Moquin, 1973, 5–6).

One newspaper, the *Omaha World-Herald*, sent a native woman, Susette LaFlesche (an Omaha), to describe the aftermath of the Wounded Knee massacre. She was married to Thomas Tibbles. Together, a decade earlier, they had roused their city of Omaha in anger over the torturous treatment suffered by the Ponca Standing Bear and his band. Exiled in Indian Territory from their homeland along the Niobrara River (in northernmost Nebraska), the Poncas had escaped and walked home, stopping in the city, their feet bleeding in the snow, so hungry that they had chewed on their moccasins. General George Crook volunteered to be the defendant in a legal case that established the Poncas’ right to return home.

History is full of surprises. The same year that Hicks’ book was published, Matthew W. Stirling, chief and later director of the American Bureau of Ethnology for thirty years (1928–1958), stated in *National Geographic* that the Albany Plan of Union (1754) was fundamentally shaped by the Iroquois Confederacy through Benjamin Franklin (Stirling, 1937). Such an idea is hardly universally accepted, even in our time. For one, Steven Pinker, in *The Blank Slate*, asserted that the same idea was flimsy enough to dismiss without explanation in two words: “1960s granola” (Pinker, 2002, 298).

Historically, we stand with Whitman and Stirling. *The Encyclopedia of American Indian History* attempts to redress assumptions that any single culture is superior to any other. American Indian voices were available to historians in the 1930s; it was, after





all, a time of major Native rights assertion under the Indian Reorganization Act, but many non-Native historians seemed not to be listening. The writings of Dr. Charles A. Eastman (or, to use his Dakota name, Ohiyesa) and Luther Standing Bear were widely published, among many others. Major nineteenth-century feminists (Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Matilda Joselyn Gage, to name two) had acknowledged their debt to Native matriarchal societies. Still, one can hardly imagine Hicks having any use for an encyclopedia entry titled “American Indian Contributions to the World.”

We start with six essays, written by our co-editors and members of our editorial board, which focus on the themes that dominate particular eras in American Indian history. So, for example, if a reader wants to find out why the Trail of Tears migration happened when it did, s/he would find that context covered in the essay dealing with the period from 1800 to 1850. The late Vine Deloria, Jr. once advised non-Indian scholars to study the history of topics of contemporary importance to Native peoples, and a section of the encyclopedia addresses those issues that are prominent both in the history of Native peoples and in Native societies today. These entries range from archaeology and pre-contact Native history to topics like gaming and water rights, which are still so relevant. Subsequent sections deal with the most important events of American Indian history, aspects of Native cultures that have had ramifications in history, Native interactions with non-Indian governments, and the roles of both individuals and groups in American Indian history. One of the most important sections of the encyclopedia, the histories of particular Native nations, is absolutely vital to the stories we’re seeking to have told and deserves to be highlighted. Also, primary sources from throughout American Indian history are presented so that readers can get a flavor of how different people viewed these events as they happened.

The occupancy of most of North America by Europeans on a sustained basis is less than 200 years

old—four consecutive human lives then, less than three now. Thus, the importance of American Indian history to the recent history of all peoples on this continent is clear. The history is written in what we call our homeland—many of our cities, half the constituent states in the federal union that calls itself the United States, bear names that have Native roots.

If there is one thing we’ve learned from trying to organize and do justice to such a vast and important subject, it is that there is no way to present this material that is perfect for everyone. Different people learn best in different ways. However, we’ve endeavored to be as clear as possible, making the large number of materials and resources as easy to locate and use as possible. An encyclopedia is not a cast-iron product, but a collection of many contributors’ work. In our case, this is a mixture of Native and non-Native voices. Selection of subject matter is subject to judgment, and interpretation, and will be reviewed—something or someone is included, someone or something else is ignored, or given short shrift. We can say only that we have done our best.

Bruce E. Johansen and Barry M. Pritzker, Editors  
Steven L. Danver, Project Editor

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# *Pre-contact Indian History*

*(ca. 20,000 BCE to ca. 1500 CE)*

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The histories of the Native people of North America are ones of adaptation and diversity. This is true for the long “precontact” period as well as for today. The cultures most commonly cited as “prehistoric” (a misnomer, since the term implies both that writing was absent and that only natural events out of people’s control, not political and cultural ones, shaped the development of Indian societies) are presented as snapshot descriptions of cultural fluidity. Far from being stopped in time, these cultures had antecedents and evolutions that depended for their direction on a multiplicity of factors, including climate, geography, and cultural influences and traditions. Most likely, over 100 million inhabitants who spoke at least 1,000 languages inhabited the Americas before New World diseases wiped out up to 98 percent of them, beginning in the late fifteenth century. In North America, a region of roughly 9 million square miles, population estimates range from 2 million or so to upward of 16 million.

Who were the first people, and how did they arrive? The most popular migration theory has northeast Asians—Siberians—following big game into North America over a land bridge called Beringia, made possible by the decline of the sea level due to glaciations, across what is now the Bering Strait between Siberia and Alaska. According to this theory, increasing numbers of people made their way into the interior of Alaska, the Bering Refugium, and moved south along the ice-free corridor of the MacKenzie River Valley. In an alternative version of the theory, people migrated southward through interior British Columbia, perhaps during an interglacial period.

In the early twentieth century, near Folsom, New Mexico, the first indisputable proof of human antiquity in the Americas was found in the form of a spear point stuck between the ribs of an extinct species of bison (buffalo). In the tradition of naming Paleo-Indian cultural or historical periods after point types, which themselves are named by the site at which they are first found, this bilaterally flaked, or fluted, stone point was named the Folsom point. A few years later, near Clovis, New Mexico, similar (if somewhat larger) points were found. The development of radiocarbon dating techniques in 1948 made it possible to ascertain the date of material

containing carbon 14 (that is, formerly living matter) with a high degree of accuracy. Using this technique—by dating bones found alongside the stone artifacts—scientists dated the Folsom site to about 8,500 BCE and the Clovis site to about 9,500 BCE. Later archaeological finds revealed the extremely wide geographical distribution of the Clovis point throughout much of North America and even south to Central America.

Based on a number of factors, including the extinction of Pleistocene big game (presumably caused at least in part by an explosion of Clovis point-driven hunting as well as climate changes) and the lack of any older site in North America, the date for the first appearance of people in North America was widely thought for some time to have coincided with the appearance of the Clovis points. However, beginning in the mid-1970s, this theory began to unravel. Early human sites were discovered in present-day southwestern Pennsylvania and even in South America (Chile and Peru) dating from at least 12,000 BCE. The Topper site in South Carolina may date to roughly 13,000 BCE, and sites in Mexico have yielded artifacts that may date to 21,000 BCE. Moreover, no Clovis sites have been discovered in Alaska, the ice-free corridor, or along the Pacific Coast.

Other important evidence that casts doubt on the traditional explanations of original immigration includes the demonstrated antiquity of water travel. Boat travel may be as old as 800,000 years in parts of Southeast Asia. Certainly people traveled to Australia on boats roughly 40,000 years ago. With the likelihood that the first northeastern Asians had access to boats came the necessity of including sea travel in the mix of theories regarding the peopling of the Americas. Artifacts found on Santa Rosa Island, off the Southern California coast, and dating to roughly 11,000 BCE suggest that boats were in use at that time. Indeed, some scientists believe that the Siberian migration proceeded not along an interior ice-free corridor but along the coast.

Two other theories involve migration from the east. One posits a migration from northern Europe and along the northern ice shelf that presaged the Norse migration around 1000, perhaps using umiak-like boats. Supporters of this theory point to the similarities between the Clovis point and the





bifacial projectile points made by northern European Solutreans between 16,000 and 19,000 years ago. (They do not, however, explain the 5,000-year gap.) Artifacts found near Cactus Hill, Virginia, suggest, but do not confirm, a Solutrean connection. This theory also accords more closely with some Native narratives involving very early east-west migrations. The second theory regarding coastal migration from the east has people arriving by boat directly across the Atlantic from southwestern Europe.

At this time, evidence for migration theories remains circumstantial. None of the earliest known archaeological sites are located near the Bering Strait or within the Bering Refugium. Nor is there proof of coastal migration routes. Even during the peak of the Ice Age, some areas of Beringia were always open to game and to humans; so no period of time for human entry into North America can be ruled out completely. Most scientists now conclude that humans inhabited North America well before 10,000 BCE, perhaps as early as 35,000 years ago and perhaps considerably earlier than that. The earliest humans likely entered North America from northern or northeastern Asia in a series of incursions over tens of thousands of years along a number of different routes, including land and, at the southern margins, sea. Further movement southward could have occurred through the ice-free corridor and/or along the Pacific Coast. Clovis, once considered the ancestor of all North American human culture, is now generally regarded as one of several ancient human cultural complexes.

With the one possible exception previously mentioned, none of these theories take any note of traditional Native American explanations of how people came to live in North America. Some Indian cultures date their population of this world from an emergence from worlds beneath it. Long migrations, generally involving east-west rather than north-south travel, figure prominently in the earliest histories of some groups. Many societies account for their origins with creation stories, often involving magical or tricky beings, such as Coyote or Raven. Such trickster characters often figure prominently in the creation of human ills such as death and suffering, while a benevolent Great Spirit is given credit for creation as well as for religion and even social and political organization. The Great Spirit is not generally considered to be responsible for ills that befall individuals, which are often said to result from improper action associated with immorality or

violations of that which is sacred. Because of the association of the Great Spirit with creation and everything connected to it, most native North Americans lived in a highly sacred world, whose boundaries, locations, rules, and traditions most people took very seriously.

However or whenever the first humans arrived, by about 9,500 BCE, North America was populated by nomadic bands of Paleo-Indian hunter-gatherers. Depending on location, most food consisted of now extinct animals such as horses (today's horses are not descended from those of this era), camels, woolly mammoths, large bison, musk ox, mastodon, lions, and giant beavers, as well as deer, elk, caribou, and fish, berries and roots. People hunted using spears with stone points, made more effective in some areas by the *atlatl*, or spear-throwing stick. People continued the fluted-point technological tradition that earlier produced Clovis and Folsom points until roughly 5,000 BCE. Workmanship (flint knapping) of the stone blades (spear points, knives, scrapers, engravers, etc.), some of which were utilitarian and others apparently ceremonial, was often of extraordinary quality.

A new era (Archaic, or early Holocene) began about 10,000 years ago, as the glaciers continued to recede and the climate warmed. New areas to the north became available for habitation. The land features began to assume their present form, and many of the large grazing animals became extinct. Human populations grew from perhaps a few hundred thousand to many millions, and with the rise in population came increased cultural diversity and technological innovation. Techniques developed by early Holocene peoples for exploiting a variety of local resources proved to be so successful that they lasted, in many cases and with the subsequent addition in some areas of agriculture, until the period of Afro-European settlement. To a significant extent, population growth, along with the formation of multiethnic population centers in several "culture areas," was the result of complex historical events such as trade, warfare, diplomacy, and religious movements, as well as of climatic and other natural changes. Indeed, we must take care when using traditional conceptions of culture areas not to ignore the agency of Native people in giving rise to a multiplicity of rich, fluid histories. With that caveat, it can be helpful to think broadly about Native settlement in North America in terms of culture areas, or regions, because, while environment is not determinative of culture, the two have meaningful correlations.





## Southwest

Four native culture traditions—the Pueblos, the Uto-Aztecans, the O’odham, the Yuman, and the far more recent Na-Dene, or Dene (Apache and Navajo)—flourished in the Greater Southwest, located from southern Colorado/Utah and southeast California west across Arizona and New Mexico. The Southwest is a rugged land of extraordinary diversity: baking low deserts; towering, snow-capped mountains; deep canyons; mesas; and high plains. Rainfall is relatively low, especially in the southern deserts, although snowfall in the higher elevations can be plentiful. The region is drained mainly by the Colorado River and its tributaries and by the Rio Grande. Indigenous foods include agave, piñon nuts, cactus fruits, wild onions and potatoes, and a variety of berries, nuts, and seeds. Early people wove baskets, sandals, and cloth from wild fibers. Around 1500 BCE, people living in southern New Mexico began planting maize (corn) and squash, a skill they probably learned from their neighbors to the south. Beans, making up a third of the American staple crops, probably arrived around 500 BCE. (Beans contain high levels of the essential amino acid lysine, which corn lacks and which aids in the digestion of the protein found in corn. Moreover, while corn depletes nitrogen from the soil, beans, being legumes, return it to the ground; the two crops complement each other.) The people continued to harvest other plant and animal resources, however, and did not establish permanent settlement, or begin making pottery until roughly 300 BCE.

At about that time, a community located in the Gila River Valley constructed an irrigation canal about 5 kilometers (3 miles) long. This community, and others with a similar culture, became known as Hohokam. The modern Pima and Tohono O’odham (Papago) people are generally believed to have descended from the Hohokam, which may usually be seen as the frontier of Mexican civilization at that time. The Hohokam people constructed a village near present-day Snaketown that, enlarged and further developed, lasted until roughly 1450. During those 1,700 years or so, people planted fields watered by extensive irrigation systems, using stone manos and metates to grind their maize. They manufactured pottery (for storage, cooking, and ornamentation) and made ornaments from shell, turquoise, copper, macaw feathers, and other material acquired from extensive trade networks extending west to the Pacific Ocean, south deep into Mex-

ico, and east to New Mexico and beyond. Their rectangular, single-unit homes and ball courts indicated population centers that were relatively self-sufficient. As is often the case with thriving agricultural communities, Hohokam religious and artistic development was rich and complex.

The Ancestral Puebloans represent another Southwestern cultural tradition. Located in the north and east of the region, the Ancestral Puebloans are the predecessors of the modern Pueblo Indians and are culturally descended from earlier so-called Basket Maker people (400–700). The Ancestral Puebloans also created extensive trade networks, acquiring goods, and some cultural traditions as well, from as far away as Mexico, California, and the Great Plains. Ancestral Puebloan people made and used bows and arrows, grew cotton, and stored their food surpluses in pits. The accumulation of significant food surpluses led directly, in some areas, to the replacement, around 700, of early adobe or masonry houses by expanded apartment-style buildings (pueblos), some with hundreds of rooms. These people also developed a highly complex religious/ceremonial life involving underground spaces, called kivas, and various supernatural beings. Major population centers flourished at Mesa Verde and Chaco Canyon (as many as 6,000 to 10,000 people lived there around 1100, with complex and highly developed systems of trade, transportation, and ceremonialism), as well as in the upper Rio Grande Valley.

The two other major Southwestern cultural traditions are the Mogollon and the Patayan. The Mogollon, characterized by outstanding red-on-brown and black-and-white ceramics, centered in the mountainous regions of southeastern Arizona and southwestern New Mexico. Classic Mogollon Mimbres pottery reveals images of many kinds of fish found in the Gulf of California. The Mogollon people lived in partially excavated houses, which were well insulated and appropriate for the higher altitudes. The descriptor “Patayan” imperfectly describes a great diversity of Yuman-speaking cultures west and north of the Hohokam. The Yumans, too, cultivated crops after about 2,000 years ago, although mainly by taking advantage of annual floods, as opposed to the Hohokam method of constructing vast irrigation channels.

Southwestern agricultural societies all underwent a major transformation from roughly 1250 to 1400. During this period, the great Hohokam and Ancestral Puebloan population centers all but disappeared. The reasons for this disappearance remain





somewhat unclear. Prolonged drought is the most likely factor, but intercommunity warfare and soil exhaustion also may have played a role. Also, what now appears as wholesale abandonments may at the time have been more gradual population shifts. In any case, while populations unquestionably become dispersed during this period, the region remained marked by a great deal of cultural continuity.

## California

California encompasses unique cultural elements as well as those of regions including the Southwest (in the extreme southeast), the Great Basin (in Death Valley and the extreme west), the Northwest Coast (in the extreme northwest), and the Plateau (in the extreme northeast). The region includes deserts, high mountains, an enormous central valley, and over a thousand miles of coast. Not surprisingly, ancient lifestyles differed widely throughout this extremely diverse region. As mentioned, people first entered California no later than 11,000 BCE and possibly as early as 19,000 years ago or even earlier. About 9000 BCE, people in some parts of the region, particularly along the south coast, began supplementing reliance on (and generally extensive) hunting, gathering, and fishing by collecting seeds and grinding them with milling stones.

By about 3000 BCE, people had evolved distinct local cultural and subsistence patterns. The most common language groups were Hokan, Penutian, and Uto-Aztecan, although some people spoke languages from groups including Athapaskan, Yukian, and Algonquian. The Windmill culture of central California was characterized by a relatively rich tradition of arts and crafts. The primary materials were stone, bone, wood, and shale, which was acquired in trade from coastal groups. Windmill people also made pottery, twined baskets, and finely crafted charmstones. They buried their dead face down and oriented toward the west. Along the central coast, people used fast, highly maneuverable boats to reach offshore islands. They also set out on these boats to kill dolphins, porpoises, whales, and other marine life.

By about 3000–2000 BCE, as sea levels stabilized, coastal populations became among the densest in North America. By at least 1,500 years ago, the basic patterns of many “historic” California groups had been established. Coastal people had been eating marine life for millennia. Many inland people depended on acorns and buckeyes as important food

staples. People collected acorns in the fall. After removing the kernels from the acorns, women sundried them, pounded them into flour, and then leached out the bitter tannic acid using a variety of methods. The only crop people actually cultivated was tobacco, although some groups modified the natural environment through techniques such as irrigation, transplantation, and burning to create favorable environments for certain wild plants and even animals.

Many groups also created rock art, by painting and/or by carving or pecking, from as early as 1000 BCE. Trade, mainly with close neighbors but not uncommonly with distant groups, was very well developed. People either bartered for goods (including salt, acorns, fish, beads, baskets, hides, pelts, obsidian, and bows) or purchased them with items such as dentalium shells, clamshell disk beads, and magnesite beads. Basketry, in particular, was extremely well developed in California, especially in the central regions. Although groups were fairly territorial, intercourse between them generally did not include organized warfare, and such conflicts as existed were generally settled quickly and with compensation for any loss incurred.

Most California Indians employed shamans (doctors) to mediate between the physical and the spiritual worlds. Shamans served both as religious leaders and healers. Some groups had secret religious societies, such as those associated with Kuksu rituals (a type of world renewal ceremony) and various spirit visitors or ghosts. Northern peoples also celebrated first salmon rituals, which provided an opportunity to gather in larger groups, to relate histories and mythologies, and to display wealth. In the south, mourning ceremonies were the most important, while across the region other ceremonies revolved around life cycle events such as puberty, astronomical occasions, and other natural phenomena. Perhaps not completely unlike a more contemporary period in California’s history, some ceremonies required spiritual leaders to ingest psychotropic drugs, such as datura. Tobacco was also an important part of many rituals. Many California groups, especially in the north, observed a fairly rigid caste system, and some groups kept slaves.

## Northwest Coast

The tendencies toward rigid caste systems and ostentatious displays of wealth were most pro-





nounced in the rugged Northwest Coast, a region extending from Northern California to southern Alaska. This region, roughly 1,500 miles long but only about 100 miles deep, is defined by water: sounds, inlets, fjords, bays, and rivers. A cool, wet climate is fairly uniform throughout the region. Several cultural developments preceded the relatively stable subsistence patterns that lasted until contact with non-Native groups. This stability generally dates back to the time when sea levels stabilized, between 4,000 and 5,000 years ago, although the timetable varied across the region, and other cultural practices, such as sedentary villages, social ranking, extensive woodworking, and distinctive regional art styles, emerged later, in some cases much later. Native people spoke at least forty dialects of languages in the Athapaskan, Haida, Tsimshian, Wakashan, Chimakuan, Salishan, and Penutian language families.

Two natural resources above all—fish, especially salmon, and cedar—played an enormous role in Northwest Coast life for millennia. Five types of salmon predominated: pink, coho, chum (dog), Chinook, and sockeye. Rituals celebrating the annual return of the salmon were common. Depending on location, people used a variety of methods to catch salmon, including nets, spears, and traps. People ate a wide variety of other fish, of course, such as halibut, eulachon, and herring, as well as shellfish, land mammals, plants, and roots such as camas and wapato. Red cedar formed the core of Northwest Coast technology. From it, people made clothing, baskets, plank houses, bowls, steam-bent boxes, and canoes, as well as a variety of artistic and ceremonial items. Other raw materials included obsidian, jade, jasper, amber, shells, whalebone, and stone. In general, the level of craftsmanship of tools and other objects was extremely high. Although most men could craft objects of wood, canoe making was a particularly specialized profession.

With the gradual accumulation of wealth, hierarchical social ranking became a key feature of most Northwest Coast societies. Status was quite rigid and tended to be inherited, although some movement was possible. Typically, four groups existed: nobility, upper-class free, lower-class free, and slaves (who were technically not members of society at all). Kin groups, which owned various rights and privileges, including subsistence areas, songs, and rituals, were identified by crests. Everything inheritable was said to originate from a supernatural spirit through an ancestor. Particularly in more recent times, the

whole system of ranking and kin groups was confirmed and advanced by the potlatch, a complex ritual that featured feasting, singing, dancing, history recitation, and ostentatious gift giving. Potlatches also served to distribute surpluses, confirm alliances, and reinforce cooperation among kin groups.

Guardian spirits formed the basis of most Northwest Coast religion. Spirits could inhere in both animate and inanimate objects. Like most things they could be inherited, but individuals could acquire them as well through the vision quest, a rigorous process begun around the onset of adolescence and completed whenever the spirit became manifest. Spirits were generally associated with particular songs, dances, and skills. Most Northwest Coast art was heraldic in nature, announcing power and identity, and deriving in part from the spirit world. The well-known totem poles, carved and painted with heraldic or crest designs, were just one example of this ubiquitous type of art. People traded with each other and with inland groups, but the fact that the Northwest Coast is a relatively isolated region containing abundant natural resources militated against extensive trade.

## Plateau

Unlike the Northwest Coast, the Plateau region, defined loosely as the drainage basins of the Columbia and Fraser Rivers, is a land of extremes. The northern region is heavily forested and moderately wet, bitter cold in winter, and baking hot in summer, while the south tends toward sagebrush desert. To a significant extent and notwithstanding technological developments, such as specialized grinding tools (ca. 3000 BCE) and the bow and arrow and woodworking tools (ca. 500 BCE), the Plateau lifestyle changed relatively little from the first occupation of the region (well before the time of the so-called Kennewick man in eastern Washington, about 9,200 years ago) until the seventeenth century. The most important language families of the region were Sahaptin (Penutian) and Interior Salish. Most Plateau groups depended for food on fish, especially salmon, which were speared, netted, or, especially in the north, caught with hook and line. Other food staples included berries and roots (actually bulbs and tubers such as camas and bitterroot), which women gathered with special sticks and cooked in earth ovens. Some areas contained both large and small game.

Extended families tended to live in semisubterranean earth houses with conical roofs, entry to





which was gained through the roof. Perhaps after about 1700 BCE, people also utilized summer houses made of tule mats. Some villages were occupied all year long, but generally people followed the food supply. Like their California neighbors, some groups manipulated their natural environment through regular burning to increase the yield of certain plant and animal foods. People using twined Indian hemp tule, and spruce and cedar root made a great variety of products, such as hats, bedding, nets, mats, and fine baskets. Canoes, both dugout and bark, served for water transportation.

With relatively easy access to neighboring regions of North America, Plateau people traded widely and extensively. Indeed, The Dalles, located at the head of the Columbia gorge, was one of the most important trade centers in North America. At the same time, valuing autonomy, relative equality, and cooperation, Plateau people tended to avoid warfare, both among themselves or with outsiders. Kin networks often extended over great distances. Specialized leaders arose only for special occasions, and political leadership, which might be exercised by either sex, depended on an ability to persuade rather than to overpower or to enforce decisions.

In general, Plateau ceremonialism was based on individual relationships with guardian spirits, which might be associated with either animate or inanimate objects. Boys and girls entering puberty generally undertook spirit quests, which consisted of travel to remote places where they encountered their spirit helper as manifested in special songs and powers. In turn, sacred spirits required certain forms of respect, a mutual process that helped to ensure harmony between people and their environment.

## Great Basin

Similar in many ways to the Plateau, and occupying roughly 400,000 square miles of land between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, is an area commonly referred to as the Great Basin. The main differences between the Plateau and the Great Basin are the absence (except for neighboring peoples) in the Basin of salmon and the existence, where water existed at all, of more closed-water fisheries. This arid region consists generally of high deserts and valleys as well as freshwater and saltwater lakes.

With the exception of the Hokan-speaking Washoe, all Great Basin inhabitants spoke dialects of Numic (Shoshonean) languages. Perhaps to a greater extent than in any other region, and notwithstanding

several significant environmental changes, much of the Great Basin was characterized by a remarkable cultural continuity from about 7000 BCE until late in the nineteenth century.

In part reflecting the relative paucity of food in the region, people of the Great Basin were peaceful and highly nomadic, with small, fluid, extended-family camps located mainly around such water as existed in the region, although semipermanent villages eventually developed in some of the more productive areas. People hunted game, such as birds, rabbits, deer, and antelope; they fished in the few freshwater lakes; and they gathered a variety of grasses, seeds (piñon), nuts (acorn), and other plants, as well as some insects (grasshoppers, crickets, some caterpillars, and fly larvae). Successful rabbit or mountain sheep drives were generally followed by a festival that included gambling, singing, dancing, and courtship. Some border groups experimented with agriculture, the Southern Paiute growing maize, beans, and squash, and the Owens Valley Shoshone building extensive irrigation canals to increase the amount of wild foods. The basic raw materials for baskets and containers were willow, grasses, and roots, as well as (depending upon location) stone, bone, obsidian, and wood. People fished using nets, weirs, basket traps, spears, and hook and line. Like their neighbors to the north and west, some groups practiced environmental management by selective burning and pruning.

Housing in the Great Basin typically consisted of brush windbreaks in summer and conical pole (pine and/or juniper) frame structures supporting a covering of brush, bark, grass, and/or tule. Some northern groups used skins to cover the frames. Doorways generally faced east. People wore little clothing except in the coldest weather, when they might wear fur or twined-bark breechclouts as well as blankets of sewn rabbit- or buffalo-skin. As long as 7,000 years ago, people living in the Great Basin were part of extensive trade networks reaching across the region west to the Pacific Ocean. Traditional spirituality centered on various beings that were capable of influencing human existence. People practiced both individual (spirit dreams or visions) and communal (round dance) ceremonies, some of which were associated with life cycle events. Part of maintaining a harmonious relationship with their environment was the respect that people accorded to food and medicinal items, both plants (over three hundred of which were used medicinally) and animals.





Beginning about 500, people of a highly diverse culture, now known as Fremont, inhabited the eastern edge of the Great Basin. One feature of the Fremont culture was farming: People in this area, probably under the influence of their Pueblo neighbors to the south, began supplementing their regular diet with maize, beans, and squash as early as several hundred years BCE. Several hundred years later, people added the bow and arrow to their tool kit of atlatls and darts, and they began settling down in relatively stable communities. Fremont culture was characterized by these developments as well as by the existence of moccasins, clay figurines and containers, distinctive rock art, and other traits. By around 1400, the Fremont culture became dispersed to the point of disappearance.

### Great Plains and Prairie

To the east of the Great Basin, the Plateau, and the Southwest lay the huge Great Plains and Prairie, a grassy region of roughly 1.5 million square miles located between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi River, and from west-central Canada to Texas. The Plains are characterized by their altitude, wind, and aridity, while in lower, more humid regions the prairie grasslands extend east to the forests of the Midwest. The Plains' greatest river is the Missouri and its tributaries. The flat topology allows frigid polar air in the winter and scorching heat in the summer; these contrasts often give rise to dramatic weather events, such as blizzards and tornadoes. People exhibiting Clovis cultural attributes were present in the Great Plains 12,000 years ago; human habitation may well have extended back considerably farther than that. These early hunters stalked ancient species of big game and then their successors, the bison. As the region warmed and the big game moved north and died out, the Plains became depopulated to the point where no evidence of human habitation has been found from about 5000 BCE to 3000 BCE. From around 2500 BCE, as the bison population recovered, to 500 BCE, people living in small camps hunted bison, elk, deer, antelope, and other creatures; used grinding stones to process seeds; and gathered pine seeds, wild onions, juniper bark, and yucca (in the west).

Beginning around 2,500 years ago, people living in the Plains began to be influenced by the Adena and Hopewell cultures to the east (see "Southeast"). Villages appeared in some of the river valleys, inhabited by people living in oval pole wigwams. People

began growing maize in an area from about Kansas City to the Dakotas. They buried their dead in mounds (although, unlike true Hopewell culture, the tombs revealed no status differentiation). Items indicating the presence of vast trade networks, eastward and westward perhaps even to the Pacific Coast, included conch, olivella and dentalium shells, and copper beads. Bows and arrows appeared throughout the Plains early in the first millennium CE. Around 850, as contact increased with neighboring peoples, agricultural settlements became more pronounced throughout the Missouri Valley, although these farmers continued to rely extensively on bison for their food. In the central Plains, people built rectangular wooden homes framed by posts and partially insulated with earth, often located on a bluff above a river flood plain.

In present-day south-central Wisconsin, a town later known as Aztalan appears to have been an outpost of the great Mississippian capital Cahokia (see "Southeast"). People living here and in similar towns cultivated corn, squash, sunflowers, probably chenopods, and tobacco. The societies of the upper midwestern Mississippi, known as Oneota, were characterized by the almost exclusive use of agriculture as well as by extensive trade and the use of pottery. Strangely, tuberculosis seems to have appeared among the Oneota people, perhaps brought over to the Americas by the Norse, who were attempting to colonize the Gulf of Saint Lawrence region at about this time. In the western Great Lakes region, people improved the soil by adding ash and charcoal, although they also hunted and fished to ensure a stable, nutritious diet. In general, the farther west people lived, the less they practiced agriculture and the more they hunted bison. People's possessions and gear were carried in bundles lashed between poles by specially trained dogs.

By the fifteenth century, or roughly 250 years before the introduction of the horse changed life on the Plains dramatically and forever, populations were increasing all across the region, but especially in the northern parklands. New arrivals included Caddoan groups from east Texas, such as the Pawnee, and Apacheans from western Canada. Toward the east and Missouri River Valley regions, farming towns grew to contain as many as a hundred houses, and, in a sign of increased competition for land, the towns were increasingly defended with stockades and ditches. Rectangular houses gave way to a more rounded style along the Missouri, while hunting camp dwellings were usually hide





tips. All across the region, but especially in the west, bison remained plentiful, as did elk, beaver, and numerous other game (High Plains people did not eat fish as a rule). People tended to follow the game out onto the open areas in summer and back into the wooded areas in winter. The favored way to take bison was by driving them over cliffs or to the head of a ravine or by stalking them individually or surrounding them in groups and then shooting them with arrows. In the southern High Plains, Apachean groups became heavily influenced by the Pueblo people to their west, becoming small-scale farmers as well as bison hunters. Conversely, some of the region's nomadic hunters, such as the Kiowa, may once have been Pueblo dwellers who moved east to follow the bison during the droughts of the fourteenth century.

People ate bison meat fresh or cut into strips and then dried and stored. Mixed with fat and berries, the meat, called pemmican, could last for several months, generally throughout the winter. Clothing, which in some areas was decorated with porcupine-quill embroidery, was derived mainly from bison and/or deer. Bison parts also provided containers (hides and stomach), tools (bones), rattles (hoof), bowstrings and thread (sinew), ropes and belts (hair), spoons and cups (horn), and other items. Authority was highly transient and was earned by traits such as bravery, spiritual attainment, generosity, and a sense of humor. For many Plains people, the circle was a sacred shape, symbolic of the interconnectedness of the universe. As a circular object, the pipe bowl was also associated with the sacred, and agreements concluded over a pipe of tobacco were not broken in theory or practice. The Great Mystery, *Wakan Tanka*, presided over an array of sacred natural beings and phenomena. Like some Native Americans in other regions, Plains people entering adolescence tended to hold vision quests in which, through the benefit of purification and self-deprivation, they received power or "medicine" that could be used for certain specific purposes. Such medicine was often accompanied by songs and dances, and it had a physical manifestation as well (the sacred bundle). Another way to communicate with the sacred realm was through visions, generally obtained either through dreaming or as part of ceremonies.

## Southeast

Settlement patterns differed considerably in the Southeast, a region generally described as bounded

by the eastern Great Plains and a line running east-west from about Delaware to Iowa. It is fairly flat, except for the Appalachian Mountains, and generally warm to hot, and wet, except less so in the northern and northwestern regions. The area was heavily forested with some grassy prairies, except along the Gulf Coast, where semitropical vegetation and swampland prevailed. The Southwest was dominated by Muskogean speakers, but Algonquians and Siouans were also present.

Due to the relative wetness of the Southeast, the regular flooding of major river systems, and rising sea levels as a result of melting glaciations, evidence of early human history is particularly scarce. People were in the region no later than about 12,000 BCE. By roughly 5000 BCE, people lived in some small settlements; ate deer and other large animals, fowl, shellfish, fish, nuts, berries, and seeds; and made various tools (including canoes), baskets, and ornaments. People from different settlements probably engaged with each other at popular fishing or trapping sites, leading to trade and other forms of human interaction. Along the coast, people may have traded with people as far away as Central and South America. Early cultivation, including squash and sunflower, dates from at least 1400 BCE, with maize appearing almost 1,000 years later. Inconclusive evidence suggests that one early town—Poverty Point, near Vicksburg—may have been founded by Olmec (Mexican) traders. The town, which was more than 7 miles across, contained mounds over 75 feet high. Artisans made fine beadwork, stone tools, and clay balls designed to serve as heating elements.

Beginning in about 500 BCE, the Adena culture formed along the Ohio River in present-day Ohio, West Virginia, Kentucky, and Indiana. Most Adena people ate food that they hunted or gathered, supplemented with domesticated plant foods (squash, sunflower, amaranth, chenopod, and marsh elder). Population density was relatively low; camps were characterized by hot-rock cooking ovens and areas of specialized activity (perhaps tool making or weaving). In addition, Adena culture was characterized by relatively complex communal burial rituals. Burial mounds grew by successive burials and cremations, with various ornaments (made of copper, mica, and other material), tools (points, axes, atlatls), and other items (such as sacred pipes) being buried with the body or ashes. Adena trade networks stretched throughout much of the Southeast. The Adena people also often constructed circular earthworks more than 300 feet in diameter with interior





ditches and exterior banks. Unlike at Poverty Point, Adena people tended to live in scattered dwellings rather than in towns.

The Adena probably evolved to some extent into the later, and even more complex, Hopewell culture, also based in the central Mississippi and lower Ohio Valleys, which flourished between about 100 BCE and 450. The Hopewell differed from the Adena primarily in the cultivation of maize and in the loose integration of a huge region by political/trade leaders who legitimated their power with status symbols of rare, exotic material such as gold, obsidian, and silver in the form of hawks, stags, bears, and snakes. After the Hopewell declined, due in part to the onset of a cooler climate, people living farther south continued to enjoy a relatively high standard of living.

With the warm-up of the Midwest around 750, and the introduction of a new variety of maize, a new period, the Mississippian, developed. The fortified city of Cahokia, located near present-day St. Louis, was the center of Mississippian culture, which appears to have formed from flourishing Gulf Coast and lower Mississippi Valley societies. Cahokia began around 950 and lasted until roughly 1450. At its peak around 1100, Greater Cahokia was probably home to as many as 50,000 people, of whom up to 15,000 lived in the capital itself. This was North America's largest settlement until Philadelphia took over the distinction shortly after 1800. Other major Mississippian cities included Moundville, Etowah, and Spiro.

In addition to its sheer size, a distinguishing feature of Cahokia was its earthen platform mounds. The largest was originally more than a hundred feet high and with more area than a football field. People built wooden platforms on some of the mounds to serve as palaces or mausoleums. They also erected huge (30-inch-diameter) posts on the mounds and in the plazas adjacent to the mounds. These posts may have had ritual and/or astronomical significance. Cahokia's trade networks were huge, stretching north to the Great Lakes, east to the Atlantic Ocean, south to the Gulf of Mexico, and west to Texas. They may even have extended to Mexico. Food, largely including corn, beans, and squash, was abundant, and people built wattle-and-daub houses beside their fields on the outskirts of the city. Characterized by a focus on rank and power, Mississippian ceremonialism was, along with art, cosmology, and other aspects of the culture, sophisticated and rich.

## Northeast

The region characterized as Northeast encompasses close to a million square miles. It extends from the Atlantic Ocean westward to where the woodlands shade into prairie, and from the mid-Atlantic area north to the boreal forest. Geologically, the Appalachian Mountains and the Great Lakes dominate the region, which is well watered and drained by major rivers such as the Saint Lawrence, Hudson, Ohio, and Susquehanna. Almost all Northeastern Indians spoke Algonquian or, to a lesser extent, Iroquoian languages. The first people probably arrived from the southwest at least 12,000 years ago, moving north with the big game and the receding glaciers. Food staples by about 4500 BCE included deer, caribou, and sea mammals. Most people may have congregated along the coast, but, owing to the raised sea levels since that period, any sites of early human coastal habitation would be well underwater. With a general warming from about 3000 BCE, the variety of foods in the Northeast increased to include hickory trees, abundant and reliable river fish runs, and many smaller mammals and fowl as well. Technological innovation grew as well to include fishhooks and nets, woodworking tools, dugout canoes (birchbark in the north), and soapstone bowls.

People in the region began using pottery around 1000 BCE. Evidence suggests that the custom did not arrive from the south, as might be expected. Local residents may have either invented it independently or learned it from contacts in the far northwest or even from the far northeast—Scandinavia and northern Europe. Around this time, people began smoking and cultivating tobacco. By roughly 2,000 years ago, small, nomadic hunter-gatherer-fisher communities lived in rectangular houses generally made of poles covered with slabs of bark. Corpses were sprinkled with red ochre powder and buried with a variety of ornaments and tools and with tobacco and pipes. Adena artifacts and mounds appear as far east as the eastern Great Lakes and western New York; however, in general the Northeast was not heavily influenced by Mississippian cultural traditions.

It was not until about 1000 that Northeast Indians—notably, the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) of New York—began to cultivate maize, beans, squash, and sunflowers using slash-and-burn agricultural techniques. With this development, populations increased and became somewhat more sedentary. Competition for arable land, combined with the Iro-





quoian desire to dominate the region economically, was a major factor in two developments: (1) the dramatic expansion of warfare, along with ritualistic forms of war-related activities, including, in some areas, cannibalism, and (2) the formation of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, or Iroquois League, by Hiawatha (Aionwantha) and Deganawidah (The Peacemaker), probably in the twelfth century.

The Iroquois League was a remarkable peace treaty among five nations: Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, and Seneca. Freed from internecine warfare, the League's member nations were free to turn their attentions without, which they did with astonishing effectiveness, ultimately dominating an area from the Hudson to the Ohio River Valley and the Saint Lawrence to the Susquehanna. Iroquoians generally lived in heavily fortified towns surrounded by fields of crops. Descent within families and clans, as well as political leadership, was matrilineal. Some clans had their own wooden houses, which could be up to 400 feet long. Among their ceremonies was the False Face Society, whose members lured curing forest spirits into homes through the use of grotesque carved masks.

Although some Algonquian people south of the Saint Lawrence region grew crops, in general they relied less on agriculture and more on hunting, gathering, and fishing (fish, shellfish, and sea mammals). Instead of longhouses, Algonquians tended to live in dome-shaped wigwams covered with sheets of birch bark, slabs of elm or conifer bark, mats, or hides. People transported their goods on sleds, pulled by men, or in canoes. A seasonal routine prevailed in which people availed themselves of the richness of the sea in summer, of running fish near rapids in spring and fall, and of interior hunting grounds in winter. Their fishing and trapping technology was highly sophisticated, and the ratio of labor to comfort was, in general, quite favorable. People used shell beads, called wampum, to maintain tribal records and during some ceremonies.

## Subarctic

The harsh Subarctic was another region in which life changed relatively little in several thousand years. The Subarctic is characterized by the well-watered boreal forest. Long, cold winters, followed by springs filled with biting insects, limited the aboriginal population considerably. The two main language groups were Athapaskan (Dene), mainly in the west, and Algonquian, mainly in the east.

Despite the challenging climate, trade networks, which became quite extensive, began at least 10,000 years ago. The Laurel culture of Manitoba and northern Ontario (ca. 1000 BCE–800 CE) was characterized by coiled, impressed, incised, and fired pottery. Warfare tended to be small-scale and local, especially in the east. Religious traditions varied through the vast region of the Subarctic. If there was a common theme, it was respect for all of nature and the existence of natural powers, which might be acquired or accessed by means of fasting or spirit quests.

Depending on locations, people hunted caribou and moose, the big game, with stone blades and snares. They moved around using snowshoes and canoes, living in bark- or hide-covered, pole-frame houses or tents. After they acquired the bow and arrow, between 1,000 and 2,000 years ago, they began driving moose and caribou into corrals or lakes, where they were shot. Fowl and smaller animals also were snared or shot. Among the many tools, clothing and other items made from animal parts included the ubiquitous *babiche*, or semisoftened rawhide, that was used for everything from snares to netting and bowstrings. People tended to travel overland, although canoes made of bark or moose hide were not uncommon in some areas.

## Arctic

The Arctic, 12,000 miles across from the western Aleutian Islands to Greenland, is, in its way, a land of great contrasts. During most of the year it is covered by ice and snow. In the short summer, under a sun that never sets, the tundra blooms, and water returns to its liquid form. The coastal people in the Arctic are the Inuit, while people living in the interior are considered Indians. Roughly 10,000 years ago, people in the Aleutian Islands were building oval, semisubterranean whalebone and driftwood houses covered with sod, which they entered through the roof. As the sea level stabilized, around 5,000 years ago, coastal villages became more established. Much of the interior west at that time was grassland—the perfect environment for bison—which early Indians burned to ward off forest encroachment. In other parts of the Arctic, people ate sea mammals (such as seal and walrus), polar bear, birds, and, where available, fish. By about 2000 BCE, people in northern Alaska were living in protoigloos (houses entered through a sloping passageway); these people heated and cooked with driftwood- or





bone-fed fires. To the east, people lived mainly in hide tents.

People now known as Dorset lived in the far northeast from about 500 BCE until about 900 (1500 in northern Quebec and Labrador). These people depended mainly on sea mammals for meat, hides, and cooking oil. They dressed in fur parkas; made bone, ivory, and wood carvings; and lived in igloos, or domed shelters of snow blocks. They apparently pulled their sleds themselves without the aid of dogs. They hunted seals with spears, but not with the bow and arrow, at blowholes and on the ice's edge. In the west, people of the so-called Norton culture began using pottery and building permanent settlements. In the far north and west, people began the tradition of wearing highly polished plugs of stone or bone (labrets) in their lower lips or cheeks about 2,500 years ago. Coastal residents along the Bering Strait began using highly maneuverable kayaks and, for whaling, more substantial umiaks, as well as special knives and harpoons. With a more stable food supply, people were able to build large villages of up to several hundred homes. Their society grew wealthy and stratified. They also developed sophisticated artistic traditions, which were influenced by their contact with people in northeast Asia, along with technological innovations that included iron blades of hammered iron and copper and dogsleds. This pre-Inuit, or so-called Thule, culture was well established in Alaska and far northwestern Canada by 1000 CE and throughout most of the rest of the Arctic shortly thereafter. At about this time, the Thule encountered another group of intrepid explorers, the Norse.

By about 1500, then, between 2 million to as many as 18 million people lived in North America. The highest population densities were in the salmon-rich communities of the Northwest Coast and in parts of California, as well as among some villages in the Northeast, Midwest, and Southeast. As might be expected across such a vast land, cultural traditions were extremely diverse. Some groups barely survived in the harshest climates of the Great Basin and the Subarctic, while others enjoyed plenty of food year-round. Some groups had changed relatively little for thousands of years, while others had developed numerous complex, sophisticated forms of social organization, religious practice, and artistic traditions. In all cases, however, the appearance of large and permanent groups of non-Natives, begin-

ning about 1500, introduced an element of change that was to have the most profound effects on native societies over the following several hundred years.

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*See also* Adena Civilization; Agriculture; Ancestral Puebloan Culture; Archaeology and the First Americans; Athapaskan Peoples; Basketry; Bering Strait Theory; Buffalo; Cahokia; Dalles Trading Area; Demographics, Historical; False Face Society; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Hiawatha; Hohokom Culture; Hopewell Culture; Kennewick Man; Mississippian Culture; Mogollon Culture; Mound Cultures of North America; Na-Dene Peoples; Natchez Culture; Paleo-Indians; Potlatch; Pottery; Totem Poles; Trade; Wampum.

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# Indians in the Colonial Era and the American Revolution (1500 to 1800)

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*You who are wise must know,  
that different Nations  
have different conceptions.*

—Canassatego, an Onondaga  
Haudenosaunee addressing  
English colonial officials in 1744

This essay focuses primarily on the Indian nations who lived in what is now the United States between 1492 and 1800. Within its limited length, many Indian nations and many significant themes cannot be addressed. But the inquisitive reader is invited to explore the rest of this encyclopedia and the many other volumes that have been written about the First Nations of the Americas.

For the First Nations and for Europeans and non-Indian Americans, the year 1492 is indeed a major turning point in history, but is also part of a continuum. Far less than 5 percent of the human history of the Americas has occurred since 1492 because far more than ten thousand years of Indian history had already shaped the Western Hemisphere. Both the First Nations and the Europeans brought into 1492 all the ideas and trends that their respective cultures had developed during the previous centuries.

Thus the actions of both the First Nations and the Europeans were shaped by their prior experiences. For example, the First Nations in the Southwest had experienced a collapse of some of their major societies due to setbacks such as droughts (especially 1276–1299), as well as wars with other Indian nations. The Pueblo and other peoples in the Southwest, who had survived droughts and the other challenges, confronted the Spanish invasion of the early 1500s as yet another challenge in a sequence of challenges, not simply as “the” challenge. A comparable series of crises prior to 1492 occurred to the east: from areas such as eastern Oklahoma and eastern Iowa, eastward throughout the Mississippi and Ohio Valleys, and all the way to the Southeastern Atlantic coast. Many of the various cultures known collectively today as the Mound Builders collapsed at different times during the centuries prior to 1492. Thus the Creeks in the Southeast, one of the surviving cultures of the pre-1492 Mound Builders, perceived Spanish invasions in the

early 1500s as another in a series of challenges. In the Northeast, as early as 1142, a leader known as The Peacemaker inspired the establishment of a new confederacy among five previously warring nations: the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. The Iroquois Confederacy—the Haudenosaunee, or People of the Longhouse—survived despite the collapse of several trading partners and sometime rivals living to the west of them—several of the Mound Builders societies. The long-lived experience of the Haudenosaunee living on the eastern periphery of the Mound Builders carried over after 1492 when new trading partners and sometime rivals—the French, Dutch, and English colonists—placed the Haudenosaunee on the periphery again. This time, instead of turning their philosophical, diplomatic, and trading skills westward toward the Mound Builders, they turned eastward to deal with the Europeans.

Of course, the Europeans were also products of their recent past. While Indian nations were still slowly regrouping after droughts and cultural collapses, the Europeans were still striving to cope with the trauma of the Black Death (bubonic plague). The severe traumas caused declines in populations on both sides of the Atlantic and raised a common question: had people lost the approval of their respective gods and spiritual pantheons? Another common factor on both sides of the Atlantic before 1492 caused continual upheaval: warfare. In Indian America before 1492, the presence of warfare as a factor of human life was manifested in the stockaded towns in the East and the fortified towns in the Southwest. Across the Atlantic, virtually all of Europe was at war, either nation to nation or with the Muslims. Spain brought to the Americas all the methods and legal constructs of their wars against the Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula, ongoing since 711 and only recently ended with their 1492 victory at Granada. In the 1580s the English transferred the methods of their imperial war against Ireland directly to the Roanoke colony in North Carolina. By fighting Muslims in Eastern Europe, Captain John Smith gained the military experience he then brought to Virginia. In 1624, he noted frankly that the current war between the





English at Jamestown and the Powhatan Indians was but an episode in human history:

What growing state was there ever in the world which had not the like? Rome grew by oppression. . . .

### **The Significance of the Pre-1492 Worldviews of Indian America**

American Indians and invading Europeans possessed very different worldviews. The specific details of the worldview held by each American Indian nation and each European nation were varied and complex, but one of the basic differences in overall philosophies related to the nature of creation itself. The spiritual foundation of most American Indian nations was that the world was made up of interdependent and equal beings: Humans and all other beings had separate mortal functions but equal spiritual identities (what might be termed equal “souls”). In contrast, Europeans believed that only humans had souls. For Europeans, the world was a divinely ordained hierarchy—what might be termed “the Genesis Pyramid.” Humans, the only beings possessing souls, were atop this ecological pyramid. Beneath the humans were mortal beings that lacked souls and were thus objects or things intended for use by the superior humans.

These differences in worldviews clashed in many ways, but for the First Nations one of the most significant conflicts was when furbearing animals in the north and deerskins in the south became commodities in trade with the Europeans. Taking pelts and skins, along with the meat, for local use was part of the interdependent worldview that Indian hunters followed in the past. Now the demand for animals was part of a larger and vicious cycle: If Indians did not hunt enough, they could not buy enough guns from their local European ally to defend their nations against their European and local Indian enemies. They were compelled to kill more animals or face national defeat. Many religious and political leaders during the centuries after 1492 called for a rejection of the European trade goods and a return to traditional ways, but the appeals did not square with the realities of national life and death. Given the circumstances, it is not surprising that so many of the Indian nations involved in European trade had whole segments of their people

accept one form or another of Christianity, many trying to layer the new religion onto traditional beliefs: After all, if you were a Christian, you were comfortably on top of the Genesis Pyramid. Animals were no longer equal souls; they were now objects ordained by the European god to serve the needs of humans. And, although human slavery had been a part of some Indian cultures prior to 1492, the enslavement of other Indians became another major source of wealth in the race to make an Indian nation strong enough to survive the new realities. Further, the example of all the Europeans, even the English Quakers, showed that the enslavement of Indians and then Africans was an integrated part of the European economy and Christianity. Despite the appeal of alternatives, most Indian individuals resisted conversion to Christianity, but they struggled to survive economically while trying to maintain their traditional religions. The final choice was apathy. The paradox of all these choices continued after 1800 and remains a dilemma for Indian people in the twenty-first century.

Differing worldviews often emerged during diplomatic encounters. For example, in 1734, the Creek leader Tomochichi set sail for England as an emissary to demonstrate the Creeks’ support of the new colony of Georgia. When he met George II, Tomochichi was carrying eagle feathers that had been passed throughout the Creek Confederacy to signify unity of purpose. King George was referred to by his own people by what was also the symbol of his power: “the Crown.” The eagle feathers represented a consensus of the Creek people, while the Crown represented a hierarchy over “subjects.” Each nation pledged friendship to the other (the king did not stress the point that England, by the “right of discovery,” considered the Creeks to be subjects). After the meeting, Tomochichi was asked by the Earl of Egmont, a trustee of the Georgia colony, if he was impressed by the king’s palace and England in general. Tomochichi replied that, while the English had more material goods than the Creeks, the English were probably not any happier than Indians and that “the English lived worse than the Creeks who were a more innocent people.” Before he returned to his homeland, Tomochichi also explained that he was uncomfortable around only one man: the archbishop of Canterbury, who appeared to him to be a formidable conjurer.

The roles of women reflect the spiritual teachings of balance that most Indian nations followed,





as women balanced men both politically and economically. A Creek leader known only as the Woman of Cofitachique encountered Hernando de Soto in 1539 but was unable to persuade him to enter her country peacefully. Instead, he took her hostage and enslaved many of her people to bear the supplies of his expedition. Among the Cherokees, the duties of Gigau (Beloved Woman) demonstrate the significance that women brought to the Cherokee nation, just as the Clan Mothers among the Haudenosaunee balanced the male leaders. During the era of the American Revolution, Nancy Ward, the Cherokees' Beloved Woman, chose to support the Cherokee majority who sought neutrality during the war, while among the Haudenosaunee during the same era, the Mohawk leader Mary (Molly) Brant encouraged Haudenosaunee alliances with the British. While their decisions may in retrospect be criticized, the fact is that no white woman during the American Revolution, including Abigail Adams or Martha Washington, had a small fraction of these Indian women's authority or status. In fact, it was the status of Indian women within the First Nations that caused some white women, captured by Indians during colonial wars, to refuse to return to white settlements after the wars. Other women fled to Indian communities voluntarily. The security and happiness that these women found are illustrated by a servant woman, possibly black, who had fled to live among a Haudenosaunee nation, probably the Oneidas, shortly before or during the American Revolution. In 1784 at Fort Stanwix, New York, she talked with François Barbé-Marbois, a French colleague of the Marquis de Lafayette. Barbé-Marbois decided to draw her out because

her color and bearing did not seem quite savage. I asked her in English who she was. She pretended at first not to understand. Pressed with my questions she told me that she had formerly served at the home of a planter in the State of New York, but that she had tired of the position of a servant and had fled, and that the Indians had welcomed her, and that she lived very happily among them. 'The whites,' she told me, 'treated me harshly. I saw them take rest while they made me work without a break. I ran the risk of being beaten, or of dying of hunger, if through fatigue or laziness I refused to do what I was told. Here I have no master, I am the equal of all the women in the tribe, I do what I please without anyone's

saying anything about it, I work only for myself,—I shall marry if I wish and be unmarried again when I wish. Is there a single woman as independent as I in your cities?'

For Indian people after 1492, perhaps the greatest loss, the greatest trauma, was not the steep drop in population due to war and disease, although that was traumatic enough—on average, only 10 percent of any particular Indian nation survived. It may not have even been the political, geographic, or personal family losses. Perhaps the greatest loss with the greatest effect over the centuries was spiritual. Why did the spiritual forces with whom Indians had communicated for centuries, even thousands of years, not intervene when the Europeans turned to conquest, as all Europeans eventually did? This concern not only raised a philosophical issue, it caused some to doubt the religious leaders who were trying to continue the Indian religions of the past. In turn, their concern was another factor that made the various Christian faiths of the newly arrived Europeans more attractive. One of the most eloquent and poignant philosophical responses was by an Aztec poet in Mexico. This anonymous poet wrote the following lines about the year 1523, two years after the Spaniards and their Indian allies overran the Aztec capital at Tenochtitlan and the sister city state of Tlatelolco:

*Nothing but flowers and songs of sorrow  
are left in Mexico and Tlatelolco  
where once we saw warriors and wise  
men.*

*We know it is true  
that we must perish  
for we are mortal men.*

*You, the Giver of Life,  
you have ordained it.*

*We wander here and there  
in our desolate poverty.*

*We are mortal men.*

*We have seen bloodshed and pain  
where once we saw beauty and valor.*

*We are crushed to the ground;  
we lie in ruins.*

*There is nothing but grief and suffering  
in Mexico and Tlatelolco  
where once we saw beauty and valor.*

*Have you grown weary of your servants?  
Are you angry with your servants,  
O Giver of Life?*





## Columbus and the Right of Discovery: Rapacious Fiction Turned into Legal Fact

The voyage of Columbus in 1492 set in motion traumatic changes in the histories of the First Nations and the Europeans, but it also has a direct relevance to the laws and legal issues of the twenty-first century. The United States still claims that the so-called right of discovery makes the U.S. government sovereign over Indian people and all the lands they once occupied or continue to occupy. The United States is not alone in this position, for the doctrine of the right of discovery provides the initial legal foundation for Canada and for all the other internationally recognized nations whose boundaries lie within the Western Hemisphere. The convoluted history of the right of discovery begins in 1492 when Columbus set sail from Spain carrying a document from the Spanish monarchs proclaiming that any land and peoples Columbus might "discover" would automatically become, respectively, the property and the subjects of the sovereign rulers of Spain. In 1493 and again in 1494, Pope Alexander VI sanctioned the right of discovery through the sacred intervention of the Catholic Church, thereby making the right of discovery a religious as well as a political principle. The pope also sanctioned the division of the entire Western Hemisphere between Spain and Portugal. Not surprisingly, the Catholic monarchs of other nations including England and France resented this, and they subsequently sent out their own ships, declaring their own nations' rights of discovery (England asserted the right of discovery following the 1497 voyage of John Cabot, while France claimed the right of discovery after the 1524 voyage of Giovanni de Verrazano). After the American Revolution, the new United States claimed that its new nation had inherited England's right of discovery.

On March 29, 2005, the United States Supreme Court case delivered its decision in *City of Sherrill, New York v. Oneida Indian Nation of New York et al.* Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg wrote the majority opinion that ruled against the Oneidas. Only one of nine Justices dissented: Justice John P. Stevens. In *Sherill*, Justice Ginsburg and the Supreme Court blithely reaffirmed the doctrine of discovery:

Under the 'doctrine of discovery,' *County of Oneida v. Oneida Indian Nation of N.Y.*, 470 U.S. 226, 234 (1985) (*Oneida II*), 'fee title to the lands occupied by Indians when the colonists arrived became vested in the sovereign—first the

discovering European nation and later the original States and the United States.'

The doctrine of discovery has legal precedents in United States law, especially since 1823 when the Supreme Court asserted the right of discovery in *Johnson and Graham's Lessee v. William M'Intosh*. But the institution of slavery had precedents too, and the Supreme Court has ceased affirming that abomination.

## The United States as a Transformed "Wilderness"

In the *Sherill* case, Justice Ginsburg also contended that, with the arrival of the whites, the land was "converted from wilderness." In fact, the land was the domain of the Haudenosaunee—the Iroquois Confederacy, which in spite of all the odds survives to the present day. When the Europeans first encountered the Haudenosaunee, they lived in towns and grew extensive crops of corn and other foods. Their extensive trade routes crisscrossed New York and, linking with the trade routes of other First Nations, reached the Atlantic Coast, the Gulf of Mexico, and the western Great Lakes. Thus Ginsburg's contention that New York State was a wilderness is a lie, but it is an old lie. It is a thinly veiled restatement of *vacuum domicilium*, another legal term inherited from the era of Columbus. The Latin term *vacuum domicilium* means "lacking habitation"—empty land that is not used. By defining Indian homelands in this manner, Europeans asserted that the lands were wild and open to settlement. The concept of *vacuum domicilium* was so widely accepted that the English philosopher Sir Thomas More incorporated the idea in his famous *Utopia*, published in 1516. In part, More's *Utopia* is a summary of the rights of the European conquerors in the Western Hemisphere (those who use "utopian" to mean "ideal" need to reread the book!). In More's view, these conquerors, these Utopians, are of course idealistic and never venal, but they also understand that a just war can be carried out if land is not used:

If the natives won't do what they're told, they're expelled from the area marked out for annexation. If they try to resist, the Utopians declare war—for they [the Utopians] consider war perfectly justifiable, when one country denies another its natural right to derive nourishment from any soil which the original owners are not using themselves.





### ***Discovery and the Rights of Indians***

The right of discovery doctrine was a magic wand that the Europeans claimed gave them absolute sovereignty over the Indian peoples they encountered. Under the doctrine, Indian nations ceased to be sovereign and were defined as protectorates at best and at worst entirely subordinate. The right of discovery also automatically made every individual Indian a “subject” of a European government. Thus, if Indians rose up against a European colonial power, they were legally regarded as “rebels” who were resisting a legitimate sovereign government; they were committing treason. Under European law at the time, rebels had no human rights. This was extended specifically to Indians in 1512 by the Spanish: The “Requirement” warned Indians that rebellions would not be perceived as wars between equal states, but rather as wars by the Spanish against “vassals who do not obey and refuse to receive their lord and resist and contradict him.” Legally, then, the warriors and their families had no rights. In battle, all could be slaughtered. If any were captured, they had no rights as prisoners of war: They could be enslaved or killed, and their property could be confiscated.

If Indians were treated humanely—despite their “treason”—such treatment was regarded by the Europeans as an act of mercy, not of justice. Efforts to mitigate this harsh legal reality were occasionally made by European political leaders and religious reformers, such as the sixteenth-century Spanish priest-philosopher Bartolomé de Las Casas, but they have always been in the minority. Furthermore, even white reformers like Las Casas believed that the white occupation of most Indian lands and the triumph of Western civilization were inevitable, but that the process of assimilating the Indians into this inevitable future should be carried out through the highest concepts of white ethics and justice. This “Las Casas attitude” is exemplified by prominent white philosophers such as Roger Williams (seventeenth century), Benjamin Franklin (eighteenth century), Helen Hunt Jackson (nineteenth century), and John Collier (twentieth century).

### **The Impact of European Trade Goods**

The impact of European trade goods caused Indian nations to adapt in ways that would alter their pre-1492 cultures. An example of this phenomenon after 1492 was observed in 1634 by Harmen Meyndertsz

van den Bogaert. He ventured westward into the Mohawk Valley from Fort Orange, a Dutch trading post established in 1619 at what is now Albany, New York. He was one of the first Dutch traders to enter Mohawk territory, part of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy). But he discovered that trade goods had preceded him, perhaps brought in along Indian trading routes such as those that linked the Mohawks to New England, to French Canada, or to English Virginia. On December 13, 1634, van den Bogaert arrived at the Mohawk town of Onakahoncka:

We came to their first castle that stood on a high hill. There were only 36 houses, row on row in the manner of streets, so that we easily could pass through. These houses are constructed and covered with the bark of trees, and are mostly flat above. Some are 100, 90, or 80 steps long; 22 or 23 feet high. There were also some interior doors made of split planks furnished with iron hinges. In some houses we also saw ironwork: iron chains, bolts, harrow teeth, iron hoops, spikes, which they steal when they are away from here.

Van den Bogaert’s assumption that the iron goods were stolen is an indication of a European attitude all too typical of early contact. But what is most remarkable in his account is his description of the traditional longhouses that the Mohawks had already fitted with plank doors swinging on iron hinges. Did these doors with iron hinges affect the interior, communal nature of the longhouses, each of which was the home of several matrilineal families under the guidance of one of the oldest women? Subtle changes brought by the installation of iron hinges were more than matched at this Mohawk town by a far less subtle change: Smallpox had already broken out in the town. Sadly, both iron hinges and smallpox were the result of trade. Gradually, the Mohawks and their neighbors moved out of longhouses and into smaller homes to lessen the impact of the infectious smallpox virus.

One of the major items of trade was the horse. For example, by the end of the 1600s in the Southeast, the Creeks traded deerskins, furs, and corn to the Apalachees in Florida for Apalachee horses. The Creeks then traded most of the horses to the English. But this trade was constantly interrupted by wars between the two peoples—a warfare often encouraged by the rival European powers in the region: the Spanish, the English, and the French. In 1701, the





Spanish persuaded the Apalachees to raise the prices of horses, and the Creeks went to war as a result. In the Southwest, horses became important trade items, especially after 1680 when the Pueblo leader Popé and his allies at least temporarily liberated the Pueblos and other Indian nations in the Southwest from Spanish rule. Plains Indians soon traded, and occasionally raided, for horses raised by the Pueblos or Spaniards. After the Spanish reconquered the Pueblo nations, the Pueblos stayed on their horses and even served as mercenary cavalry for the Spanish. For example, in 1720 on the Platte River in Nebraska, forty-five Spanish troops supported by sixty Pueblos fought Pawnee and Oto warriors, who fought on foot. The battle went against the Spanish troops, but a courageous charge from some of their mounted Pueblo allies saved the Spaniards from annihilation.

Trade with Europeans was important everywhere, including Alaska. In 1740, a young Russian scholar, Stephan Petrovich Krasheninnikov, accompanied Captain Vitus Bering on a voyage that led to Russia's claim to northwestern North America, including Alaska. Both the Russians and the Inupiat sought peaceful relations and trade, but Krasheninnikov noted that the Inupiat were already using iron knives. Thus by 1740, European trade goods had reached the Inupiat either through other First Nations or directly from Europeans.

What kinds of European goods were traded? In 1761, Sir William Johnson, Superintendent for Indian Affairs in the Northern Colonies, prepared a list. Johnson's list exemplifies how pervasive trade goods had become in the daily life of Indian peoples. Entitled "A List of Such Merchandise as is Usually sold to the Indians," Johnson included coarse woolen blankets of various colors (called strouds); "French Blankets in great Demand being better than ours" (even though the war with the French was ongoing!); English blankets; Welsh cottons; "Flowered Serges"; "Calicoes"; "Linnens & ready made Shirts, of all Sizes"; needles; awls; knives; "Jews Harps small & large"; "Stone & plain rings"; "Hawks bells"; horn combs; "Brass Wire different Sizes"; "Scizars & Razors"; "Looking Glasse"; Brass & tinn Kettles large & Small"; "Women & Childrens Worsted and Yarn Hose with [an ornamental pattern called] Clocks"; "Roll of Paper Tobacco. Also Leaf D[itt]o"; "[tobacco] Pipes long & Short"; "Red Leather trunks in Nests" (chests or suitcases in which ever smaller ones nested within a larger one); black and white wampum; "Silver Works . . . which the Indians wear"; "Tomahawks or small hatchets well made";

"Pipe Hatchets"; "Tobacco, & Snuff boxes"; "Pewter Spoons"; "Gilt Gill [four-ounce] Cups"; gunpowder; flints; "Small bar lead of 1 1/2 lb each"; "Goose, Duck, & Pidgeon Shot"; fowling muskets; beaver and fox traps; iron spears for fishing and killing beavers; and "New England, or [New] York rum."

## Captured by White People

"Captured by Indians" is a phrase that frequently appears in history books and has been a theme of novels and Hollywood movies. The records show that, after a European-Indian war, captured whites, from the north to the south, were returned to their European colonies. We have abundant accounts of this in what are termed "captivity narratives." But where are the accounts about the return of Indians "captured by white people"? The simple fact is that, after every war, which the whites eventually always won, Indian prisoners were typically sold into outright slavery or extended periods of servitude. For example, in 1599 Acoma, a pueblo atop a 350-foot mesa in what is now New Mexico, rose against Spanish invaders led by Juan de Oñate, but Oñate's troops successfully stormed the pueblo. Of Acoma's approximately 1500 inhabitants, 600 were killed, chose suicide by jumping off the mesa, or were murdered by the Spaniards after they had surrendered. Hundreds of others escaped. About 500 women and children and seventy or eighty men who had surrendered were taken prisoner. Prisoners were treated mercilessly by Oñate, who regarded them as rebels against a legitimate sovereign and hence without rights. Oñate sentenced twenty-four warriors who were over twenty-five years of age to slavery for life—after the Spaniards chopped a foot off each of the warriors, as a reminder of the danger of resistance to Spanish will. Two Hopis, seized along with the Acoma warriors, had their right hands cut off and sent back to their mesa-top towns as a warning to the Hopi people not to entertain any plans of war. Other men and women were sentenced to twenty years of slavery. Oñate dealt with the children of Acoma as follows:

All of the children under twelve years of age I declare free and innocent of the grave offenses for which I punish their parents . . . I place the girls under the care of the father commissary, Fray Alonso Martinez, in order that he, as a Christian and qualified person, may distribute them in the kingdom and elsewhere in





monasteries or other places where he thinks that they may attain the knowledge of God and the salvation of their souls.

The boys under twelve years of age I entrust to Vicente de Zaldivar Mendoza, my sargento mayor, in order that they may attain the same goal.

Also under this sentence, seventy girls—a considerable proportion of Acoma's future mothers—were taken to Mexico and distributed among various Catholic convents. As for the mesa-top town itself, Oñate ordered Acoma to be completely leveled, and it was not reoccupied until the people sentenced to twenty years of servitude could finally return and rebuild it.

After New England's King Philip's War (named after the Wampanoag leader King Philip, Metacombet), the Pilgrims and the Puritans believed that the surviving Indian prisoners had forfeited all rights and could be sentenced to work for whites in New England for specific lengths of time and that many could even be sold into slavery in the West Indies or elsewhere. Hundreds of Indian men, women, and children, including Philip's wife and son, were sold into slavery and shipped to Virginia, Spain, Portugal, the Azores, the Spanish West Indies, Bermuda, and the Mediterranean coasts, including Tangier.

Ultimately, all colonists, whether they were Catholic, Protestant, or Jewish, sold Indian slaves. Furthermore, some of the most enthusiastic suppliers of Indian slaves were other Indians. Indian slave traders captured other Indians from rival nations and sold them as slaves to European colonists, who shipped them out of ports such as Charleston, New York City, Montreal, and Quebec. By the late 1600s, for example, the Creeks in the Southeast constantly raided the Choctaws and brought columns of Choctaw prisoners to Charleston's slave market. In exchange, the Creeks obtained manufactured items such as kettles, guns, knives, woolen goods, calico dresses, shirts, brass earrings, and silver gorgets. By the mid-1700s, the Comanches and other Plains Indian nations were selling Indian captives as slaves to the Pueblos and Spaniards.

In addition, trade agreements and treaties between Indian nations and Europeans, in both the North and the South, often had the provision that the European trade was in part dependent on Indian willingness to capture and return any black slaves who escaped into Indian country. For example, in

1768, General Thomas Gage reported on the slave hunting of the Creeks:

[T]he Creeks have restored such of the Negroe Slaves, as could be taken; they were also in pursuit of others, who made their escape from the Indian Towns, when they found they were to be delivered up. The Scalp of one of those Fugitives was brought in and delivered to the Commissary, which Circumstance will break that Intercourse between the Indians and Negroes, so much to be dreaded by all the Southern Provinces.

The value of Indians as deterrents to fugitive slaves was a constant in colonial history. The English names given to a few prominent eighteenth-century Cherokees speak for themselves: Slave Catcher of Chota, Slave Catcher of Kitruwa, Slave Catcher of Conutory, Slave Catcher of Tomatly, and Slave Catcher of Conasatchee.

The North was no different. For example, on October 4, 1774, the Oneida Haudenosaunee in what is now New York State, with the approval of the entire Iroquois Confederacy, agreed to provide New England Indians—including Narragansetts, Mohegans, Montauks, Pequots, and Niantics—with a portion of Oneida lands. In this treaty, the Oneidas and the British addressed the fact that blacks had intermarried or were living among these nations. This was regarded by the British as encouraging a potential refuge for the other blacks or mixed-race people who might later use the area as a base to stimulate a slave revolt. Thus the Oneidas agreed to a treaty provision that carefully defined how the land

shall not be possessed by any persons, deemed of the said Tribes, who are descended from, or have intermixed with Negroes, or Mulattoes.

This policy also suggests one reason why the remnants of eastern Indians who did not remove from their homelands had, and continue to have, a mixed-race heritage.

African American history, Indian history, and colonial white history, as exemplified by the preceding evidence, are intertwined. The myth persists that the first black slaves were introduced into the English colonies in Virginia in 1619, when in fact no less a figure than Sir Francis Drake brought black slaves to the Roanoke Colony in 1586 (they were undoubtedly slaughtered when Drake agreed that the





colonists should leave Roanoke and return to England). Furthermore, these were not the first enslaved Africans to arrive in what is now the United States. In 1526, the Spanish established a short-lived colony in the borderland of Georgia/Florida, bringing with them African slaves. These Africans managed to join with local Indians in driving out the Spanish, marking the first successful black slave revolt within the present borders of the United States. But interracial unity became the exception, not the rule. Both in the North and in the South, European powers promised to continue trading with the Peoples of the First Nations, with one of the conditions being that any escaped black slave encountered by a First Nation would be returned.

### Epidemic Diseases

The First Nations had no immunities to diseases accidentally introduced by the Europeans. Diseases such as smallpox and the bubonic plague, combined with conquest and enslavement, wiped out 90 percent of Native populations. But direct contact with the invaders was not the only way diseases spread. At least one wave of epidemics was accidentally introduced by the Spanish into the Indian nations along the Florida coast between 1513 and 1521. The disease was unintentionally carried by Indian traders along the commercial network among Indian nations that had existed long before 1492. Along these trade routes, the epidemic reached the Seneca Nation in what is now western New York by 1525. Only one instance of intentional biological warfare is documented: in 1763 at Fort Pitt during the war organized by the Indian leader Pontiac. But whites took advantage of the diseases by expanding the settlements during epidemics and by using the coincidence of epidemics to attack Indian nations already weakened, as in 1622 when the Puritans attacked the Massachusetts nation. Epidemic diseases were also intensified whenever Europeans forced Indians into resettlements, such as California's Catholic missions, where Indians labored and died for the benefit of cross and empire. They lived in crowded conditions that made them more susceptible to epidemic diseases. The actual conditions at the missions contrast dramatically with the romance and beauty associated with the flowering grounds of today's tourist attractions.

The 1763 Treaty of Paris marked the end of the Seven Years' War, known in North America as the French and Indian War. No Indian diplomats were

present. This treaty and the second Treaty of Paris in 1783 that ended the American Revolution are the most significant treaties in Indian history east of the Mississippi. The most significant impact of the 1763 Treaty on the First Nations was the transfer of Canada by France to Great Britain (a transfer based on France's right of discovery, which Britain now claimed to inherit). This clause forced all the Indian nations north of the Ohio River into a trade dependence on the British. Previously, while the French were in Canada, Indian nations could stand neutral, side with the French, or side with the British. After the treaty, they could no longer play one off against the other in trade agreements. Furthermore, the British decided to pay for the war at the same time it consolidated its new power. While this decision resulted in new taxes, which many of the white colonists opposed, it also meant that the British could charge the First Nations higher prices for trade goods because there was no competition from France. Even before the Treaty of Paris was signed, the Indian allies of the defeated French (Quebec had fallen in 1759) joined with a few of the Indian nations usually allied with the British to rally behind the Ottawa leader Pontiac.

Under the 1763 Treaty of Paris, Britain returned Cuba to Spain in exchange for Spanish-held Florida. When Spain abandoned Florida, however, she did not abandon her converted Catholic Indian populations. The Spanish feared that their Calusa and other Indian allies on the west coast of Florida would not fare well under British rule. Furthermore, about eighty Calusa families were devout converts to Catholicism. Interestingly, under the Spanish, the Calusas had also carried on their pre-1492 tradition by sailing back and forth to Cuba in seagoing canoes, trading. Spain decided to give refuge to the eighty Calusa families, and in 1763 the families made their way to Cuba, where they took up permanent residence. Ironically, these mission Indians reestablished an Indian presence on Cuba that the Spanish had annihilated two centuries earlier.

California Indians were also affected by the 1763 Treaty of Paris. After vacating Florida and turning it over to the British in exchange for Spain's right to reoccupy Cuba, Spain moved to secure the far western frontier by moving up the California coast. In addition to expanding Spanish holdings in North America, this effort was also intended to secure the area against possible pressures from both Russia and Britain. Spain established missions as stepping-stones in its occupation of coastal California, with





the first of twenty-one missions, San Diego de Alcalá, founded in 1769. California Indians were crowded into the missions to work for crown and cross, to be converted to Catholicism, to die of epidemics, and to be buried in mass graves.

### **The Era of the American Revolution (1763–1783)**

The so-called era of the American Revolution (1763–1783) was actually an era of two parallel revolutions. The better-known one is that of the colonists who went to war against each other in their “war for independence.” Paralleling that conflict were the revolutions and civil wars among American Indian nations, such as the revolution from 1763 to 1766 by the Ottawas and other Great Lakes Indians under Pontiac and the civil wars among the Cherokees and the Haudenosaunee during the American Revolution. By the 1760s, the dilemma among both Natives and colonists was how to effectively coordinate society after Britain no longer faced its French rival in Canada. While the stakes were as different as the cultures were, the dilemmas for the First Nations and for the whites (in both London and the colonies) were remarkably similar: How much change could the establishment safely concede, and how much change could the revolutionary thinkers push upon the old system before open warfare broke the societies apart? Like their colonial neighbors, the American Indian nations finally divided into factions. The differences and the similarities soon became a stew, called the American Revolution, a single continental cauldron.

The Treaty of Paris of 1783 ended that revolution, but, like its 1763 counterpart, no Indian representatives were present. Yet the British used the right of discovery to transfer to the United States jurisdiction over the Indian lands east of the Mississippi. Thereafter, the United States claimed, through the transfer, both the right of discovery and absolute sovereignty over Indian people. During the negotiations that led to the treaty, the original intent of the United States, at least as it was conveyed to their Spanish ally, was to establish a right of sovereignty over the land with regard to other non-Indian nations (such as Britain, Spain, and France). However, regarding Indian nations, the United States intended to claim only the right of preemption—the right of the United States to obtain Indian lands to the exclusion of other non-Indian powers. In Paris, in August 1782, the Spanish negotiator Conde de

Aranda (Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea) recorded, in his diary, a discussion he had with U.S. negotiator John Jay of New York. Regarding the lands that lay west of the English colonies, Aranda asserted:

“That territory belongs to free and independent nations of Indians, and you have no right to it.”

John Jay replied:

“These are points to be discussed and settled between the Indians and ourselves. With respect to the Indians we claim the right of preemption; with respect to all other nations, we claim the sovereignty over the territory.”

Once the treaty was signed, however, the bolder assertions of the United States to complete sovereignty, through the British transfer of the right of discovery, became clear to the British and to their Indian allies. This assertion was immediately challenged by the First Nations (and it has been challenged in court proceedings down to the present day). For example, during a May 1783 meeting with the commander at Niagara, a Mohawk chief, Aaron Hill (Kanonraron), expressed anger and amazement that the British could even think of breaking their honor and their treaties by granting the Patriots jurisdiction over the lands of the Haudenosaunee and other Indians. As reported on May 18, 1783, by the British commander Allan Maclean “exactly as translated”:

[T]hey told me they never could believe that our King could pretend to Cede to America What was not his own to give, or that the Americans would accept from Him, What he had no right to grant. . . . That the Indians were a free People Subject to no Power upon Earth, that they were faithful Allies of the King of England, but not his Subjects . . . it was impossible . . . to imagine, that the King of England Should pretend to grant to the Americans, all the Whole Country of the Indians Lying between the Lakes and the fixed Boundaries, as settled in 1768 between the Colonies and the Indians. . . . That if it was really true that the English had basely betrayed them by pretending to give up their Country to the Americans Without their Consent, or Consulting them, it was an act of Cruelty and injustice that Christians *only* were capable of doing, that the





Indians were incapable of acting So . . . to friends & Allies, but that they did believe We had Sold & betrayed them.

## Indian Treaties

The word “treaty” today has a specific legal definition in the United States: a formal agreement between nations ratified by the U.S. Senate. But the history of treaty making on both sides of the Atlantic is actually the history of diplomacy, because a treaty, broadly, is any formal agreement between nations. Before 1492, competing Indian nations throughout the Western Hemisphere conducted both war and formal diplomacy that led to agreements and treaties among themselves. Many First Nations, such as the Creeks and the Cherokees in the South and the Haudenosaunee in the North, were able to fight wars and negotiate treaties from positions of relative strength, factors enhanced by the European-American colonists’ need for Indian allies in their own colonial wars with rival colonial powers. After the American Revolution, however, wars and treaties became increasingly one-sided in direct proportion to the United States’ ever increasing population and economic power.

Thus while treaties in the 1790s still reflected at least some semblance of the balances of power evident before the American Revolution, after the War of 1812 treaty terms were decidedly weighted in favor of the United States, especially with regard to how much the United States could intrude in the affairs of Indian nations. The difference between earlier and later treaties is demonstrated by a comparison of the 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua made between the Haudenosaunee and United States with the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie made by the United States with the Lakotas and the Arapahos. Articles Two and Four of the 1794 treaty assert a clear separation of each signatory’s jurisdiction. Article Two states: “The United States acknowledge [plural] the lands reserved to the Oneida, Onondaga, and Cayuga Nations to be their property; and the United States will never claim the same.” Article Four declares that “the Six Nations, and of them, hereby engage that they will never claim any other lands within the boundaries of the United States; nor ever disturb the people of the United States.” Article Two of the 1794 treaty also notes that the Six Nations has the clear right to determine whether any other Indian “friends” can live among them, noting that

“the United States will never . . . disturb them or either of the Six Nations, nor their Indian friends residing thereon and united with them, in the free use and enjoyment thereof: but the said reservations shall remain theirs, until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States who have right to purchase.” Future issues will be resolved through mutual negotiation “by the Six Nations or any of them, to the President of the United States, or the superintendent by him appointed.”

Contrast this clear separation of jurisdiction with the 1868 treaty, which states in Article Two that the United States has the right to exert control—“the consent of the United States”—over which Indians can reside on the lands. The treaty also grants the United States a right to intrude into the affairs of the Indian nations: “The President may, at any time, order a survey of the reservation” and that “the United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property as between Indians and their descendants as may be thought proper.” Thus, future issues would be resolved not through the mutual negotiation called for in the 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua, but by unilateral decisions by the United States government.

## The Shawnee Quest for Pan-Indian Unity (1745–1813)

In 1745, the Shawnee Indians living along the Ohio River realized that it was time to halt the English colonial expansion to the east of them. The next year, 1746, the Shawnees began to promote new alliances among Indian nations east of the Mississippi. Such a pan-Indian movement was not yet necessary among Indian nations on the Pacific Coast, the Rockies, the Great Basin, or the Plains—they were still politically independent, although the Plains nations were increasingly dependent on trade either with the French to the east of them in the Mississippi Valley or with the Spanish in the Southwest. And in the Southwest, pan-Indian movements, such as that of Popé among the Pueblos, Apaches, and Navajos in the 1680s, had been overwhelmed by 1700. The Shawnees’ vision of a pan-Indian movement intended to create a new Indian unity from the north to the south. This unity would be stronger than the regional alliances and confederacies that already existed, such as the networks of the Creek Confederacy and the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois Confederacy). The Shawnees had a unique perspective on the situation on the frontier because some of their nation





lived in the South, near and even among the Creeks, while others lived in the North. Neither the northern nor the southern Shawnees had the power of larger nations such as the Creeks, and so the Shawnees more readily realized Indian vulnerability.

In February 1746, the Shawnees sent emissaries throughout the Mississippi Valley and the Southeast trying to convince Indians to give up their old rivalries and unite against the Europeans. The Indians' dependence on white trade goods, however, constantly worked against the Shawnees' proposal, for the Europeans and then the United States could use trade agreements as diplomatic maneuvers to divide Indian nations. During the French and Indian War, the Shawnees at first sided with the British, but English immigrants forced the Shawnees to defend their homelands until peace was made by 1758. The Shawnees now attempted to mediate peaceful solutions, but in 1774 this effort collapsed when white frontiersmen again forced them into what became known as Lord Dunmore's War, named for the governor of Virginia. This spilled over into the American Revolution, where the Shawnees tried to stop the expansion of white frontiersmen who were allied with the Patriot cause. The Shawnees provided major leadership after the American War in battles against the expanding United States, helping to defeat Governor Arthur St. Clair in 1791 but suffering defeat in 1794 along with other Indian nations at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Thereafter, the Shawnee vision continued to inspire many Indian people and would reach its culmination under the Shawnee leader Tecumseh. In 1813, Tecumseh was killed on a northern battlefield during the War of 1812 and his southern allies were also defeated. The Shawnee vision, ongoing since 1745–1746, died with Tecumseh.

### **The Flow of North American History after 1750**

Events after 1750 forever altered the pulse of Indian history north of Mexico. For more than a thousand years before Columbus, and for two centuries after Columbus, American Indian history had been shaped from south to north. The great Indian civilizations of Mesoamerica had exerted their influence northward and eastward, creating wave after wave of cultural frontiers north of Mexico. Then Spanish conquistadors moving northward from occupied Mexico or from the Caribbean invaded the Southwest and the Southeast. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, the momentum had been altered.

The Southern frontiers remained both important and dynamic, but, during the late 1600s and the early 1700s, events to the Northeast increasingly became the most important influences on all of American Indian history north of Mexico. By 1750, the primary locations of the events defining the destiny of the continent shifted. From 1750 until 1800, the vast continent north of Mexico was shaped primarily by events and decisions coming from the Northeast and, after 1800, from all areas east of the Mississippi.

In the centuries after 1800, as in the previous three centuries, there were at least four basic choices that Indian nations followed to survive as intact nations:

1. Spiritual reformations
2. Continued nonviolent resistance, both through negotiations such as treaties and in appeals to white laws and courts
3. Continued military resistance
4. Adaptation of white manufactured goods and technology

As for the United States, after 1800 it broke every colonial treaty it had inherited from the British and all of the more than 395 treaties that the United States made with Native nations.

### **The Triumph of the Arts and the Human Spirit**

An encouraging conclusion to this survey is the fact that American Indians continued to produce a wide range of stunning art. This is evident in painting, wooden and stone sculpture, rock art, pottery, quillwork, and beadwork. Music and dance never ceased to be important, as both old and new music and dance sought to link the First Nations with continued spiritual inspiration or a reaffirmation of social bonds. Both before and after 1800, the First Nations never ceased to express the highest aesthetics and creative beauty of the human spirit.

*Robert W. Venables*

*See also* American Revolution, Native American Participation; Canandaigua, Treaty of; Canassatego; Doctrine of Discovery; Franklin, Benjamin; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Mission System, Spanish; Mound Cultures of North America; Spanish Influence; Slavery; Tecumseh; Treaty





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# *Indian Immigrants and Removals*

## *(1800 to 1850)*

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**B**y 1800, more than three centuries after Columbus's first landfall in North America, many Native American peoples across the continent had yet to be touched significantly by the physical presence of European-American migration, although non-Native diseases had already swept much of the continent. While some Indians had adopted Euro-American animals (such as the horse), guns, and other trade goods, many in the interior of North America still swore no allegiance either to any European power or to the United States of America. Within the space of one century, however, the U.S. frontier would leap from the East Coast to the West Coast. By 1890, very few of North America's surviving Native people would be able to say that they lived independently, as had their great-grandparents.

In 1800, America north of the Rio Grande was under claim by the new United States, Britain, France, and Spain, but most of the same area still was primarily occupied by Native American peoples. The edicts of European treaty making held that the United States extended westward to the east bank of the Mississippi River. In another decade, the United States' European-issued title would extend, via the Louisiana Purchase, to the Rocky Mountains.

Only the Eastern Seaboard was thickly settled by non-Natives and their descendents in 1800, although they exerted significant influence in other parts of the continent. The territory to the west was home to a few mountain men, some traders, and a few soldiers in a few small forts, as well as missions, both Catholic and Protestant. The United States' main day-to-day diplomatic activity in 1800 was aimed at maintaining relationships with the many Native nations occupying territory that European nations claimed on paper. A thin ribbon of French influence had followed the Saint Lawrence River to the Great Lakes, then southward along the Mississippi River to New Orleans. Most of the present-day western United States south of the Oregon and Wyoming borders was claimed by a disintegrating Spanish empire, which was no longer able to sustain its far-flung missions, military outposts, and mining areas. Mexico assumed much of this structure after 1822.

Following the turn of the century, a tide of Anglo-American humanity spilled across the

Appalachian Mountains, into the rich bottomlands of the Mississippi, the fertile valley of the Ohio, and westward. From 1830 to 1890, three human generations, the Anglo-American frontier advanced from the woods of Georgia, with the passage of the Indian Removal Act of 1830, to California, with the gold rush of 1849, and inland again to the prairies of South Dakota. In 1890, the U.S. census declared the frontier closed. During this time, some Native peoples resisted removal and remained on their homelands. One example was the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Benjamin Franklin once had conjectured that North America would not fill with the offspring of Europe for at least a thousand years, a risky prediction because he didn't even know the exact size of the continent. He missed the date the continent would fill with the progeny of the Old World by roughly 900 years. How very wrong he was.

Between 1790 and 1840, roughly 4.5 million non-Indians surged across the Appalachians, more than the total population of the United States in 1790 (3.9 million, as recorded in the first national census). In 1790, two-thirds of those 3.9 million people lived within fifty miles of the Atlantic Ocean or watercourses leading to it; by 1850, the borders of the United States had reached the Pacific Ocean.

The Louisiana Purchase (1803) nearly doubled the country's size, at least on paper. A few months after the deal was signed, President Jefferson sent Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to survey the area and to reach the Pacific Ocean. They were led much of the way by Sacajawea (Lemhi Shoshone). For nineteen months, Sacajawea guided Lewis and Clark over the Rocky Mountains toward the Pacific Coast near present-day Astoria, Oregon. Without her, the expedition probably would have halted for lack of direction. She also negotiated friendly relations with Native peoples along the way.

In one century, sped by a massive increase in immigration from Europe, economic development, and technological change (most notably, for example, the arrival of the transcontinental railroads), as well as the ravages of imported diseases, Native American free space in the contemporary United States (south of Alaska) shrank to nearly nothing. By the time of the massacre at Wounded Knee, at the end of 1890, North America's Native peoples would





be living mainly on reservations controlled by the U.S. government or in its rapidly growing cities. North America in 1800 was about to witness the most rapid surge of humanity in the history of the human race. In that year, the non-Indian population of the U.S. portions of the Mississippi Valley had risen to 377,000. By 1830, the non-Indian population of the same area was roughly 900,000.

The explosion westward required political accommodation. Mention the name "Andrew Jackson" to most Americans, and the phrase "Jacksonian Democracy" may spring to mind. The folklore of today's Democratic party has it that its trademark donkey came from a time when Jackson's opponents called him an "ass," upon which Jackson adopted the animal as his own symbol. To the descendents of Native Americans who survived the period, however, the mention of Jackson's name may bring to mind the Bataan Death March of World War II and even comparisons with Hitler and Stalin, because the coercion their ancestors endured resembled the forced collectivization of Soviet agriculture and the assignment of many people to prison camps in Siberia. There was very little that was democratic for Native peoples about Jackson's handling of relations with them.

As non-Native immigration began to explode across the Appalachians into the Ohio Valley and Great Lakes shortly after 1790, Native resistance expressed itself in attempts at new confederations along lines of mutual interest. Native resistance surged shortly after the turn of the century. The Shawnee Tecumseh, a major military leader and alliance builder, sought to stop Euro-American expansion into the Ohio Valley area early in the nineteenth century, after alliances led by Pontiac, Brant, and Little Turtle had failed. As the number of non-Indian immigrants grew, Tecumseh began to assemble the Shawnees, Delawares, Ottawas, Ojibwas, Kickapoos, and Wyandots into an alliance with the aim of establishing a permanent Native American confederation that would act as a buffer zone between the United States to the east and English Canada to the north. Tecumseh urged all Indians in the area to unite as brothers, as sons of one Mother Earth. He scoffed at the idea of selling the land. "Why not sell the air?" he asked. Sale of land, to Tecumseh, was contrary to the ways of nature.

Territorial Governor (and Army General) William Henry Harrison (who later popularized his battle with Tecumseh at Tippecanoe in his successful campaign for the presidency with the campaign slo-

gan "Tippecanoe and Tyler Too") tried to undermine the growing strength of Tecumseh's Native alliance by negotiating treaties with individual Native nations. Because only a portion of each tribe or nation's warriors elected to follow Tecumseh, Harrison found it easy enough to find "treaty Indians" among those who did not elect to fight. By 1811, Harrison had negotiated at least fifteen treaties, all of which Tecumseh repudiated.

Harrison's wariness of Tecumseh's power sprang from a deep respect for him. "The implicit obedience and respect which the followers of Tecumseh pay to him is really astonishing and more than any other circumstance bespeaks him [as] one of those uncommon geniuses, which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and to overturn the established order of things," said Harrison. He continued: "If it were not for the vicinity of the United States, he would, perhaps, be the founder of an Empire that would rival in glory Mexico or Peru. No difficulties deter him" (Hamilton, 1972, 159).

Tecumseh was particularly galled by Harrison's choice as his territorial capital the village of Chilli-cothe, the same site (with the same name) as the Shawnees' former principal settlement. The name itself is anglicized Shawnee for "principal town." At one treaty council, Tecumseh found himself seated next to Harrison on a bench. Tecumseh slowly but aggressively pushed Harrison off the edge of the bench, then told him that this was what the immigrants were doing to his people. They were being slowly squeezed off their lands. During his last conference with Tecumseh, Harrison bid the chief to take a chair. "Your father requests you take a chair," an interpreter told Tecumseh, to which he replied, defiantly: "My father! The sun is my father and the Earth is my mother. I will repose upon her bosom" (Johansen, 2000, 65). Tecumseh then sat, cross-legged, on the ground.

Tecumseh also was angry over Harrison's treaty of September 30, 1809, with the Delawares, Potawatomes, Miamis, Kickapoos, Wea, and Eel River peoples. For \$8,200 in cash and \$2,350 in annuities, Harrison had laid claim for the United States to roughly 3 million acres of rich hunting land along the Wabash River in the heart of the area in which Tecumseh wished to build his Native confederacy. When Tecumseh and his brother, also a Shawnee war chief, complained to Harrison that the treaty terms were unfair, Harrison at first rebuked Tecumseh by saying that the Shawnees had not even been part of the treaty. The implicit refusal to recognize





Tecumseh's alliance angered the Indians even more. At a meeting August 12, 1810, each side drew up several hundred battle-ready warriors and soldiers. Harrison agreed to relay Tecumseh's complaints to the president, and Tecumseh said that his warriors would join the Americans against the British if Harrison would annul the treaty.

Nothing came of Harrison's promises, and in 1811 bands of warriors, allied with Tecumseh, began ranging out of the settlement of Tippecanoe to terrorize nearby farmsteads and small backwoods settlements. Harrison said he would wipe out Tippecanoe if the raids did not stop; Tecumseh said they would stop when the land signed away under the 1810 treaty was returned.

Tecumseh then journeyed southward in an unsuccessful effort to bring the Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws into his alliance. While Tecumseh was traveling, the command of the existing alliance fell to Tecumseh's brother, Tenskwatawa, who was called The Prophet. On September 26, 1811, Harrison decamped at Vincennes with more than nine hundred men, two-thirds of them Indian allies. He built a fort and named it after himself on the present-day site of Terre Haute, Indiana. Harrison then sent two Miamis to The Prophet to demand the return of property Harrison alleged had been stolen in the raids, along with the surrender of Indians he accused of murder. The Miamis did not return to Harrison's camp. The governor's army marched to within sight of Tippecanoe and met with Tenskwatawa, who invited them to make camp, relax, and negotiate. Harrison's forces did stop but set up in battle configurations, as The Prophet's warriors readied an attack. Within two hours of pitched battle, Harrison's forces routed the Indians, then burned the village of Tippecanoe as Tenskwatawa's forces scattered into the woods. Tecumseh fled to British Canada, where he was appointed a brigadier general. Tecumseh met Harrison's forces in battle at the Battle of the Thames, where he was killed October 13, 1813.

While Tecumseh's allies were routed from the old Northwest by force, the government sought to remove the "civilized tribes" of the Southeast by legal edict. President Jackson, Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall, and Cherokee Chief John Ross became the three most influential leaders in the debate over the removal of the Cherokees from their homeland in present-day Georgia, Alabama, the Carolinas, and Tennessee. The removal of the Cherokees and several other Native nations during the 1830s

allowed the expansion of non-Native populations southward and westward through parts of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and neighboring states. At roughly the same time, the industrial application of Eli Whitney's cotton gin created a mass market in moderately priced cotton clothing. Within a decade after the Trail of Tears (in Cherokee, *nuna-daa-ut-sun'y*, "the trail where they cried"), some southern Native nations' homelands had been replaced by cotton fields tended and harvested by slaves.

President Jackson, having retired from his Army career of Indian fighting, avidly supported the Removal Act of 1830, which led to the Cherokees' Trail of Tears. Ross was the Cherokees' foremost advocate against removal (aided by Major Ridge and others) and the man most responsible for taking two major cases to the Supreme Court. Marshall worked the facts of the conflict into legal doctrine that has shaped law regarding Native Americans for almost two centuries. During the debate over removal, which continued through most of Jackson's presidency, the entire United States debated assertions of "states' rights" vis-à-vis the federal government and the Cherokees, in a prelude to the coming dissolution of the union during the Civil War less than three decades later.

The removal of the "civilized tribes" from their homelands is one of the most notable chapters in the history of American land relations. Jackson's repudiation of Chief Justice Marshall's rulings, which supported the Cherokees' rights to their homelands, demonstrated contempt of the Supreme Court, an impeachable offense under the Constitution. The subject of impeachment was not seriously raised, however. During the incendiary years before the Civil War, the removals became intertwined with the issue of states' rights. Had Jackson accepted the rulings of Justice Marshall, who was doing his constitutional duty, the Civil War might have started during the 1830s.

The explosion of westward migration after roughly 1800 also generated enormous profits in land speculation. Fortunes were made in early America not usually by working the land, but by buying early and holding large parcels for sale after demand increased dramatically because of non-Indian immigration. As a frontier lawyer in Tennessee, Jackson often took his fees in land rather than money, which was as scarce along the frontier as land was plentiful. He thus acquired immense holdings with which he began a mercantile establishment and bought a plantation. Jackson quickly





acquired more than a hundred slaves, making him one of frontier Tennessee's largest owners of human capital. He traded actively in slaves and occasionally wagered them on horse races in a display of expendable wealth. Andrew Jackson's slaves and plantation placed him squarely within the interests of the races and classes whose members benefited most from Indian removal.

Before 1800, non-Native immigration in the South had been limited mainly to the pine barrens of coastal Georgia, on land that was practically useless for farming before the advent of modern commercial fertilizers. The immigrants, seeing the value of the developing cotton culture, cast a covetous eye on the fertile inland valleys that were occupied by the Five Civilized Tribes, who had utilized them for hundreds of years. As waves of land speculators and other immigrants moved in to evict them, the Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and others were doing exactly what the Jeffersonians thought they should: building farms and towns in the European manner. The "civilized tribes" were well on their way to becoming some of the most prosperous farmers in the South.

Andrew Jackson thought that Indian treaties were anachronisms. "An absurdity," he called them, "Not to be reconciled with the principles of our government" (Johansen, 2000, 88). As Jackson elaborated in a letter to President James Monroe (another advocate of Indian removal) in 1817:

The Indians are the subjects of the United States, inhabiting its territory and acknowledging its sovereignty. Then is it not absurd for the sovereign to negotiate by treaty with the subject? I have always thought, that Congress had as much right to regulate by acts of legislation, all Indian concerns as they had of territories, are citizens of the United States and entitled to all the rights thereof, the Indians are subjects and entitled to their protection and fostering care (McNickle, 1949, 193).

The confused and convoluted grammar aside, it is not easy to decipher what General Jackson is saying. Is he declaring the Indians to be citizens? Legally, that was not the case until a century later. Is he personally annulling the treaties, which had been signed by parties who regarded each other as diplomatic peers barely two generations earlier? Whatever the nature of his rhetoric, the ensuing decades made clear, especially for the native peoples of the

South, just what Jackson meant by "protection and fostering care."

Whether in purposeful contravention of the treaties or because he thought he had the right to annul them personally, within a decade Jackson cooperated with the land industry to move tens of thousands of Native peoples from their homelands. Jackson, who as a general told his troops to root out Indians from their "dens" and to kill Indian women and their "whelps," struck only a slightly more erudite tone as president. In his second annual message to Congress, he reflected on the fact that some non-Natives were growing "melancholy" over the fact that the Indians were being driven to their "tomb." These critics must understand, Jackson said, that "true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes as it does to the extinction of one generation to make way for another" (Stannard, 1992, 240).

Jackson did not seek the removal of the Cherokees and other "civilized tribes"—the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole—because they didn't know how to make productive use of the land. On the contrary, four of the five (the exception being the Seminoles, who had escaped to Florida) were called "civilized tribes" by the immigrants precisely because they were making exactly the kind of progress the Great White Father desired of them: becoming farmers, educating their children, constituting governments modeled on the United States. Immigrants, many of them Scots and Irish, had married into Native families. Some Indians, including their foremost leader against removal, John Ross, himself seven-eighths Scots-Irish, owned plantations and slaves.

The removals began in 1831, with four thousand Choctaws bound for western Arkansas. The winter was harsh, but during the next few years it often was even worse. The cruelty of the removals was compounded by governmental mismanagement and by Indian agents who kept for themselves much of the money that the government had appropriated to feed people while they were being moved. That summer, cholera spread through areas of the South, returning each summer until 1836. Only the Chickasaws managed to transport much of what they owned westward (agents complained about the bulk of their livestock and baggage). The rest of the people suffered cruelly, complaining that they had been driven off their own lands like wild wolves, the shoeless feet of their women and children bleeding from the long marches over rough terrain. Indian agents, infamous for their penny-pinching, sometimes hired rotten





boats to transport Indians across rivers. Many of the boats sank, with the loss of uncounted lives. Dead Indians didn't cost anything to feed, so the agents pocketed their per-capita allowance.

During the Creek War, people led by Chitto Harjo and others were driven into the forests and swamps by white squatters. Their homes were taken, and many starved. A newspaper of the time described their destitution: "To see a whole people destitute of food—the incessant cry of the emaciated creatures being *bread! bread!* is beyond description distressing. The existence of many of the Indians is prolonged by eating roots and the bark of trees. Nothing that can afford nourishment is rejected, however offensive it may be. They beg their food from door to door. It is really painful to see the wretched creatures wandering about the streets, haggard and naked" (Brandon, 1964, 227).

Having subdued the Creeks, General Jackson next received orders to quell what the War Department politely called "troubles" in Georgia, principally among the Seminoles, who had escaped to Florida and begun to shelter exslaves (who, with their offspring, became known as Black Seminoles). By 1818, Jackson's troops were chasing them into Florida, which was still under Spanish jurisdiction (the area would be ceded to the United States in 1821). Having seized several Spanish forts along the way, Jackson withdrew. He then endured a debate in Congress over his extranational expedition. Jackson also reaped popular acclaim from expansion-minded Americans, which swelled his ambitions for the presidency.

The Seminoles, most of whom were descended from Creeks, had elected to ally with the Spanish rather than with the United States, an act of virtual treason to General Jackson. Furthermore, Seminoles were giving shelter to runaway slaves. In some cases, the Seminoles and the escaped slaves had intermarried over generations. The pretext of Jackson's raid was the recovery of "stolen property," runaway slaves. After the United States purchased Florida from Spain, slave-hunting vigilantes invaded the area en masse, killing Seminoles as well as blacks. In the 1830s, President Jackson's proposal to remove the Seminoles from Florida to Indian Territory was met with widespread Indian refusal.

Moving deep into the swamps of southern Florida (an area that, ironically, was being used as a removal *destination* for other native peoples), the Seminoles fought fifteen hundred U.S. Army troops to a bloody stalemate during seven years of warfare.

They were never defeated, and they never moved from their new homeland. Osceola, whose name was derived from *asi-yahola*, meaning Black Drink Crier, was the best-known leader of the Seminoles during their pursuit by the U.S. Army. He was opposed by some of his own people, one of the better-known of whom was Emathla.

Jackson's policy—"move the Indians out"—became the national standard after his election as president in 1828. Alabama had already been created in 1819 from Creek and Cherokee territory; Mississippi was created in 1817 from Choctaw and Chickasaw country. These two states, along with Georgia, passed laws outlawing tribal governments and making Indians subject to state jurisdiction, after which open season was declared on remaining Native lands.

All of this violated treaties that had been concluded between Indian nations and the federal government. Confronted with this fact, President Jackson told the Indians that he was unable to stand by the treaties because they raised nettlesome issues of states' rights, an emerging issue in the decades before the Civil War. Instead, Jackson proposed that the Indians be moved westward. At first, the moving of whole tribes was proposed as a voluntary act. In the meantime, land speculators and squatters closed a deadly vise on lands that had been home to the newly "civilized" tribes for thousands of years. On December 19, 1829, the Georgia legislature passed a statute declaring the laws and Constitution of the Cherokee nation null and void. One U.S. marshal said that land speculators in Georgia were "some of the most lawless and uncouth men I have ever seen." A federal agent wrote to President Jackson: "A greater mass of corruption, perhaps, has never been congregated in any part of the world" (Brandon, 1964, 227).

As he refused all concessions, Jackson himself wrote to his wife describing the poverty to which they had been reduced: "Could you only see the misery and the wretchedness of those creatures, perishing from want of food and picking up the grains of corn scattered from the mouths of horses" (Tebbel and Jennison, 1960, 181).

Alexis de Tocqueville, author of *Democracy in America*, witnessed portions of the early removals:

At the end of the year 1831, whilst I was on the left bank of the Mississippi, at a place named by the Europeans Memphis, there arrived a numerous band of Choctaws. These savages





had left their country, and were endeavoring to gain the right bank of the Mississippi, where they hoped to find an asylum which had been promised them by the American government. It was in the middle of the winter, and the cold was unusually severe; the snow had frozen hard upon the ground, and the river was drifting huge masses of ice. The Indians had their families with them; and they brought in their train the wounded and the sick, with children newly born, and old men upon the verge of death. They possessed neither tents nor wagons, but only their arms and some provisions. I saw them embark to pass the mighty river, and never will that solemn spectacle fade from my remembrance. No cry, no sob was heard amongst the assembled crowd; all were silent. The Indians had all stepped into the bark which was to carry them across, but their dogs remained upon the bank. As soon as these animals perceived that their masters were finally leaving the shore, they set up a dismal howl, and plunging all together into the icy waters of the Mississippi, swam after the boat (Reeves, 435, 436, 448.).

As the State of Georgia and the Removal Act sought to destroy it, the Cherokee Nation was the scene of remarkable economic progress. By the time the Removal Act was passed in 1830, the Cherokees had 22,000 cattle, 7,600 horses, 46,000 swine, 2,500 sheep, 762 looms, 2,488 spinning wheels, 172 wagons, 2,943 plows, 10 saw mills, 21 grist mills, 61 blacksmitheries, 18 schools, 8 cotton gins, and 1,300 slaves. All of these things indicated that they led prosperous lives very much like those of the European-American settlers who sought their land.

The preremoval Cherokee Nation also was the birthplace of the only written language in human history to have been developed by a single person. That person was Sequoyah (from *sikwaji*, meaning “sparrow” or “principal bird” in Cherokee). Sequoyah is one of the most remarkable figures in American history. With a quick mind and active imagination, Sequoyah became intrigued by the “talking leaves,” the written language of the whites. By 1809, Sequoyah had started work on a written version of the Cherokee language using pictorial symbols, but he abandoned the method as untenable after he had created more than a thousand symbols. Next, Sequoyah reduced the Cherokee language to two hundred and then finally to eighty-six charac-

ters that represented all of its syllables or sounds. He derived the resulting syllabary in part from English, Greek, and Hebrew characters in mission school books. At first he was thought by some to be engaging in witchcraft. Sequoyah’s home was razed on one occasion, destroying his notes.

Sequoyah came to believe that their ability to communicate in writing gave the European immigrants great power. He looked at writing as a measure of equity with Europeans. Sequoyah completed his writing system during 1821. The same year, before an assembly of Cherokee leaders, he proved the viability of his system by writing messages to his six-year-old daughter that she understood and answered independently.

The Cherokee tribal council formally adopted Sequoyah’s syllabary soon after this demonstration. By the mid-1820s, the written language had been taught in eighteen schools to thousands of people. The language invented by Sequoyah (after whom the giant redwoods in California were later named) had neither silent letters nor ambiguous sounds. Many Cherokees learned its system of writing in three or four days. In recognition of his accomplishments, a bust of Sequoyah was placed in the Statuary Hall of the United States Capitol. By 1824, white missionaries had translated parts of the *Bible* into Cherokee. In 1828, the Cherokee Tribal Council in north Georgia started a weekly newspaper called the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate*. The newspaper, printing bilingual editions in Cherokee and English, enjoyed great success until it was suppressed in 1835 by the State of Georgia for advocating Cherokee rights to their lands in that state.

President Jackson’s adamant support of Indian removal placed him on a direct constitutional collision course with Chief Justice John Marshall, who was in the process of evolving legal doctrines vis-à-vis Native American land rights on which he had been working before Jackson was elected. Marshall was Chief Justice in 1810, when *Fletcher v. Peck*, the first case directly related to American Indians, came before the Supreme Court. The “Cherokee cases” that came before Marshall’s court between 1823 and 1832 would display, in broad and emphatic relief, how closely much of early nineteenth-century American life was connected to the dynamics of land speculation that propelled westward movement.

Marshall’s legal opinions outlining Native Americans’ status in the United States legal system took shape as he defined the Supreme Court’s place in United States political society as a whole. When





Marshall became Chief Justice in 1801, the Supreme Court was little more than a clause in the Constitution. For thirty-five years as Chief Justice, Marshall played a major role in defining the Court as an institution. By the time he wrote the Supreme Court's opinion in *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), Marshall was seventy-seven years of age and increasingly frail. Despite difficulties with his voice, he read the entire twenty-eight-page decision before the court.

In legal analysis, the term "Marshall Trilogy" is used to describe as a group Chief Justice John Marshall's rulings in *Johnson v. M'Intosh*, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, and *Worcester v. Georgia*. In these three cases, Marshall developed legal doctrines that defined the relationship of the United States, the individual states, and Native American nations. In these opinions, according to legal scholar Charles F. Wilkinson, "Marshall conceived a model that can be described broadly as calling for largely autonomous tribal governments subject to an overriding federal authority but essentially free of state control" (Wilkinson, 1987, 24).

The Marshall Trilogy is so important in American Indian law because the key precepts of Marshall's three opinions have been interpreted by lawyers, judges, legal scholars, and government officials in many different ways. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), for example, used Marshall's words "dependent," "pupilage," and "ward" to construct a cradle-to-grave social and political control system in which Indians have been regarded legally as incompetents or children would be in other social and legal contexts. Ironically, because of Marshall's rulings, Native peoples were removed from their homelands under a legal rubric that gave birth to a "trust" doctrine, under which the same federal government that executed the removal was charged with safeguarding their lands and rights.

If President Jackson did not actually *say* "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it," his failure to protect Cherokee sovereignty with military force showed that "he certainly meant it," according to Leonard Baker, a biographer of Marshall (Baker, 1974, 746). By ignoring Chief Justice Marshall's opinion in *Worcester v. Georgia*, he showed his frontier constituencies that he supported a belief popular among states' rights advocates of the time: that the Supreme Court should be stripped of its power to review the rulings of state courts. Marshall repudiated the states' rights advocates' belief that Section 25 of the Judiciary Act prohibited the Supreme

Court from hearing the case. A bill that would have repealed Section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 (which gives the U.S. Supreme Court power to rule on appeals from state courts) was debated on the floor of the House of Representatives, voted on, and defeated on January 29, 1831.

Even though ignored by President Jackson, Marshall's opinions shaped the relationship of the United States to Native American nations within its borders. The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act and legislative efforts promoting self-determination after the 1960s were based in part on Marshall's opinion that the rights of "discovery" did not extinguish the original inhabitants' legal as well as just claim to retain possession of their lands and to use it according to their own jurisdiction.

Although John Ross continued to protest removal for several more years, the state of Georgia coerced Cherokees to sell lands for a fraction of their value. Marauding immigrants plundered Cherokee homes and possessions. The U.S. Army forced Cherokee families into internment camps to prepare for the arduous trek westward. As a result of unhealthy and crowded conditions in these hastily constructed stockades, many Cherokees died even before their Trail of Tears began.

In preparation for the Cherokees' removal, Ross was evicted from his mansion and was living in a dirt-floored cabin. When John Howard Payne, author of the song "Home Sweet Home," came to visit him at the cabin, just across the Georgia state line in Tennessee, the Georgia State Guard crossed the state line and kidnapped both men. Realizing that the federal government did not intend to protect the Cherokees, Ross and others reluctantly signed the Treaty of New Echota in 1835 and prepared, with heavy hearts, to leave their homes.

James Mooney described how the Cherokees were forced from their homes: "Squads of troops were sent to search out with rifle and bayonet every small cabin hidden away in the coves or by the sides of mountain streams. . . . Families at dinner were startled by the sudden gleam of bayonets in the doorway and rose up to be driven with blows and oaths along the trail that led to the stockade. Men were seized in their fields or going along the road, women were taken from their wheels, and children from their play" (Van Every, 1966, 242). A U.S. Army private who witnessed the Cherokee removal wrote: "I saw the helpless Cherokee arrested and dragged from their homes, and driven by bayonet into the stockades. And in the chill of a





drizzling rain on an October morning I saw them loaded like cattle or sheep into wagons and started toward the west. . . . Chief Ross led in prayer, and when the bugle sounded and wagons started rolling many of the children . . . waved their little hands goodbye to their mountain homes" (Worcester, 1975, 67).

By 1838, the Cherokees had exhausted all their appeals. As they were being forced to leave their homes, the Cherokees passed a "memorial," which expressed the manifest injustice of their forced relocation in these words:

The title of the Cherokee people to their lands is the most ancient, pure, and absolute known to man; its date is beyond the reach of human record; its validity confirmed by possession and enjoyment antecedent to all pretense of claim by any portion of the human race. . . . The free consent of the Cherokee people is indispensable to a valid transfer of the Cherokee title. The Cherokee people have neither by themselves nor their representatives given such consent. It follows that the original title and ownership of lands still rests with the Cherokee Nation, unimpaired and absolute. The Cherokee people have existed as a distinct national community for a period extending into antiquity beyond the dates and records and memory of man. These attributes have never been relinquished by the Cherokee people, and cannot be dissolved by the expulsion of the Nation from its territory by the power of the United States Government (O'Brien, 1989, 57).

More than four thousand Cherokees died of exposure, disease, and starvation, about a quarter of the total Cherokee population. Quatie, Ross's wife, was among the victims of this forced emigration. After removal, the miserable conditions continued. Many Cherokees died after they arrived in Indian Territory as epidemics and food shortages plagued the new settlements.

Ralph Waldo Emerson weighed in solidly with John Ross. Emerson wrote to President Martin Van Buren April 23, 1838, calling the impending Trail of Tears "a crime." "You, sir," Emerson wrote to the president, "will bring down that renowned chair in which you sit into infamy if your seal is set to this instrument of perfidy; and the name of this nation, hitherto the sweet omen of religion and liberty, will stink to the world" (Moquin, 1973, 105).

In our time, the forced marches of the removed Native nations have been called "genocide." However, despite the cruelty of the marches they were forced to undertake, and the death and disease that dogged their every step, the surviving members of the peoples who were removed to Indian Territory quickly set about rebuilding their communities. Much as they had in the Southeast, the Creeks, Cherokees, and others built prosperous farms and towns, passed laws, and set about organizing themselves once again. Within three generations, however, the land that in the 1830s had been set aside as Indian Territory was being sought by non-Indians because it contained oil and because the frontier had closed everywhere else.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; *Fletcher v. Peck*; Harrison, William Henry; Horse, Economic Impact; Indian Removal Act; Jackson, Andrew; Land Rights, Identity and Ownership of; Osceola; Ross, John; Seminole Wars; Sequoyah; Tecumseh; Trail of Tears; Treaty Diplomacy, with Summary of Selected Treaties; Tribal Sovereignty; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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# *Westward Expansion, Indian Wars, and Reservations*

## *(1850 to 1900)*

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Indians west of the Mississippi River began the second half of the nineteenth century largely independent. By 1875, most Indians were confined to reservations. By 1900, any Indians still in existence were totally dependent on the goodwill of the U.S. government, were systematically being deprived of their unique cultures, and had no control over their lives or their futures. In 1850, a decreasing Indian population estimated at 388,000 (Royce, 1899, 537), with Late Stone Age technology and largely unaware of the threat, faced a United States of America with a population of 23 million people, growing at 21 to 26 percent per decade (Meinig, 1998, 265), with Industrial Age technology and largely unconcerned with those already using the land of the West. Each of the hundreds of Indian nations dealt with the European-American invasion on its own. To varying degrees, each nation was alien in language, culture, and interest to every other. To the Indians of the West in 1850, the White Man was just another strange tribe. By the time the Indians learned just *how* strange, it was too late. Not until the end of the century did there arise a sense of common Indian interest transcending tribal cultural boundaries. By then, any hope of resisting Euro-American control was gone.

At the midpoint of the nineteenth century, the Indians of the West were adjusting to such significant cultural changes as introduction of the horse and firearms, which spread northward and westward, respectively, increasing intertribal contact. Among the many Indian nations, particularly on the Great Plains, the horse revolutionized the cultures of many nations, including the Cheyenne, and in the Great Basin and the Southwest, where the Utes and the Apaches, respectively, had taken to horseback. Several nations had been forced west from the Great Lakes area in a “bow wave” effect, as Euro-Americans settled the Old Northwest in larger and larger numbers. However, most western Indians had little reason to believe that life for their grandchildren would be much different than their own.

At the same time, the United States was growing in population, wealth, and power. The second half of the nineteenth century was a time of profound change for Euro-Americans too. The railroad

made it possible to travel vast distances in days. The telegraph moved information thousands of miles in an eyeblink. The Civil War destroyed the Old South. The machine took over from animal and human power. The discovery of gold gave the illusion of easy wealth. All these developments pushed Euro-Americans into the lands of the West.

Indian contact with Euro-Americans came in waves. One pattern of expansion was common, although not every contact happened in the same order. First on the scene were “mountain men” and traders. The mountain men were tolerated because there were so few of them. The traders were welcomed because they provided access to the White Man’s goods. These forerunners were risk takers, gambling their lives to trade inexpensive goods for precious furs and information. Traders like George Bent were very careful to understand the cultures and personalities of the Indians with whom they traded, frequently marrying Indians, and often provided the communications link between the Indians and the Whites who followed.

The next wave consisted of the land exploiters—miners, ranchers, speculators, and road and railroad builders. Unlike the traders, they had no interest in understanding the Indians. Usually they wanted the Indians kept away from their projects. The gold rushes in California, Colorado, Montana, and Dakota Territory, in particular, attracted large numbers of such men very quickly, changing the racial complexion of these areas in a year or less. Once the land exploiters had enough clout to demand protection from Indians, the Army was dispatched to provide security. With the soldiers came their families, civilian contractors, and camp followers.

From the Indians’ perspective, the last wave consisted of the farmers and townspeople. Sometimes, the farmers came first and towns grew up to support them. Alternatively, the town grew up around an Army fort, a railroad facility, or a trading post, providing the goods and services that farmers found attractive. The two might arrive together, in the same wagon train. A real estate developer might lay out an entire community, town, and farms, and advertise the development to potential immigrants. Because farming requires the exclusive use of land,





the arrival of farmers indicated the final occupation of the land by Euro-Americans.

Given their incompatible goals, cultures, and perceptions, the collision between Euro-Americans and Indians was inevitable. Both wanted the same land. The Indians wanted to live their own lives, and Euro-Americans wanted to change the Indian way of life. Each saw the other as alien, inferior, and frightening. But the Euro-Americans not only survived the collision, but prospered for a number of reasons.

The first reason for the Euro-American success in the West was a simple preponderance of numbers. The Old World diseases had created pandemics in the Americas, killing much of the Indian population, and they would continue to do so. Mortality from disease, injury, and starvation remained high, limiting Indian population growth. On the other hand, not only were Euro-Americans having large families, but immigration from overseas was increasing. In the 1850 census, the population of the United States was 23 million (U.S. Census, 2002, Table 1). It grew to 75 million by 1900 (U.S. Census, 2002, Table 1). The consensus is that the Indian population in 1850 in what are now the Lower 48 was estimated at 350,000 to 400,000. It *decreased* over the next five decades to 237,000 (U.S. Census, 2002, Table 1). As Euro-American settlers moved into Indian country, they soon outnumbered the Indians by large margins. For each Euro-American in the West, there were fifty to three hundred or more back East. An Indian tribe had only its own people.

The second reason for Euro-American success was the wide disparity in technology. Indian tribes were Late Stone Age cultures. (The Five Civilized Tribes were an exception. They had access to most rural Euro-American technologies of the time.) Otherwise, Indians did not have the skills to mine ores or to work hard metals, and they were dependent on imports for metal tools and weapons. Indian implements for living were handmade by tribal members from natural materials and were supplemented by imports. Euro-American settlers imported steel tools, manufactured clothing, and other factory goods from the East, where they could be made by machine cheaply and in great quantities.

Most tribes that practiced agriculture did not grow enough food to have surpluses to export and often required imports of grain to survive even before contact with Euro-Americans. For example, the Apaches brought meat and skins to the Pueblo Indians to trade for corn and Mexican trade goods. For Euro-Americans, the invention of the heavy iron

plow, the cotton gin, and other agricultural machinery led to a large-scale monoculture that produced large surpluses, so that one American farmer could support many others beyond his own family. The wide use of the tin can for food storage and transportation provided dietary variety far from growing areas. Having enough to eat was rarely a problem for a Euro-American in the West, whereas an Indian band was fortunate if people did not starve to death during the winter, droughts, or other catastrophes.

Indians moved on foot or, if of high enough status, on horseback, and freight moved by pack animal—horse or human. For Euro-Americans, by 1850 there were already 8,000 miles of railroad in the United States east of the Mississippi (Hine, 1973, 111). It was the preferred means of moving both people and cargo overland for long distances. The steamship enabled reasonably fast up- and downstream movement along waterways, along coastlines, and between the East and West Coasts. Even away from the waterways and rails, west of the Mississippi, the animal-drawn wagon was the primary passenger and freight hauler with a far greater capacity than the travois, which dragged loads behind horses (and, before they were utilized, humans or dogs). Coupled with their ability to form large, complex organizations, their means of transportation gave the Euro-Americans a major advantage in both speed of movement and quantities moved.

For the Indians in the West, and more often than not for Euro-Americans as well, information traveled at the speed of a horse. However, as telegraph lines were installed across the West, Euro-Americans could send and receive information instantaneously from thousands of miles away. This permitted the rapid coordination of large-scale commercial and military actions, and the Euro-American population back East would learn about an event in Indian Country before other Indian tribes could learn of it.

Finally, the Euro-American advantage in weapons technology was decisive. The primary weapons of the western Indians were the war club, knife, hatchet, spear/lance, and bow. Imported firearms, steel knives, hatchets, spearheads, and arrowheads were preferred but expensive. In the West, almost every Euro-American adult male and many women and children had firearms and steel knives. The shoulder-fired weapon evolved from the muzzle-loading smoothbore musket, with an effective range of about a hundred yards in the hands of a well-trained marksman and heavy stopping power





out to that distance, to the lever- or bolt-action breech-loading rifle capable of killing at a thousand yards. The five- or six-shot revolver was the sidearm of choice, with an effective range of ten or fifteen yards. The U.S. Army also had artillery.

As the Nez Percés demonstrated in 1877, the Indians could make excellent use of rifles and pistols, but the Euro-Americans had one further advantage. With their industrial base and transportation networks, the United States could easily equip large numbers of soldiers and civilians with high-quality firearms and large quantities of ammunition and put them in the field almost anywhere. As with people, numbers mattered.

Third, Euro-Americans succeeded in driving the Indians out of most of the West by their willingness to deceive both the Indians and their own people, make promises that could not be kept, break other promises, rationalize immoral actions, ignore illegal acts, tolerate incompetence, and condone greed to accomplish their objective of the moment. The most common and most important promise made by government representatives to Indians was that whites would not enter their reservations without permission. Even if it had the political will to keep miners, settlers, and others from trespassing, the distances were too vast and the terrain too difficult for enforcement as a practical matter. The Army could never have been large enough to cover all the ground. However, as in the Black Hills in 1875 when an expedition led by Lieutenant Colonel George Custer reported finding gold, the Army was sometimes actively involved in encouraging trespassing. White occupation of Indian land was ignored, as was the sale of alcohol, even though both acts were against U.S. law.

Euro-Americans tolerated incompetence and graft in Indian Affairs that they would never have accepted in other areas of government. Government positions and contracts to provide food and other goods were considered political patronage. Incompetent and venal Indian agents aggravated tensions by callous disregard for the Indian perspective on events.

Greed was tolerated when it supported national objectives. The gold rushes in California, Colorado, and Dakota Territory devastated subsistence ranges, despoiled sacred sites, and led to the enslavement and extermination of whole tribes, but they added large amounts to the national wealth and attracted foreign investment. Therefore, Euro-Americans generally and the federal government in particular toler-

ated and even encouraged prospecting. Similarly, railroads were seen as constituting a strategic connection between East and West. Because the government was unable or unwilling to build them, private companies were subsidized by grants of land, leading to the partition and destruction of the buffalo herds on the Great Plains. These moral lapses facilitated a wide variety of activities that had the effect of opening up Indian land to white settlement and ultimately destroying the Indian will to resist. They were frequently the cause of Indian resistance that led to Army suppression. Combined with the disparities in technological levels and in the numbers of people, this willingness to abandon honor in favor of results created a force that was impossible for the Indians to stop.

Examples of this behavior include the treatment of the Indians in California, where commissioners negotiated treaties with Indians who had no understanding of what they were signing away. Most of the treaties were never ratified, neither reservation boundaries nor the removal of whites from reservations was enforced, and other promises were ignored. By 1870 only four reservations existed, and only about 30,000 Indians remained, mostly in Southern California (Meinig, 1998, 49). In 1854, Texas provided two small reservations along the Red River for the remnants of the native Indian tribes, but in 1859 Texas settlers demanded that land and 2,000 Indians were removed to Indian Territory (Gibson, 1980, 348). The failure to prevent encroachment on reservations in Washington led to the Yakama War (1855), the flight of the Nez Percés (1877), the Bannock War (1878), and the Sheepeater War (1879). In each case, the underlying cause of Indian dissatisfaction was Euro-American encroachment on Indian subsistence areas, and the flash point was the Indian belief that an entire band or tribe would be held responsible for the violent acts of one or a few warriors. A similar pattern of events led to the Ute War of 1878–1879, which followed a vicious propaganda campaign by the state government to turn sentiment back East against the tribe.

An important process in the relationship between Indians and Euro-Americans consisted of the negotiation, execution, ratification, and enforcement of treaties between Indian nations and the U.S. government. The Constitution of the United States gives Congress authority over Indian affairs and the federal government the authority to make treaties with foreign governments. Indian treaties typically provided that the parties would stay at peace with





each other and that the United States would give the Indians future compensation—money, goods, and services, often called *annuities*—and secure territory—a reservation—in exchange for large tracts of land being used by the Indians for subsistence. They also might provide for the removal of the Indian tribe to a reservation away from their present homes. However, treaties were interpreted differently by Indians and the U.S. government.

Indians were experienced in negotiating peace agreements with other Indian nations. They tended to see such agreements as bargaining between equals in status (if not in power), binding on those at the signing and on their followers. The U.S. government usually chose to interpret treaties as binding the entire tribe of each Indian leader signing. The government was not concerned with the Indians' interpretation. Government officials thought that they were dealing with inferior, uncivilized people who should appreciate the respect they were being shown in the treaty-making process. Indian treaties had less moral significance than treaties with "civilized" European countries.

Indians incorporated oral representations and the spirit of the negotiations into the meaning of a treaty, and they expected substantial compliance until the circumstances that drove the negotiations changed, if ever. The intent of the treaty was to be observed. Indians knew that leaders could not absolutely control the activities of every warrior and that some violations would almost certainly occur. However, such violations were treated as personal matters, to be dealt with by the individuals concerned, not as matters concerning the entire nation. For Euro-Americans applying the principles of the Anglo-American legal system, the written treaty document was the entire agreement. Oral representations were overruled by the written treaty, and the government expected the Indians to comply precisely with every promise they made. It did not apply this standard to its own compliance.

The Indians participating in the negotiation process were almost without exception illiterate and could put no faith in a written document. For the Indian leaders, a treaty was the exchange of promises between the U.S. leaders and themselves. Symbols of respect presented to Indian leaders often had a positive effect on reaching agreement on treaties. While the government representatives may have thought it was childish, Indians truly valued medals, military uniforms and insignia, U.S. flags, and other gifts that to them symbolized their social

acceptance as equals and friends by the United States.

An Indian leader's authority to negotiate was his moral authority as a successful war leader, a charismatic leader, and an elder. If he traded away too much for too little in return, his authority would decrease and perhaps vanish altogether. For the U.S. government, negotiating was done by a peace commission appointed by the president. Orally, commissioners tended to overstate their authority, but the written treaties included provisions that made the government's performance of its obligations dependent on the actions of Congress in ratifying the treaty and appropriating funds. Indians were expected to act immediately on their obligations under a treaty, and they felt betrayed if the treaty was not ratified by the Congress, if ratification was delayed, or if the treaty was changed before it was ratified—all common results when treaties arrived at Congress's door. Indians were even angrier when a ratified treaty with which they had already complied was changed or abrogated by subsequent U.S. government actions. The courts did not have the authority to deal with the consequences of that kind of breach of a treaty. That was the responsibility of the president and Congress.

Indians facing the inevitable breach of their treaties had four options. First, they could sue the government in federal court. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Five Civilized Tribes were the only Indians with the sophistication and resources to attempt this. Second, they could petition the Great White Father to help them. This was naive and rarely accomplished anything. The Indians generally did not understand the Constitutional and political limits on the president's authority or the president's inability as a practical matter to push the federal bureaucracy into action. Third, they could try to enforce the treaty with their own power, resisting and retaliating for the transgression by force. This choice consistently caused the U.S. government to send the Army after them and often led to the termination of the treaty they were trying to enforce. Fourth, they could do nothing and just tolerate the breach. After the end of Apache resistance in 1886, this was the only option left. With the fluid nature of tribal leadership, more than one of these options might be chosen by different tribal factions. Young and warlike warriors might retaliate with raids on settlements or infrastructure, irrespective of the wishes of tribal elders. The Euro-Americans interpreted the raids by a few





hotheads as the entire tribe going to war, and, typically, the entire tribe suffered.

The Constitution of the United States says that ratified treaties with sovereign states are the law of the land. However, treaties, like statutes, may be amended or repealed by subsequent congressional and presidential action. There were five limitations on the U.S. government's flexibility. First, title to land granted by a treaty could not be disturbed without compensation. For this reason, any further attempt to reduce Indian land after a treaty required another treaty, or agreement. Second, Indian treaties and many statutes created a trust relationship, imposing on the U.S. government as the trustee obligations to act in good faith toward the Indians and in the Indians' best interests. Third, the courts repeatedly stated that the government owed the Indians a moral obligation to observe the terms of treaties due to the unequal negotiating positions of the parties. Fourth, the government was limited by internal Euro-American politics, including public opinion. Fifth, the government was limited by the practical limits of power on the ground. Of the five limitations, only the first two could be enforced in the courts.

The terms of treaties from 1850 until Congress ended the practice in 1871 were remarkably consistent. The Indian parties promised to withdraw to a more or less specific reservation and give up any rights to the balance of the lands they claimed. They promised to be faithful to the United States and follow no other "civilized" power (meaning Great Britain or Mexico). They promised to keep the peace with the United States and its people. The United States promised that the Indian parties would have their reservation forever, subject to federal laws on land ownership. Usually a cash payment was to be made each year for several decades, although the treaties were vague as to how this payment was to be made and to whom. The government would provide the Indians with food, particularly for the winter. Finally, the government would supply an itemized list of goods and services. The nature of these goods, in treaty after treaty, demonstrates one of the government objectives in the treaty process—changing the traditional Indian culture from that of nomadic hunting and gathering to that of settled, "civilized" agriculture. In addition to farming equipment, goods included Euro-American-style clothing.

While the treaties were uniformly one-sided, worse for the Indians was the U.S. government's general failure to perform its obligations. Leaders

like Ouray of the Utes, who understood that the terms of the treaties were unequal, also understood that circumstances had changed and accepted the treaty terms as the best hope for tribal survival. They believed that, with a protected territory, annual monetary payments, and enough food to balance the loss of subsistence areas, they could survive the flood of whites moving into their lands. Often they believed they had no choice and simply hoped for the best. Had these obligations been met, many of the saddest events in the collisions between Indians and Euro-Americans would not have happened.

With some important exceptions, the U.S. government delegated the performance of its obligations under these treaties to un- or self-interested bureaucrats and contractors. The positions were filled on the basis of the personal decisions of senior officials, inviting corruption and favoritism. The government agencies involved demonstrated both incompetence and corruption in fulfilling their material obligations. Contracts for goods and services were awarded in the same way and rarely audited. Sometimes malfeasance was due to greed. Others failed to perform their duties out of racist malice toward the Indians. Some were stupid, insensitive, or lazy. Others manipulated the performance of obligations for what they thought were positive objectives, such as assimilation, religious salvation, or maintaining peace.

The delivery of material compensation—annuities, food, and other goods and services—failed at several levels. First, Congress had to appropriate the funds, and sometimes did not do so for political reasons that had nothing to do with treaty obligations to the Indians. Compensation might be delayed, diverted, or embezzled by agency employees. Sometimes it was paid to the wrong person, even to the wrong tribe. Food frequently arrived spoiled and insufficient in quantity to support a tribe deprived of its familiar form of sustenance. The food might be so alien to the recipients that they got sick on it or refused to eat it. A tribe of hunters might be given plows and seed, but no training on how to farm successfully.

Much of this incompetence and malice might have been tolerated by the Indians had the U.S. government fulfilled its promise to secure their remaining lands from Euro-American infiltration. However, in many instances when a tribe's large tracts of land were desirable or were found to contain gold, the government failed to prevent Euro-American occupation and settlement. Similarly, railroads were seen





in the United States as critical to the nation's economy, growth, and security. Therefore, obstacles to the extension of rail lines throughout the West were not tolerable. Furthermore, Euro-American land hunger showed little respect for unmarked reservation boundaries. The attitude that "unoccupied" land was there to be taken for "productive" uses—agriculture, ranching, mining, commerce—continued to motivate speculators, developers, and migrants to occupy reservation lands.

The government lacked both the resources and the interest to protect Indian lands from Euro-American occupation. U.S. civil law enforcement and territorial militias did not enforce such restrictions on their own people—on themselves. That left the Army, which was stretched thin, controlled by civilians in Washington ignorant of western conditions, and all too often bigoted against Indians as a race.

In the midst of this misfeasance and malfeasance, many soldiers, government officials, contractors, and other Euro-Americans were both competent and dedicated to what they perceived as the best interests of the Indians. Traders often earned the respect of the Indian nations with which they dealt and served loyally as interpreters for the Indians in treaty negotiations. Agents, commissioners, and soldiers often sent honest and objective reports to Washington, even though their observations were filtered through their cultural biases. Idealists campaigned for the government to fulfill its obligations. However, even the most supportive of Euro-Americans pressed for actions like allotment and residential schools, which would lead to the destruction of the Indians as independent nations and unique cultures.

In 1871, Congress stopped making treaties with Indian nations, deciding that they were not "sovereign" foreign states. From that point, relations between Indian tribes and the U.S. government took the form of agreements, statutes enacted by the normal process, or by executive orders from the president. The terms of agreements were similar to those of treaties, but agreements raised none of the peculiar legal issues of treaties, such as tribal sovereignty.

Other than "vested" rights, meaning that Indians had a property interest such that they could not be taken away without due process of law and just compensation, by 1900 the rights of Indians were whatever the U.S. government chose to grant them. By means of treaties and agreements, Euro-Americans controlled all but a few small patches of the United States.

Euro-Americans, including the elected and appointed officials in the U.S. government, believed that fallow land was unoccupied and therefore freely available for agriculture, ranching, forestry, mining, and other uses. This belief came from a variety of sources, in particular the Anglo-American legal tradition. Such concepts as adverse possession and best use confirmed European traditions of land use and the more recent Euro-American tradition of homesteading. Also reinforcing this belief were the Euro-American beliefs in Manifest Destiny and the superiority of their civilization—racism. Euro-Americans still believed that agriculture was the foundation of society and that the farmer was the epitome of manhood. Given internal U.S. politics and economic incentives, the Euro-American migration west is not a surprise. For all these reasons, the government actively encouraged migration to western lands by farmers through homestead acts and cheap land sales.

North-South politics were important in the years before and during the Civil War. The balance of power between Slave States and Free States was swinging away from the South as the population of the North grew at a much faster rate than that of the South. Both North and South encouraged the colonization of the West to influence the political makeup of potential new states. After the Civil War, the largest motivating factor for migration was financial opportunity. Speculators and real estate developers sought land that they could buy and sell at a profit. Settlers were looking for better and more farmland, broader pastures for cattle, and new markets for services and trade. The desire for land suitable for cotton plantations led Southerners to migrate to eastern Texas and Indian Territory before and after the Civil War.

Infiltration by mining interests and miners was no less disruptive. In California, the massive influx of miners led to the near destruction of the Indians of California. Those who resisted were chased down and destroyed. Cross-country travel to California, followed by the construction of the Transcontinental Railroad and other permanent transportation routes, disrupted other Indians' subsistence and migration patterns. The Forty-Niners in California wanted to push the local Indians out of the gold fields, leading to the 1850–1851 Mariposa War. Prospecting in southern Oregon led to the Rogue River War of 1855–1856. Abusive behavior by miners in southwestern Idaho led the Northern Paiutes to take up arms in 1860. Prospectors crossing the Great Plains





and squatting in prime winter quarters led to the 1864–1865 Cheyenne-Arapaho War. Miners trespassing on the Sioux reservation to get to Montana triggered the Bozeman Trail War in 1866–1867. The gold rush in the Black Hills of Dakota Territory, long a holy place for Sioux and other Plains tribes, led to the Lakota War of 1875–1877.

The Colorado gold rush led to confrontations between miners and Indians in Kansas and Nebraska. The actual mining area was not important to any Indian nations, but the strike attracted more than twice as many immigrants as did the California gold rush. In 1858–1859, more than 100,000 people crossed Kansas and Nebraska to reach the Rockies (West, 1998, xv). The Cheyennes, who dominated the central Plains at this time, had already deforested the area's river valleys, but Euro-American immigrants used the same routes for moving people and freight. Many of them settled in the river valleys when Indians were elsewhere on the Plains, and the Army chose some of the most fertile wooded areas remaining for fortifications. This shut the Cheyennes out of the best horse pastures. Also, the miners occupied critical Cheyenne and Arapaho winter quarters in the eastern Rocky Mountains. Buffalo herds drifted east and refused to migrate across the settled river valleys, splitting them into northern and southern herds and intensifying competition between the Western Plains tribes and the Pawnee and other Eastern Plains tribes.

In 1866 the northern Plains Indians recognized the disruption caused by Euro-Americans traveling on the Bozeman Trail to the Montana gold strike. This was land reserved to the Sioux, in particular, in the First Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1851. The Sioux and their allies attacked parties of miners and especially prospectors, until the Army was ordered to protect travelers on the trail. Many Sioux resisted, while the Crows attempted to play the United States against the Sioux while remaining neutral. The Army troops deployed and the forts built were insufficient to provide real security, and the Sioux and their allies were successful in stopping the Army. With the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad into Colorado, another route to the Montana gold fields developed that did not trespass on Plains Indian lands, and the Army withdrew under the terms of the Second Treaty of Fort Laramie in 1868.

The initial prospectors who responded to the lure of gold tended to move on when the claims were played out or all the good claims taken. How-

ever, the Euro-Americans and others who came to support and exploit the miners often stayed and started commercial, industrial, or agricultural communities. Sometimes, as in Nevada and Montana, mining continued as an industrial rather than individual enterprise, and extraction from more difficult ores and other minerals such as copper or coal required capital-intensive operations. However, time after time, when mining reached this stage, there were no longer any Indians in the area.

While gold rushes repeatedly triggered confrontations between Indians and Euro-Americans, it was *land* that attracted most settlers to the subsistence areas of the Indians. Land was a speculative investment, a desirable transportation corridor, or just a bigger ranch or farm. Indians learned to be more afraid of surveyors than of prospectors.

The U.S. government granted over 131 million acres of western land to railroads between 1850 and 1875 (Hine, 2000, 282). As they were built, the railroads provided corridors along which Euro-Americans settled. The railroad was the dominant means of long-distance transportation to markets back east. Towns sprung up where the railroads set up roundhouses and maintenance facilities. Finally, the railroads were major real estate developers in their own right, exploiting their broad land grants. The railroads and their associated influx of settlers divided the buffalo herds, making hunting buffalo much harder for the Plains Indians. By providing easy access for commercial hunters, the railroads facilitated the final destruction of the buffalo herds in the 1870s.

In the winter of 1858–1859, bands of southern Cheyenne returned to their usual winter quarters along the Front Range of the Rocky Mountains to find thousands of Euro-American miners and others, with entire cities (including what would become the city of Denver) laid out in lots on some of the best living sites. At noon on April 22, 1889, about 50,000 people galloped or ran into what had been some of the choicest land on the Indian reservations in what is now Oklahoma. These are two dramatic examples of the speculative fever attached to “unoccupied” western land. Land long used for subsistence by Indians was variously granted by the government to individuals and organizations (such as the railroads), purchased from the government, homesteaded, or simply squatted on. Speculators moved into an area early, locating and acquiring (legally or otherwise) prime land for agriculture and commerce. They would lay out entire towns in lots on





the ground, organize entire counties, and sell the lots back east to prospective settlers. It was a process repeated over and over.

Ranchers saw the Great Plains, western Texas, and the valleys of the Great Basin as perfect for large-scale cattle ranching. Soon after the Civil War, Texas ranchers began driving herds north to the Plains, establishing large ranches that exploited the open grasslands. With the railroads reaching across the Plains, ranchers had easy access to eastern markets. Cattle competed with the buffalo and provided a nearly irresistible target for hungry Plains Indians.

Farming expanded rapidly in Oregon, Washington, and the central valley of California. Homesteaders occupied more and more of the most productive land as the century passed, forcing out the subsistence plants and animals on which the Indians of California and the Northwest lived and pushing the Indians themselves into less fertile country. In the Great Plains, farmers moved west along the east-west rivers, staying near water. This blocked the north-south migration of buffalo and occupied most of the Plains Indians' watering areas. The trees left by the Indians were soon chopped down by the white settlers for construction and fuel, leaving nomadic Indians without fuel or shelter. Irrigation extended the breadth of farming from the river valleys, and the development of dry farming techniques late in the nineteenth century made the western Plains attractive to farmers. The young farmer who was crowded out of Ohio, Pennsylvania, or Kentucky could afford to set up a much larger farm in Kansas or Iowa.

In the early nineteenth century, many Euro-Americans believed that "civilized" whites and "savage" Indians could not live side by side. With a whole continent to the west, it became U.S. government policy to remove Indians beyond what was then thought to be the potential limits of Euro-American settlement. Many tribes in the Southeast, the Ohio Valley, and the Great Lakes area were bribed, coerced, or forced to move to reserved lands—reservations—west of the Mississippi River, leading to such incidents as the Cherokee Trail of Tears in 1838–1839. By 1850, Euro-Americans were settling in large numbers in the eastern Plains and across the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers. Removal again became government policy.

The stated purposes for removal and reservations were to move perceived Indian security threats farther away from settled areas, to protect Indians from Euro-American speculators and criminals, to

concentrate Indians in more easily supervised areas, and to lead them to take up a settled, "civilized" way of life. Other purposes were to open up land for Euro-American exploitation and to make Indians dependent on the U.S. government for security, food, and essential services. Some tribes were removed more than once. When the tribes along the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers in Nebraska and Kansas were removed to Indian Territory, included were tribes such as the Sac and Fox that had been removed from the Ohio Valley and the Great Lakes area a generation earlier.

Reservations were always significantly smaller than the lands left behind and almost always too small to permit the extensive hunting and gathering that had previously been the tribes' mode of subsistence. Furthermore, they were often far away from the lands they knew how to use. The reservation was a new place, with different terrain, plants, and animals. One exception was the original Sioux reservation in the northern Plains, the result of the Second Treaty of Fort Laramie. This covered much of what is now western Nebraska, South Dakota, and North Dakota, as well as large parts of eastern Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado. While smaller than the area controlled by the Sioux tribes previously, it was large enough for the Sioux to continue their existing lifestyle. In 1851 and 1858, the Sioux in Minnesota were concentrated on a small reservation. When their 1862 revolt was suppressed, the survivors were removed to this reservation.

The government was generally unable to prevent Indians from leaving their reservations for hunting, religious gatherings, or war. For example, while the Quakers supervised the Indian Territory reservations in the 1870s, warriors from the southern Plains Indians, who had been removed to reservations there, came to the Indian Territory reservations to draw rations, went raiding into Texas and Mexico, then returned to their reservations and boasted of their exploits. The Army could not intervene on the reservations except at the request of the Indian agents, and, as pacifists, the Quaker agents refused to make the requests. Thus the Army and the Texas Rangers were forced to track raiders across hundreds of thousands of square miles of western Texas, usually without success. In other areas the situation was less extreme. The Indian agent might withhold food or other annuity payments until missing warriors returned, and the Army had more freedom to take action on the reservation. Still, there were very few soldiers to patrol a vast territory. If small parties





of off-reservation Indians were doing no harm to Euro-American settlers, they were usually ignored. As buffalo and other prey disappeared, this became less of an issue.

Many reservations were reduced in land area as the nineteenth century proceeded. For example, in the 1850s, the reservations of the Five Civilized Tribes covered most of the eastern and southern parts of what is now Oklahoma. In a generation they had adapted to their new homes and prospered. However, the Civil War divided the people of the Tribes, as it did the border states of Missouri and Kentucky. The Choctaws, the Chickasaws, the followers of those who had supported removal, the planters and slave owners, and those who already mistrusted the federal government supported the Confederacy, while those who had opposed removal, most full-bloods, and traditionalists supported the Union. Internal fighting left the reservations devastated. Many members of the Five Civilized Tribes fought for each side. However, their participation on the Confederate side was used as a pretext to shrink their prewar reservations by half, which provided territory for the relocation of southern Plains tribes to Indian Territory.

Within the United States throughout the nineteenth century, the Euro-Americans who worked the hardest on behalf of Indians were people of faith (usually Protestant Christians) and others with similar philosophical positions who sincerely believed that the future of the Indians depended on teaching them Euro-American culture and integrating them as citizens of the United States—assimilation. These Euro-Americans had no doubt that their religion and their culture, what they termed “civilization,” were superior in every way to the native culture of the Indians. The best method of ensuring the survival of the Indians was to civilize them.

The Roman Catholic church had long served this function in the Southwest under the Spanish and Mexicans. The Army encouraged Protestant missionaries, protecting them when possible. In 1865, the Army awarded contracts for the operation of reservation schools to Protestant missionary societies. When the operation of the Indian agencies was moved from the Army to the Department of the Interior in 1870, contracts for the agencies were awarded to twelve Christian denominations. Consistent with the assimilation strategy were the annuity terms of the Indian treaties. The explicit goal was to transform nomadic hunter-gatherers into stable, static farmers. As the Indians learned the skills of agricul-

ture and the life of the farmer, they would automatically become “civilized.”

In the nineteenth century, nobody in the United States expressed any interest in preserving living Indian cultures. Even those who most fervently wanted to help the Indians and those who believed in the image of the noble savage also believed that the Indian culture was a thing of the past, something to be swept away by modern civilization. Museums and other institutions were created to collect artifacts of the material culture of the Indians, but this was done to remember the past, not to preserve the present or to facilitate the future of Indian cultures.

Another assimilationist theory for preserving the Indians arose from Euro-American ideas about private property and the significance of the individual over the group. In addition to the widely held idealistic view of the farmer as the bedrock of democracy, social theorists of the times associated collectivism with primitive savagery. Civilization required that individuals become the key unit of economic and political life. Collective—tribal—control of land was therefore in the way of bringing the Indians to a civilized state. Allotment was the process of taking land under common tribal control and granting title to specific tracts of it to individual Indians. The explicit rationale behind allotment was that Indians would assimilate into mainstream Euro-American culture if they became individual farm owners and their tribal institutions no longer had any authority over them. Those who supported the Indians believed that allotment would allow them to survive by further integrating them into the Euro-American culture. Others saw allotment as a way of destroying tribal institutions and loyalties and a further incentive to permanent settlement, making Indians less dangerous and easier to control than in the past. There were also less idealistic reasons for allotment. Indians were to be allotted small tracts that added up to substantially less land than in the existing reservations and that left large tracts available for the government to sell to others.

In 1887, Congress passed the General Allotment Act, usually called the Dawes Act after its sponsor, Senator Henry Dawes. The Dawes Act provided that the allotments were to be held in trust by the government for twenty years, so that they could not be sold. However, an exception provided that an Indian who was declared competent to handle his own affairs by the local Indian agency could sell his land. Such declarations were quickly abused. Indians





received private allotments without either the skills or resources to farm them profitably, motivating them to sell even without fraud. Some Indian communities resembled checkerboards, with allotments interspersed with land owned by non-Indians. Other tribes learned how to manipulate the system to preserve contiguous land. However, more than half of all reservation land was lost to Indian control.

Some tribes, including the Five Civilized Tribes, were exempt from the Dawes Act at first, although many of them were subsequently brought under its terms. The allotment process took time. Tribes with valuable farmland or other resources tended to be allotted sooner. Many reservations took on the checkerboard pattern, with Indian-owned land interspersed with non-Indian-owned land. Several tribes studied the allotment system carefully and exploited it to keep control of important resources, sacred places, and contiguous land holdings. Some even asked for allotment, sensing that Anglo-American style land titles were more secure than vague treaty promises.

Tribal governments and extended family and clan units did not fade away, as Indians found ways around the allotment system. However, as Indians were coerced into selling their allotments to pay taxes or tricked into selling, they lost more and more land. Indian farming decreased, as allotment owners found they could lease their property to whites. The utter failure of the Dawes Act to accomplish its goals would not be dealt with until well into the twentieth century.

Tribal governments became powerless and remained so until the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Tribes were crowded onto less and less land, causing increased poverty and disease. Mobility for hunting and gathering, already severely limited by the reservation system, was almost destroyed altogether. Extended families were broken up, and other long-standing collective institutions were destroyed or crippled.

A person born in 1830—Indian or Euro-American—was twenty years old in 1850 and seventy years old in 1900. The changes described in this article happened within that person's adult lifetime. What the person saw in 1900 could not have been imagined in 1850.

For many Euro-Americans, 1900 concluded in a general mood of incredible optimism. The useful areas of the West had been colonized successfully. Survival in the face of nature was rarely a major concern. Technology in every field of human endeavor

was advancing rapidly, allowing people to live longer, live better, and do more. The United States of America was a world power, with a seat at the table with the ancient empires of Europe. At home, the countryside was generally peaceful.

The Indians of 1900 saw their world occupied by Euro-Americans, their own people confined to a small part of the land they used to roam. They saw their people disappearing. They saw the proliferation of *things* in the Euro-American community, things that enabled people to do more and live more comfortably. Their grandchildren coveted such things but could have them only at the price of giving up the remnants of their own culture, if then. Indians could see two futures for their people. Some would assimilate into the White Man's world, becoming white in every way but skin color. Others would stifle and stagnate on the reservation, perhaps preserving parts of a culture that was under continuous assault. Those who tried to bridge the gap and have both cultures would too often lose both and fall into alcoholism or worse.

There was hope. Young Indians from different nations attending residential schools learned a common language and found that they had many other things in common. A sense of common *Indian* interests, beyond the family, clan, and tribe, was developing. Indians who went off to the Spanish-American War with Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders found themselves earning the respect and admiration of their comrades of other races. These were small rays of sunlight in an otherwise bleak, cloudy future.

And the Indians were still here. Outnumbered, outproduced, outgunned, run off their land, cheated, robbed, and slaughtered, they were still here. In spite of the best efforts of good people to turn them into white Americans, they were still here. On a road paved with intentions both good and bad, *they were still here*. The Indians who survived the second half of the nineteenth century, saving most of their culture and some of their land, would be the seeds from which the Indian renaissance of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries would grow.

Veronica E. Velarde Tiller

*See also* Apache Wars; Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Buffalo; Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; California Indians, Genocide of; Canada, Indian Policies of; Ceremonies, Criminalization of; Education and Social Control; Forced Marches; Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868; General





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# Indian Assimilation and Reorganization (1900 to 1945)

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The dawn of the twentieth century found Native North Americans on the verge of extinction, the population reduced to less than a quarter of a million in the U.S. portion of the continent. What remained of the Natives' land base was rapidly dwindling under the impact of the General Allotment Act, their jurisdiction was usurped by the Major Crimes Act, their spiritual practices largely prohibited by federal regulations, and their children increasingly removed from their families, communities, and societies, for placement in government-run residential schools. There they were systematically stripped of their cultural identity and indoctrinated to view the world—and themselves—in terms preferred by the Euro-Americans who had subjugated their peoples.

All of this occurred as part of an officially proclaimed policy of "assimilation," taking as its goal the elimination of all American Indians, culturally recognizable as such, by some point in the late 1930s. In his first annual message (1901), President Theodore Roosevelt, to the enthusiastic applause of his Indian Commissioner, Francis Leupp, touted assimilationist initiatives, allotment, and compulsory "education" in particular, as "a mighty pulverizing engine to break up the tribal mass" (Dippie, 1982, 244; Leupp, 1910, 79–95). Small wonder that the literature of the period was suffused with references to American Indians as a "vanishing race."

Two years after Roosevelt's message, the U.S. Supreme Court, by declaring federal authority over Indians to be "plenary in nature"—i.e., full, complete, and judicially unchallengeable—in its 1903 *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* opinion, affirmed the government's prerogative to "pulverize" native cultures in virtually any manner it saw fit. At a stroke, the *Lone Wolf* opinion formalized the status of indigenous peoples in the United States as essentially interchangeable with that imposed on the populations of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Philippines, and other newly acquired U.S. colonies abroad.

Thus licensed by the high court, both Congress and the officials charged with implementing whatever legislation it enacted, displayed less concern than ever for Indian rights. On the reservations, the already "near-dictatorial powers" delegated by the secretary of interior to his agents in the field (Deloria

and Lytle, 1983, 10) were substantially reinforced. Under such conditions, the crushing weight previously placed on Native cultures increased dramatically. While there are any number of additional lenses through which effects can be assessed, the following focal points seem especially useful.

## Loss of Land through the "Alchemy of Race"

Between 1887, when the General Allotment Act (25 U.S.C.A. § 331) was implemented, and 1934, when it was finally rescinded, the aggregate landholdings of American Indians were diminished from some 138 million acres to barely 52 million (McDonnell, 1991, 121). Of the residue, "nearly 20 million [acres] were desert or semiarid and virtually useless for any kind of . . . farming ventures" (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 10). Of the 86 million acres lost, 60 million had been declared "surplus" under a provision of the Act by which the government had empowered itself to take such action, once every Indian on any given reservation had received his or her individual parcel of land (McDonnell, 1991, 2, 121; Washburn, 1986, 68–69). Originally, the parcels allotted averaged 160 acres apiece, but the size was reduced to 80 acres in some locales by amendatory legislation passed by Congress in 1891 (26 Stat. 794), each of them to be held in trust by the government for twenty-five years after allotment.

A key question with regard to the whole process is how the government determined who qualified as an "Indian" for purposes of allotment, thereby becoming "eligible" to receive a land parcel. On this, the Act itself is mute, stating only that the policy would be carried out by "special agents appointed by the President for such purpose, and the agents in charge of the respective reservations on which the allotments are directed to be made, under such rules and regulations as the Secretary of Interior may from time to time prescribe" (Washburn, 1986, 69–70). Nor, to date, has any analyst addressed the issue, either leaving it unmentioned or declaiming that "[w]hat it means to be an 'Indian,' legally and culturally, is and has always been a complicated question, but is a question I do not address here" (Banner, 1981, 8).





Plainly, the matter *must* be addressed, since it has a direct bearing on the number of parcels allotted and therefore on the quantity of “surplus” acreage remaining for non-Indian acquisition once the allotment process was declared to be complete on each reservation. In this regard, the fewer Indians there were, the better; such, unquestionably, was the perspective of many—perhaps most—of those, in government and out, who supported the Act in 1887. Indeed, a systematic reduction of the Native land base appealed to settlers, railroad magnates, merchants, populists, southerners, apostles of western expansion, and even the Indians’ new “friends.” More pointedly:

The most powerful business interests in the West were becoming convinced that they had a direct interest in the expansion of agricultural production. As a result they were increasingly interested in both gaining entry to and reducing the size of tribal holdings (Hoxie, 1984, 46).

Such desires coincided quite neatly with the fact that the sponsor of the Allotment Act, Massachusetts Senator Henry L. Dawes, was heavily influenced in his views on Indians by John Wesley Powell, founding director of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, as well as the ethnologist Alice Fletcher. Dawes, together with most of his “loyalists” in the Senate, also belonged to the so-called Friends of the Indian, a Christian reform group subscribing to the social evolutionary theories set forth by the anthropologist Lewis Henry Morgan and embraced by both Powell and Fletcher, as well as such prominent ethnographers as James Mooney and George Bird Grinnell.

Although it has been argued that, as a social evolutionist, Morgan “explicitly rejected racial classifications” (Hoxie, 1984, 116), quite the opposite is true. An “emphasis on blood and its use as a vehicle of inheritance of [cultural] traits . . . continued to be an important theme in Morgan’s . . . writings,” even in such late works as *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family* (1871) and *Ancient Society, or the Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization* (1871). In substance, “Morgan believed that culture was hereditary” and therefore that the best—or at least most humane—“solution to the Indian problem” would be to simply “breed” the

race out of existence (Bieder, 1986, 223, 226, 233; Hilden, 1995, 149–150).

Through selective breeding, Morgan thought, Indians could be absorbed into the white population with little or no negative effect [upon the latter]. Morgan concluded from his observations that the half blood was inferior to the pureblood Indian both physically and mentally, “but the second cross, giving three-quarters Indian, is an advance upon the native; and giving three fourths white is a still greater advance” resulting in near equality with the white ancestor. “With the white carried still further, full equality is reached, tending to show that Indian blood can be taken up without physical or intellectual detriment” (Bieder, 1986, 231; Morgan, 1871, 207).

Indeed, Morgan held that a dash of Indian “blood” would be of benefit to those he described as “Anglo-Saxons,” serving to “improve and toughen our race” (Morgan, 1959, 55). The commonality of such thinking with that marking the eugenics movement, which was then gathering momentum in the United States and reaching its ugly culmination in Nazi Germany during the 1930s and 1940s, is obvious. Although Powell refined Morgan’s theory by adding a heavy dose of environmental conditioning, it is instructive that he “considered *Ancient Society* so valuable that, as director of the American Bureau of Ethnology, he made it required reading for fieldworkers of the bureau” (Bieder, 1986, 243).

While it may be that “the impact of anthropologists on Indian policy making was cumulative” rather than direct, they nonetheless “set the terms for informed discussions of Indian affairs in the 1880s” (Dippie, 1982, 167; Hoxie, 1984, 28, 23).

What is most important in the connection at hand is that Morgan, Powell, and their colleagues advocated an Indian policy “built on the science of ethnology” (Bieder, 1986, 241). It follows that they adhered to an ethnological understanding of who should be classified as Indians and that their views were shared both by the legislators who formulated federal Indian policy and, in some ways more importantly, by the bureaucrats who implemented it.

The implications are obvious. As Felix Cohen observed in his magisterial *Handbook on Federal Indian Law*, “If a person is three-fourths Caucasian and one-fourth Indian [by ‘blood’], that person would not





ordinarily be considered an Indian for ethnological purposes" (Cohen, 1942, 19). Although Cohen goes on to explain that "[r]acial composition is not always dispositive in determining who are Indians for purposes of Indian law" and that a number of nonethnological legal definitions of "Indianness" have in fact been effected over the years, it will be recalled that no such definition was advanced in the Dawes Act, as the General Allotment Act is often called.

It is well-established that traditional Native North American methods of determining group membership were usually kinship-based and quite inclusive; "naturalization" by marriage, adoption, and other such means was rather common, irrespective of racial pedigree. In fact, as the noted Santee author and activist Charles Eastman observed in 1919, since no concept of "race" was present in any American Indian tradition, Indians were traditionally "color blind," exhibiting "no racial prejudices" at all (Hertzberg, 1971, 186). It follows, quite apart from a considerable "cross-pollination" between indigenous peoples themselves over untold generations, that both whites and African Americans had been steadily incorporated into many Native societies for two centuries or more by the time allotment became an issue.

Put bluntly, Indians were given to understand that "Congress could make or unmake an Indian, regardless of genealogy, ethnological data, Treaty commitments, or tribal preference. So could an employee of the Indian Bureau, acting under interpretation of federal law or the directive of an administrative superior" (Unrau, 1989, 3). It was abundantly obvious, however, that both Congress and the federal executive would rely on ethnological concepts for this purpose, as they had since the 1817 Treaty with the Wyandots (9 Stat. 904), the eighth article of which specified that persons "connected with said Indians, by blood" would be treated differently than "the Indians" themselves. Variations on the theme had been reiterated in fifty-three treaties before treaty making with Indians was ended

through an 1871 initiative spearheaded by Dawes (Churchill, 2003, 212; Hoxie, 1984, 32).

### The Curtis and Burke Acts

Ultimately, it was not until passage of the Curtis Act (30 Stat. 495–519) in 1898 that the entitlement of "mixed-bloods"—as opposed to "half-breeds"—to receive allotments was legally acknowledged. Here, the focus was on the "Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and Osage, Miamies [*sic*] and Peorias, and Sacs and Foxes, in the Indian Territory" of Oklahoma (Washburn, 1986, 72), peoples who had been specifically exempted from the Dawes Act itself because they consisted in large part of persons of *less* than one-half degree of Indian blood and there was an at least tacit understanding that they would be subject to subsequent legislation (Hoxie, 1984, 154; Unrau, 1989, 22).

Allotment of mixed-bloods under the Curtis Act was, however, attended by a quid pro quo amounting to the dissolution of the so-called Indian Territory, as well as the indigenous nations situated therein. Hence it was strenuously resisted by traditionalist "full-bloods," especially the Keetoowah NightHawks led by RedBird Smith among the Cherokees and Chitto Harjo's Crazy Snakes among the Creeks, exacerbating divisions within the native polities affected that continue to this day. Nonetheless, the job was completed by 1907, at which point the supposedly "permanent" Indian Territory became the state of Oklahoma.

Though Federal jurisdiction over the Indians and their [individually-allotted] lands was reserved, the destruction of tribal governments and the aggressive actions of white Oklahomans resulted in the passage of an act of May 27, 1908 [35 Stat. 312–316], repealing the restrictions on the sale of classes of land hitherto protected by the Federal Indian

\* Although Euro-American racial vernacular was widely adopted by American Indians during the late nineteenth century, it is important to note that they generally employed it in a very different manner. The terms "full-blood" and "mixed-blood," for example, have tended to be used much more as cultural than as biological signifiers. Thus, a person of racially mixed ancestry is often referred to as a "full-blood" if she or he holds to a traditional outlook, while a person embracing Euro-American values is referred to as a "mixed-blood," even if of "pure" Indian lineage. Such usage continues at present, although more conventional—i.e., explicitly racial—definitions have attained a steadily increasing traction in native discourse since the 1930s, with the result that both sets of connotations are simultaneously at play when such terms are used by Indians (Fowler, 311–352; Harmon, 12–13; Meyer, 1994, 118–122; Pickering, 82–83; Sturm, 56–57, 72).





relationship, and imposing taxes on such lands (Washburn, 1971, 136).

This proved such a boon to white homesteaders and more especially to a range of corporate interests that in May 1906, even before Oklahoma statehood was effected, the Dawes Act itself was amended in such a way as to remove federal trust protection from many of the allotments already made on reservations outside Indian Territory. Championed by South Dakota Representative Charles Burke, the amendment (34 Stat. 182)—usually referred to as the Burke Act, in honor of its sponsor—“authorized the Secretary of Interior to issue a fee patent to an allottee at any time, upon determination that the individual was ‘competent and capable of managing his or her affairs.’ Upon issuance of one of these premature patents, the land was [removed from trust and thereby rendered] expressly subject to alienation, encumbrance, and taxation,” while U.S. citizenship was conferred by the same transaction upon the Indian involved (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 10).

A year later, Congress went further still, amending the Burke Act with a statute (34 Stat. 1018) granting Indian Commissioner Leupp the power to sell allotments belonging to “noncompetent” Indians, and in 1908 he was authorized through another pair of amendatory statutes (34 Stat. 1015–34; 35 Stat. 70) to begin the long-term leasing of such allotments as might still be nominally “owned” by allottees. In any event, of 2,744 premature fee patents issued between 1907 and 1910, some two-thirds had passed from Indian ownership; by 1917, the number of such patents had climbed to more than 8,000 with a loss rate of roughly 90 percent (McDonnell, 1991, 89–90, 100, 110).

Despite these devastating statistics, newly installed Indian Commissioner Cato Sells announced in 1917 that federal policy would be “liberalized” by issuing fee patents to “all able-bodied adult Indians of less than one-half Indian blood,” while relaxing still further the manner in which fee-patented land could be acquired by non-Indians, even though it was situated within ostensible reservation boundaries (Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1975, 214). In March 1919, Sells “liberalized” the rules still further, including “half-breeds” themselves among those subject to receiving “forced-fee” patents to their allotments (McDonnell, 1991, 107). The racial bar was thus raised: While land parcels were typically allotted only to those of at least “one-half degree of Indian

blood” under provision of the 1887 Act, by 1920 a blood quantum of *more than* one-half was required for an Indian to stand a reasonable prospect of retaining his or her property (Hoxie, 1984, 182).

Although the latter group as a whole was legally defined as being “incompetent” to manage its own affairs, individuals within it could nonetheless be declared competent by the Indian Commissioner for purposes of receiving a fee patent. Commissioner Sells therefore “liberalized” the procedures employed by the so-called competency commissions created by his predecessor, Robert G. Valentine, to make case-by-case assessments (McDonnell, 1991, 90, 94, 98–102). Using Sells’ tidy race-based formula, the commissions issued 17,176 fee patents from early 1917—about 10,000 of them on a forced-fee basis, over the objections of the Indian owners—through the end of 1920, more than twice the number issued over the preceding decade (Hoxie, 1984, 182; McDonnell, 1991, 110, 116).

More than a million acres were involved, and everywhere the results were the same (Hoxie, 1984, 183). On the Crow Reservation in Montana, as many as 95 percent of all patentees lost or mortgaged their land at rates running as high as 12 percent by the end of the decade (McDonnell, 1991, 106–107). At Fort Peck, the figure was 90 percent; at Flathead, 75 percent; at Winnebago and Blackfeet, much the same. And on the Sioux Complex of reservations in the Dakotas, at Cheyenne River, 75 percent of the land subject to fee patents was lost, on Standing Rock and Rosebud even more (McDonnell, 1991, 106–107, 114).

[On the] Pine Ridge reservation . . . most of the Natives were full bloods, unable to read, write, or speak English, who could in no way be classified as competent. Yet they received fee patents and soon sold their land. The proceeds often went for provisions and “worthless trinkets.” Many patentees got a loan or mortgage on their land, and without any business experience or understanding of the need to pay taxes and interest on loans, they were often swindled out of it when white lenders foreclosed (McDonnell, 1991, 106).

While Pine Ridge may in many respects be emblematic of the whole, undoubtedly the most egregiously racist of all the various competency pro-





ceedings occurred on the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota, following a 1914 Supreme Court holding that the issuance of fee patents and consequent sale of land parcels allotted to “full bloods” had been fraudulent and that land thus lost to allottees would have to be restored (*U.S. v. Nichols-Chisolm Lumber*).<sup>\*</sup> This raised the questions of who the full-bloods were and whether/how persons claiming such status could “prove” their status. The quandary was “resolved” when assistance was offered by “Dr. Ales Hrdlicka, director of anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution, and Dr. Albert E. Jenks, an anthropologist at the University of Minnesota, [who, together] claimed to have devised certain scientific tests capable of distinguishing between mixed-bloods and full-bloods” (Meyer, 1994, 168).

“Pioneer[s in] the field of eugenics” and believing they could make a “determination of blood status on distinguishing physical characteristics,” Hrdlicka and Jenks, assisted by Hal Downey of the University of Minnesota’s Department of Animal Biology, set to work on the “White Earth Case” in 1916 (Meyer, 1994, 168–169). In short order, they commenced to examine their subjects’ physiognomies using methods virtually interchangeable with those employed by German “racial hygienists” only a few years later. Diameters of hairs were measured—ten per person were required to establish a “scientific standard”—as were foot sizes, nose and cranial proportions. Skin was scratched, blood was typed, ear wax texture was assessed, urine was analyzed, and skin tone and amounts of body hair were catalogued.

All told, Hrdlicka and his colleagues examined 696 of about 800 Indians claiming to be full-bloods, verifying the “pedigree” of only 126. Although subsequent analysis revealed that the experts’ application of the latest techniques in “racial science” had led them to attribute “full-blood” children to “mixed-blood” parents and to identify siblings born of exactly the same parents as being of different “racial compositions,” the results were employed not only in “settling” the land fraud issue but in

compiling White Earth’s so-called Blood Roll, approved by a federal district court in 1920 (Meyer, 1994, 170–171). By the latter year, roughly 90 percent of all White Earth patentees had been dispossessed (Banner, 1981, 284; McDonnell, 1991, 106).

## Transition

Somewhat ironically, Charles Burke, who was appointed Indian Commissioner in 1921, finally put a stop to Sells’ wholesale rush to separate American Indians from what little remained of their 1887 estate, in no small part because those rendered landless, destitute, and for the most part unemployable had been applying for welfare assistance at a dramatically increasing rate. The toll taken on Indian land was by then staggering, however. In all, the issuance of fee patents under the provisions of the Curtis and Burke Acts had resulted in the loss of some 23 million acres of the land remaining to Native people *after* the reservation “surpluses” had been stripped away (Banner, 1981, 282–283; McDonnell, 1991, 121). Additionally, Commissioners Leupp and Sells in particular had forced the sale of some 3.4 million acres of allotted land to “noncompetent” Indians. In all, some 100,000 native people had been left landless by the time Burke took office (McDonnell, 1991, 121).

The competency commissions were abolished, along with the policy of issuing forced-fee patents to all allottees evidencing “one-half or less Indian blood,” and Burke “became the first commissioner to cancel a fee patent” (McDonnell, 1991, 111, 112). In 1927, after he had facilitated a judicial finding that fee patents “issued during the trust period without the application or consent of the allottee” were illegal (*U.S. v. Benewah County*), he was instrumental in convincing Congress to enact a statute (U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 45 at 1247) authorizing cancellation of all forced-fee patents, “provided the Indian owner had not sold or mortgaged any part of the patent” (McDonnell, 1991, 117).

Such gestures were mainly for show, of course: Under the 1927 statute, in combination with a 1931

<sup>\*</sup> The situation resulted not from the Burke Act, but from the so-called Clapp Act (U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 34 at 353, 1034), thus named for its sponsor, Minnesota Senator Moses Clapp, passed as a rider to the 1906 Indian Appropriations Act and applicable only to White Earth. Clapp’s initiative prefigured Indian Commissioner Sells’ 1917 racial definition of “competency” by declaring that all “mixed-bloods” on the reservation would henceforth be considered legally competent and therefore issued fee patents to their allotments, whether they wanted them or not. The only problem was that he neglected to explain what was meant by the term “mixed-blood.” On judicial challenge, the federal district court ruled, rather arbitrarily, that “at least one-eighth degree white blood” was required. The ruling was appealed and overruled by the circuit court, which held that any admixture of white “blood” was sufficient. The latter view was upheld by the Supreme Court on June 8, 1914 (Meyer, 1994, 153, 167).





follow-up (U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 46 at 1205), passed after Burke left office and authorizing the cancellation of patents “on *any portion* of an Indian’s land that had not been sold and was not presently encumbered by mortgage [emphasis added],” only about 470 forced-fee patents were ever actually cancelled (McDonnell, 1991, 117–118). The main effect of Burke’s posture was thus not to restore land to Indians from whom it had been wrongfully taken, but rather to radically scale back the rate of loss. By 1930, when Charles Rhoads replaced Burke as commissioner of Indian Affairs, the number of fee patents issued for the year had dropped to 113, and in 1933 Rhoades’ successor, John Collier, effectively halted their issuance altogether (McDonnell, 1991, 120).

Of the allottees who retained their property by that point—a total of 246,579 people, holding 40,848,172 acres on a hundred reservations (Kickingbird and Ducheneaux, 1973, 23; McDonnell, 1991, 121), very few enjoyed the benefit thereof. “World War I [had afforded] the Indian Office an excellent excuse to expand its leasing policy” established by Commissioner Leupp under the earlier mentioned 1908 amendments to the Burke Act, in the name of the war effort (McDonnell, 1991, 47).

During the war the Indian Office leased huge tracts of land to individuals and corporations . . . without the consent of the Indians and then closed its eyes as lessors violated the terms of those leases. . . . The push for leasing was an important part of the general push by whites for control of Indian land during the war. In the name of wartime emergency the Indian Office approved leases to large cattle companies and sugar beet companies that violated Indian rights. Moreover, the leases, often forced on Indians as essential war measures, were left in place after the war ended (McDonnell, 1991, 62, 47).

Actually, the policy was expanded considerably after the war, largely on the basis of a 1919 statute (U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 39 at 128) allowing both allotted and unallotted irrigable reservation lands to be leased, essentially at the discretion of the Indian commissioner, for as long as ten years. Thus empowered, in 1920 Commissioner Sells approved approximately 40,000 leases, covering some 4.5 million acres of the best remaining reservation land (McDonnell, 1991, 47–48). This enforced a situation, created in large part by chronic undercapitalization, wherein

fewer than 20 percent of the Indians still owning allotments on most reservations were able to use their land for agricultural or grazing purposes (Berthrong, 35; McDonnell, 1991, 46, 64–65, 123). Further, since the leases were steeply discounted—annual rates were as low as 8 cents per acre—and, since the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) made little effort to collect even that pittance, many leaseholders never bothered to pay even that; few, if any, allottees could live on their “rental income.” Hence, many of them ended up working as hired hands on their own property simply to survive (McDonnell, 1991, 60–70; Moore, 1996, 131–136).

Commissioner Burke not only did nothing to halt Sells’ leasing policy—of which he heartily approved—he streamlined it in 1921 by authorizing the superintendent on each reservation to approve farming and grazing leases without approval from Washington. By 1925, the fourth year of Burke’s tenure, the number of such leases was slightly higher than the benchmark set by Sells in 1920, although total allotment acreage involved had declined to “only” 4 million (McDonnell, 1991, 48–50). As the extent of mineral deposits on many reservations became increasingly apparent over the course of the decade, moreover, the leasing of huge tracts for “resource development activities”—i.e., mineral extraction—became increasingly frequent (Ambler, 1990, 44–46; Hoxie, 1984, 186–187).

Indian-owned mineral lands were developed without the Indians’ permission and with little economic benefit to them. . . . The formal policy of leasing mineral lands began in 1891 when Congress authorized mining leases on treaty reservations for up to ten years [26 Stat. 794 § 3]. As the demand for oil and other resources grew in the early twentieth century and as new mineral deposits were uncovered in the Southwest, the call for more liberal leasing legislation grew louder, [resulting in passage of] a law on June 30, 1919 [41 Stat. 3] authorizing the secretary of interior to lease reservation land in Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming for the mining of metalliferous minerals [on a *twenty-year* timebase] (Ambler, 1990, 40; Hoxie, 1984, 186; McDonnell, 1991, 50–51).

Commissioner Burke’s leasing policy was further reinforced by passage of the General Mineral





Lands Leasing Act of 1920 (41 Stat. 437), the Indian Oil and Gas Leasing Act of 1924 (43 Stat. 244), and a 1927 statute (44 Stat. 1347) specifying that reservations or portions of reservations established by executive order rather than by treaty should be handled like any other “public lands” for purposes of resource development (Ambler, 1990, 39–41). Plainly, there was a campaign afoot to “integrate native resources into the American economy” (Hoxie, 1984, 187) and to do so in a manner both conceptually and structurally indistinguishable from the forms of internal colonialism imposed on indigenous peoples by European immigrant states the world over (Nietschmann, 1994, *passim*; Thomas, 1966–1967, *passim*). Just as plainly, this implied a fundamental change in federal Indian policy.

For the mineral wealth of Native North America to be exploited in the most efficient manner, so the thinking went, it had to be administered in trust, subject to the centralized authority of federal economic planners. Since what remained of reservation lands already occupied the necessary trust status—a matter confirmed in the *Lone Wolf* opinion as deriving from the government’s “plenary power” over Indians (Ambler, 1990, 44–48; Clark, 1999, 97; Coulter and Tullberg, 1984, 198–203)—it was suddenly imperative that they *not* be dissolved, at least not until the extent of their mineral assets could be fully assessed.

From this standpoint, Commissioner Burke’s policy of abruptly curtailing his predecessors’ enthusiastic liquidation of Indian landholdings, while placing a steadily increasing emphasis on large-scale mineral leasing, makes perfect sense. By 1928, the government’s longstanding goal of forcing Indians and their reservations to “vanish” had been quietly abandoned in favor of “reorganizing” them for a sustained existence as little more than “domestic” resource feeders contributing to the profitability of U.S. state and corporate enterprise.

### Ongoing Effects

While it is true that the vast erosion of the American Indian estate precipitated by allotment was effectively halted by 1930 and was to some extent reversed over the next several decades, this in itself did not imply a corresponding restoration of use and benefit of the remainder to Native people. To the contrary, one of the legacies of the allotment era is that the massive sell-off of forced-fee patents left many reservations so checkerboarded—honeycombed, really—with non-Indian property holdings

that it has proven all but impossible to consolidate the land necessary to attain anything resembling economic self-sufficiency. The problem is compounded by the fact that, on some reservations, *all* irrigable land was acquired by whites before the process was halted.

It is exceedingly difficult to create . . . grazing or farming units on allotted reservations because quite often there are not enough allotments contiguous to one another to make up an economically feasible block of land for [such] use [and the] tribe has to overcome previous allocations by the courts in order to begin new development using their [reserved] water rights (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 255).

Serious jurisdictional problems also attend non-Indian ownership of alienated fee patent allotments within reservation boundaries.

Civil and criminal jurisdiction depends upon the existence of trust lands. Whenever an allotment goes out of trust, the tribe loses jurisdiction over that area and must rely on negotiated agreements with state and county governments in order [to regain it]. Zoning for economic development and housing and enforcement of hunting and fishing codes is exceedingly difficult when the area under consideration is not wholly trust land (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 255–256).

Even where allotments remain in trust status, the checkerboard effect has been exacerbated by the increasingly fractionated ownership of individual parcels, otherwise known as the heirship problem. The name derives from the fact that the whole thrust of allotment was, from the outset, to strip away as much reservation land as possible, as rapidly as possible, under the premise that Indians, as such, would soon be “extinct.” With no consideration of the prospect that the native population might eventually rebound, no land was reserved to accommodate future increases in the number of Indians. Hence, the descendants of the original allottees were consigned to receive “equitable shares” in their ancestors’ land parcels, a practice conforming to the requirements of Anglo-American rather than indigenous law (Kickinbird and Ducheneaux, 1973, 24).

The upshot is that it has become necessary to employ “complicated computations involving com-





mon denominators as large as 54 trillion" to decipher the individual interests in a given allotment. With hundreds of heirs now holding interest in a single piece of property, it is all but impossible to obtain agreement among the owners concerning its use or disposition. By 1970, nearly six million of the roughly 10 million remaining acres of allotted lands were tied up in this fashion, with at least one-half of a million acres standing idle, and another 1.5 million leased to whites (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 255–256; Kickingbird and Ducheneaux, 1973, 24–30; Washburn, 1971, 150–152).

Overall, consolidation of land on the reservations—that is, a reversal of the effects of allotment—remains "the major unsolved economic problem of Indian tribes" in the first years of the twenty-first century, just as it was at the beginning of the twentieth. "Until tribes are able to own their lands in one solid block," Vine Deloria, Jr., observed during the early 1980s, "they cannot reasonably make plans for use or development of their resources." Since then, however, "the Indian land situation [has grown] increasingly more serious, with no prospect of relief" (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 255–256).

Both the magnitude and the urgency of this allotment-induced circumstance are readily apparent in the sheer depth of the poverty afflicting Indian Country today. The data are more reflective of conditions customarily associated with the Third World than areas in a country boasting "the world's most developed economy." At the end of the twentieth century, American Indians comprised by far the poorest population category recorded in the U.S. Census, with per-capita income on some reservations averaging about \$3,000 per year, unemployment running into the 80th percentile range, approximately the same percentage of houses classed as "substandard" or "uninhabitable" (Strickland, 1997, 52–53; Wilkins, 2002, 158–159; Wilkinson, 2005, 22, 348–349).

The Indian health level is [also] the lowest and the disease rate the highest of all population groups in the United States. The incidence of tuberculosis is over 400 percent higher than the national average. Similar statistics show that the incidence of strep infections is 1,000 percent higher, meningitis is 2,000 percent higher, and dysentery is 10,000 percent higher. Death rates from disease are shocking when Indian and non-Indian populations are compared. Influenza and pneumonia are 300

percent greater killers among Indians. Diseases such as hepatitis are at epidemic proportions. Diabetes is almost a plague. And the suicide rate for Indian youths ranges from 1,000 to 10,000 [percent] higher than for non-Indian youths; Indian suicide is epidemic (Strickland, 1997, 53).

Indians also suffer infant mortality and die of malnutrition, exposure, and "accidents" at rates far beyond those evidenced by non-Indians. Reservation Indians have a life expectancy of barely fifty years, a noticeable increase from the forty-two years an Indian could expect to live during the early 1960s, perhaps, but still a lifespan one-third shorter on average than that enjoyed by the general population (Steiner, 1968, 197–200; Strickland, 1997, 53; Wilkinson, 2005, 22).

It must be borne in mind that these conditions prevail despite the fact that, by 1990, the unavailability of land, in combination with the extremity of their peoples' destitution, had displaced 56 percent of all federally recognized Indians from their reservation homelands (Indian Health Service, 2006). Were they to have asserted their right to stay, things would be *far* worse. Such data lend substance to Sartre's contention that colonialism is inherently genocidal (Sartre, 1968, 63; Sartre, 1964, 30–47).

### Creation of the Internal Colonial System

Notwithstanding the foregoing realities, it is currently the official position of the U.S. government that American Indians exercise a form of "internal self-determination," established under the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (or IRA, ch. 576, 48 Stat. 934) and subsequently reinforced through legislation such as the Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act of 1975 (88 Stat. 2203), which not only fulfills their rights under international law but presents a model appropriate for emulation on a global basis (National Security Council, 430). Such claims bear scrutiny.

As stated in the United Nations' 1960 Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples (U.N.G.A. Res. 1514 [XI]), and elsewhere, "All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right, they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social, and cultural development." The 1966 International Covenant on Economic,





Social and Cultural Rights (U.N.G.A. Res. 2200 [XXI]), as well as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (U.N.G.A. Res. 2200 [XXI]), also set forth in 1966, not only reiterate the 1960 Declaration's legal definition, but offer further clarification.

All peoples may, for their own ends, freely dispose of their natural wealth and resources without prejudice to any obligations arising out of international economic co-operation, based upon mutual benefit, and international law. In no case may a people be deprived of its own means of subsistence.

Both of the 1966 covenants go on to require that "All States Parties to the Present Covenant, including those with responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the right of self-determination, and shall respect that right [as defined above], in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nation." The 1960 Declaration adds that the "pretext" of purported concern over the "inadequacy of political, economic, social and cultural development" is legally invalid as a basis for denying, delaying, or qualifying any people's right to self-determination (Weston, Falk, and D'Amato, 1990, 344, 371, 376).

### The Indian Reorganization Act

The template on which the IRA appears to have been constructed was the Interior Department's creation of what it called the Navajo Grand Council in 1923. This was done after the previous council, organic to the Navajos themselves, declined to approve an exploratory lease of a 4,000-acre tract on the reservation by a subsidiary of the Standard Oil Corporation. Having unilaterally devised "a new form of government" for the Navajos, chartered it, vetted its members, and required that representatives of the Indian Bureau be present at all meetings, Commissioner Burke was able to pronounce the problem solved: The Grand Council simply delegated authority to sign oil leases on its behalf to a federal commissioner.

Also during 1923, Interior Secretary Hubert Work commissioned a National Advisory Committee, usually called the Committee of One Hundred because of the number of prominent business and church leaders involved, to reexamine the

"Indian Question" and make policy recommendations. The committee's report, delivered in January 1924, urged that a high priority be placed on conferring U.S. citizenship on all Indians who had not been previously made citizens by other means, including those who had refused to accept it. The Indian Citizenship Act (8 U.S.C.A. § 1401 [a] [2]) was effected shortly thereafter, consummating a tension over the question of national allegiance among many native people that has persisted into the present.

Other items on the committee's agenda, overlapping as they did with those advanced in several ambitious studies completed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs itself over the next several years would figure significantly in the formulation of the IRA. The best-known of the latter efforts, *The Problem of Indian Administration*—published in 1928 and usually referred to as The Meriam Report after its principal author, Lewis B. Meriam—catalogued the ugly panorama of material degradation to which Indians were being subjected and called for a range of policy reforms, especially with regard to the manner and environments in which native children were being "educated."

Many of the recommendations made by Meriam and his colleagues were ultimately included in the IRA. However, future Indian Commissioner John Collier, who would be the legislation's moving force, seems to have been influenced most powerfully by a proposal advanced before a Senate committee during hearings conducted in 1930. This involved a scheme to convert the Klamath Reservation in southern Oregon into a federally chartered Klamath Indian Corporation, in which tribal members would be "stockholders." The resulting enterprise, devoted mostly to timber harvesting, would be "governed" under federal supervision by what amounted to a corporate board elected by—and from among—the stockholders (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 49–50, 144).

Although he helped scuttle the plan for technical reasons, it is instructive that Collier described the underlying idea as "the most important new step in Indian affairs since the general allotment act" and asked the senators gathered in consideration of it to "imagine the Menominees, and again the Chippewas of Minnesota, and again the Navajos [as] incorporated tribes." In Collier's view, the major difficulty with the concept—apart from "qualifying . . . tribal members to vote in corporate elections"—was deciding how "some Federal agency"—by which he obvi-





ously meant the BIA—might be restructured in such a way as to assure efficient "supervision" of as many as two hundred and fifty disparate entities of the sort proposed (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 50–51; Taylor, 1980, 63–91).

While the IRA is routinely touted as having been a New Deal for Indians, ushering in a renewal of indigenous sovereignty, self-governance, and economic revitalization, even the brief summary of "ongoing effects" of the federal allotment policy suggests that precisely the opposite has proven true. Examining certain of the Act's provisions in more detail will reveal why (Taylor, ix–xiii, 92–118, *passim*).

### Illusions of Democracy

A standard myth is that, rather than being forced, the Native peoples who underwent federal reorganization did so voluntarily. As an "exercise in the transplantation of democracy," however, the IRA was in its very conception a travesty. Indeed, its first presumption was that the governments of *every* American Indian people would be reorganized on a common model involving the adoption of a constitution, bylaws, and electoral procedures, other than those explicitly refusing to do so. The law allowed refusal (and some Native nations exercised this right). This, of course, placed the burden of action on those who sought to preserve or restore their own forms of governance, a polar reversal of standard democratic procedure (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 141, 171).

Since the only form of refusal accepted as valid by federal authorities was a "majority vote" of "eligible voters," moreover, opponents of reorganization were placed in a contradictory and degrading Catch-22 position, having no viable means of expressing their opposition other than by participating in the very process they opposed—i.e., voting against it—an act many of the peoples considered antithetical to the traditionally consensus-based modes of governance they were seeking to preserve.

This was so because Collier, although he was certainly aware that this was the typically polite way of saying "no" in many native societies, opted for the most part to simply ignore the implications attending mass abstentions. A classic illustration is the referendum conducted at Hopi in 1936, when roughly 85 percent of the eligible voters, deeply committed to

maintaining their time-honored Kikmongwe form of government, actively boycotted the referendum, only to have Collier falsify the tribal census as a means of casting the impression that reorganization had been decisively approved (Tullberg, 35–37). More egregious still was Collier's practice of counting abstentions as affirmative votes to foster such illusions.

For seventeen tribes, comprising a total population of 5,334, this [practice] reversed an otherwise negative vote. That is, in each instance the actual vote cast indicated that the majority of those Indians who participated in the [referendum] had opted to reject the act, but when the votes of the Indians who did not participate were added in favor of adoption, the act was construed as having been accepted. On the Santa Ysabel Reservation in California, for instance, 43 Indians voted against the Indian Reorganization Act and only 9 voted to accept it. Still, the Santa Ysabel tribe came under the act because 62 eligible tribal members who did not vote were counted as being in favor of adoption. Hence, the final tabulation was viewed as 71 in favor of adoption, 43 opposed (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 172).

Topping it all off was the fact that those deemed eligible to vote in the referenda were the persons and/or descendants of persons inscribed on tribal "base rolls" by federal authorities as a concomitant to determining allotment eligibility. With the parameters of the native polity thus preestablished in accordance with their own rather than native criteria, officials were able to utilize other techniques—imposing or removing residency requirements, for example—to manipulate the outcomes of various tribal referenda (Barsh, 1982, 45; Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 141, 164–165). The deck was thus stacked in every possible manner to ensure that Indians "voluntarily" reorganized. Under such circumstances, the mystery is not why 181 peoples ended up doing so, but that 77 managed to make their rejections stick (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 172).

### On the Matter of "Self-Governance"

Claims that the IRA imbued native peoples with a genuine form of "democratic self-governance" usually begin with the argument that the governing





bodies created under the Act were and are “constitutionally-based.” Such notions are readily dispelled by the nature of the constitutions themselves, however. While the Act set forth the principle that each people was entitled to write its own constitution, each such document was subject to approval by the secretary of interior (although, as always, secretarial authority was delegated to the commissioner of Indian Affairs). Those, like the Yankton Sioux who tried to exercise their prerogatives in this respect, found themselves checkmated by an inability to secure approval.

This led to a series of “tribal constitutions,” which were remarkably similar to one another and in many ways interchangeable for the simple reason that they were not written by the people to be governed under them, but instead “by attorneys within the Department of Interior” (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 173). Quite predictably, the resulting boilerplate “foundational documents” empowered the governments based on them to do very little without approval of the Indian Commissioner (O’Brien, 1989, 83).

The question thus becomes, as Vine Deloria, Jr., once posed it, “If these powers could be delegated or withheld from tribal governments completely at the discretion of the secretary, what true authority was left to the tribe?” (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 143). The answer, of course, is virtually none. Clear indication that the tribal governments created under the IRA were never really conceived as exercising actual *governing* authority will be found in Section 16 of the Act, which requires that each people adopting a constitution simultaneously adopt a set of bylaws. The phrase “constitution and bylaws” is associated more with corporate than with sovereign governmental entities (one will search in vain for the governmental bylaws of any United Nations member state).

Given this, it is unsurprising that the tribal governance provisions found in Section 16 of the IRA are followed in the very next section by provisions for chartering each native people adopting a constitution as “a defined class of Federal corporations, to wit, incorporated Indian tribes or communities” (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 156). In at least one instance, the Interior Department held that a corporate charter might be considered “equivalent” to a tribal constitution, a tribal business committee the equivalent of a tribal government. In effect, then, the intended function of IRA “governments” was to serve essentially as corporate boards, the authority of which was directly subordinated to that of the Interior Department.

Bluntly put, the main purpose of the “reorganized” governments was to sign off on leases and other contracts, thereby signifying “tribal consent” to various “economic development” ventures established “in their behalf” by the federal government (Robbins, 132, 1979; Ortiz, 1979, 70).

### A Question of Trust

As an enticement to convince Native peoples to reorganize themselves on the federally preferred corporate footing, the IRA provided that those who did would be able to draw on a revolving credit fund to underwrite the start-up of enterprises designed to revitalize tribal economies. An initial sum of \$10 million was allocated to this purpose in the Act’s Section 10, while a further \$2 million per year was promised in Section 5 to assist reorganized peoples to reacquire the acreage necessary to consolidate their landholdings and to establish reservations for several peoples left landless by allotment, and yet another half million per year was designated to subsidize educational vocational training and the like. Congress never delivered on these commitments, however.

The House Subcommittee on Interior Appropriations, led by Congressman Jed Johnson of Oklahoma, provided only about one-quarter of the \$12.5 million authorized by the IRA. In the following years, Johnson was instrumental in cutting the revolving credit fund to \$2.5 million, the annual land purchase fund to \$1 million, the funds allocated for tribal organization to \$150,000, and education loans to \$175,000 (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 174).

By 1945, a full decade after the Act was implemented, only \$5,245,000, just over half the promised *up-front* capitalization, had been paid into the credit fund (Kelly, 1976, 311). Thus starved for liquidity, most of the eagerly anticipated tribal enterprises foundered or never really got off the ground, and the Indians were left with little alternative but to watch as huge swaths of land they’d hoped to use for other purposes were leased to mining corporations and the like as a means of generating at least *some* income, thereby establishing certain of the more mineral-rich areas as veritable “resource colonies.”

This drift toward enforced dependency was sometimes augmented by large-scale federal im-





poundments of Indian livestock, devastating what remained of many indigenous subsistence economies. While such programs were ostensibly carried out as a means of curtailing environmental damage caused by overgrazing, the alternate use to which the land was put by authorities turned out in some cases—on the Navajo Reservation, for example—to be the vastly more destructive practice of strip-mining coal and other minerals.

The terms of the leases negotiated by federal officials to allow the extraction of reservation minerals by major U.S. corporations are telling. Pursuant to the acts of 1920, 1924, and 1927, as well as an Omnibus Tribal Lands Leasing Act passed in 1938 (52 Stat. 347), such contracts “ensured that [tribal] revenues generated from these nonrenewable resources [were] only a fraction of what it should have been,” with royalty rates often pegged at less than 20 percent—sometimes as low as 2 percent—of market norms.

The already inordinate profitability of non-Indian mining operations in Indian Country accruing from such steeply discounted rates was, by the end of the 1960s, enhanced dramatically by the federal practice of releasing the corporations involved from meeting the occupational safety and environmental protection standards applicable in other locales, permitting often huge savings in overhead expenses.

As it turns out, Indians were *never* allowed to use their own money to better their circumstances. Instead, recent litigation has revealed that somewhere “between 300,000 and 500,000 Indians have been deprived of between ten and forty *billion* dollars as a result of over one hundred years of trust fund mismanagement by the federal government” [emphasis added] (Bowman, 2004, 543–544). Among other things, it has been shown that, beginning at least as early as 1887, the government has consistently “lost, dissipated, or *converted to the United States’ own use* the money of [Indian] trust beneficiaries” and has “destroyed records bearing upon [its] breaches of trust” [emphasis added] (Bowman, 2004, n10; *Cobell v. Babbitt*, 1999; *Cobell v. Norton*, 2004; *Cobell v. Kempthorne*, 2006).

This concerns only the trust accounts assigned to individual Indians. If the accounts of the peoples ostensibly “compensated” for land losses since the early nineteenth century were subjected to the same scrutiny, along with lease and royalty payments accruing from the 1890s onward—and especially since passage of the IRA—the total would likely be

far greater, well over \$100 billion by some estimates (Heilprin, 2006; Schneider, *passim*).

## The Continuation of Racial Alchemy

Perhaps the most insidious of all the IRA’s lingering effects has been its entrenchment of the racial definition(s) of Indianness, first applied in a comprehensive fashion under provision of the General Allotment Act in 1887 and thereafter solidified under the Curtis and Burke Acts. While the 1934 Act provides that all persons appearing on the federally created base roll of each Native people, as well as their descendents, “regardless of [their] degree of blood,” could be entered on the membership roll of each people as it reorganized, the reality was that blood quantum criteria had been employed in establishing the base rolls themselves (Deloria and Lytle, 1983, 150–151).

The Interior Department attorneys who wrote the boilerplate constitutions, through which the ground rules of reorganization were spelled out to Native peoples, were, moreover, advised by a team of anthropologists steeped in ethnological methods. It is thus not especially mysterious how many of the peoples on whom a constitution was bestowed discovered—often to their surprise—that their own traditions required that members meet Indian Commissioner Collier’s preferred standard of at least one-quarter-degree Indian blood. Any change to this baseline racial requirement for tribal enrollment could be made only if approved by the Secretary of Interior.

Thus, a survey of enrollment criteria pertaining to 162 of 306 federally recognized tribes conducted during the late 1980s revealed that 131 required a blood quantum of one-quarter or more. Of these, one required that enrollees be of at least “three-eighths Indian blood,” while seventeen would enroll no one of less than half-blood, including the children of a duly enrolled parent (Snipp, 1989, 362–365). A survey of 302 tribes, conducted during the mid-1990s, recorded 204 as asserting such requirements (Thornton, 1997, 37). In many cases, it was also required that the applicant’s quantum accrue from the specific people with whom she or he sought to enroll (Snipp, 1989, 312; Thornton, 1987, 190–191), a stipulation known to produce bizarre results.

[Consider the situation of a child] who is one-eighth Lower Brule Sioux, one-eighth Cheyenne-Arapaho, one-eighth Blackfoot, and





one-eighth Turtle Mountain Chippewa. She is . . . one-half Indian. But each tribe of her ancestry requires its citizens to document a one-quarter blood degree *from that tribe only*. From the perspective of each of her tribes, therefore, this child is ineligible for citizenship; she is simply a non-Indian. . . . Indeed, even children of exclusively Indian ancestry can find themselves denied tribal citizenship due to similar circumstances (Garroute, 2003, 19–20).

Were the situation not vexing enough, the racial definition of Indians advanced in the IRA has since multiplied into at least thirty-three, and perhaps as many as *eighty*, different—and often conflicting—definitions of Indianness in U.S. law, all of them formulated for the convenience of federal authorities rather than Indians (O'Brien, 1991, 1481).

Since this welter of statutory definitions affects everything from eligibility for federal health and education services to the exercise of rights under statutes such as the Indian Child Welfare Act (92 Stat. 3069) and the Indian Religious Freedom Act (92 Stat. 469), the matter is hardly insignificant. While tribes have for some time been technically free to abandon blood quantum requirements—and a minority of them have—the government's ongoing imposition of a "quarter-blood minimum" as the normative requirement for receipt of federal services presents an all but insurmountable barrier to their doing so. Since funding is allocated on the basis of a per-capita computation wherein only those meeting the quarter-blood standard are included, provision of medical and other services to tribal citizens failing to meet federal requirements can only be underwritten at the expense of those which do.

Ultimately, the present drift toward redefining Native identity exclusively in terms of enrollment in a federally sanctioned tribe, reduces to little more than a reassertion—or continuation—of the allotment era agenda wherein the smallest possible number of Indians would be recognized. In this regard, we would do well to recall that the goal of federal policy during that era was to make Indians, as such, ultimately "vanish" altogether. Here, the implications of the normative "quarter-blood standard" of Indianness now enforced by federal and tribal officials alike must be considered.

By the year 2080, should long-standing trends continue, "persons with [half] or more Indian blood quantum" are projected to comprise only 8 percent of the identified Native population—as compared to

87 percent in 1980—while one-third will fall somewhere between quarter- and half-blood. The remaining 59 percent will be of less than one-quarter Indian blood, while full-bloods will have all but disappeared (Snipp, 1989, 166–167; Thornton, 1987, 237).

Arguably, then, should appreciable sectors of Native North Americans continue to embrace the "alchemy of race and rights" concocted by federal authorities during the nineteenth century, they will have engaged, however unwittingly, in a form of "autogenocide." As Cherokee demographer Russell Thornton explained nearly twenty years ago, given the ever-increasing proportion of the Native population displaced from the reservations to urban locales:

Intermarriage will further reduce the relative numbers of American Indians by reducing the blood quantum of further generations. This [will] likely increase intermarriage rates, since there will be fewer potential American Indian mates. It may [thus] be that the demographic effects of less natural increase, more intermarriage, and less tribalism will ultimately eliminate American Indians as a distinct population, whereas 400 years of population decimation after European contact did not (Thornton, 1987, 239).

In effect, such trends project "a scenario in which tribes will find themselves redefined as technically 'extinct,' even when they continue to exist as functioning social, cultural, political, linguistic or residential groupings" (Garroute, 2003, 58). Put another way, insistence on tribal enrollment as the *sine qua non* of Indianness, along with quarter-blood quantum as the normative requirement for a place on the rolls, leads unerringly to the prospect that "American Indians as Indians may eventually end, in the words of T. S. Elliot, 'not with a bang but a whimper'" (Thornton, 1987, 239).

Ward Churchill

*See also* Assimilation; Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Canada, Indian Policies of; Ceremonies, Criminalization of; Citizenship; Collier, John; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Economic Development; General Allotment Act (Dawes Act); Identity; Indian Reorganization Act; Meriam Report; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Society of American Indians; Tribal Sovereignty; Trust, Doctrine of; *Winters v. United States*.



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# *Termination and Indian Sovereignty*

## *(1945 to 2000)*

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Changes in U.S. policy have occurred throughout Indian history, and Indian leaders and communities have struggled to preserve self-government in the context of each with varying degrees of success. Since 1950, American Indian nations have continued to preserve land, political autonomy, community, and cultures. U.S. government policies for American Indians during the 1950–2006 period waver and change: The termination policy of the 1950s was followed by the self-determination policies in the late 1960s and 1970s, with a trend toward less favorable legal and political environments and policies since the 1980s and with an increasingly conservative U.S. political, legal, and cultural environment during the early 2000s.

Through all these changes, American Indians have steadily sought new ways to accommodate U.S. policy and institutions, and they have increasingly formed national organizations; strengthened tribal governments; and sought to recover cultures, languages, community, and land, and to regain control over everyday life on Indian reservations. Many Indians have migrated to urban areas, sought work, and, in recent years, increased their ownership of private businesses.

The present period is marked by U.S. policies that foster American Indian assimilation and integration into the mainstream. In many ways, the American public and policy makers see American Indians as an historical ethnic group, not unlike many ethnic groups and identities in American history and culture. Yet ethnic groups have homelands on other continents and often come to the United States seeking economic livelihood or religious or political freedom. Most immigrant ethnic groups seek to assimilate, become U.S. citizens, and adopt much of the U.S. culture. Not broadly understood or recognized by U.S. policy makers and the general public, however, is the viewpoint of indigenous U.S. Indians who have lived on the land and practiced self-government from time immemorial. Indian nations derive their claims to self-government and land from their creation teachings and from their long-time political, national, and cultural presence that preceded the formation of the U.S. Constitution and nation. Indigenous peoples seek to preserve their land, their government, and their culture, and they have not actively sought integration or total

assimilation into American life and culture. American Indian communities resist the general patterns of assimilation and integration into American culture and society. Consequently, American Indians are not well understood, and often U.S. government policies reflect strong trends toward the assimilation and integration of American Indians into U.S. society, which Indian communities and organizations often actively oppose.

Since the 1960s, legal and policy changes have allowed American Indian communities to seek self-government, economic development, and cultural maintenance or reclamation in ways more open than at any time since before 1871, when the U.S. ended treaty making with Indian nations. Between 1871 and the middle 1960s, the U.S. government extended direct administrative control over many Indian communities, governments, and cultures. Even the Indian New Deal of the 1930s did little to empower tribal communities. In a significant way, contemporary policy unravels some, although not all, legal and political constraints that were imposed on Indian nations and governments during the period of nearly total control established after 1871. Through internal dynamics and change in American society, U.S. government policy changed after the termination policy of the 1950s and sought ways to economically include Indian communities in American society. The changes in policy resulted in the strengthening of tribal governments, and the tribal government organizations we know today are to a large extent a result of government policies implemented between 1965 and 1980. Although the legal and legislative opportunities created during the 1965–1980 period are formative for the current period, they were short-lived, as the bureaucratic, juridical, and legislative practices and policies of the U.S. government have become increasingly less favorable toward tribal governments and communities after 1980.

While government policies from the 1960s to about 1980 created new government capabilities and legal opportunities, a second trend better characterizes present-day Indian policy. While Indian communities have often fought vigorously to maintain their rights to land, and self-government in the post-1871 period, these days Indian communities and organizations have become more self-aware about





indigenous rights, tribal self-government, and preserving community and culture. American Indian political and cultural consciousness has become national, pan-Indian, and international. Before 1871, most tribal communities were still well taught within their own traditions and cultures and sought to assert their governments and cultures from within their traditions. After a century of U.S. administrative control over tribal institutions and government policies of assimilation and integration, many Indian communities were deprived of significant aspects of their languages, their religions, their community organizations, and their control over justice, land, and self-government.

At the same time, most Indian people speak English, many have high school or college educations, and have learned to work within the U.S. market and political systems. Given the legal and bureaucratic opportunities of the 1960s and 1970s, Indian communities, students, and leaders—becoming increasingly aware of their history—sought to restore their values, cultures, and political and legal rights. A general understanding of Indian legal and political history became more common among leaders and students, as well as among community members, as tribal communities actively sought to reclaim land, self-government, culture, and language, at the same time starting to engage and participate in markets and U.S. political institutions on their own cultural terms.

The broad national consensus about tribal political identity and tribal relations with the U.S. government and nation has characterized the most recent U.S.–Indian policy period, even after the post-1980 emergence of relatively less favorable federal legal, legislative, and bureaucratic support. American Indian tribal communities are mobilized to pursue many of their political and cultural goals and values in new ways and in the new contemporary circumstances of U.S. policy, amid the increasing globalization of markets, information, technology, and culture. The story of recent Indian–U.S. relations is one of tribal cultural mobilization and opportunity, although within the constraints of U.S. political, legal, and cultural institutions. An overview of contemporary U.S. government policy and the rise of American Indian cultural and political mobilization follows.

### Termination Policy

The termination policy sought to dismantle Indian reservations, divide or sell the land, distribute the

proceeds to tribal members, and incorporate Indians as full citizens of the United States. Congress passed acts to introduce the termination policy in the early 1950s and instructed the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to make lists of the tribal communities most ready to enter permanently into U.S. society. The termination policy emphasized the assimilation and integration of Indians into U.S. life. On its face, the termination policy appears to break Indian treaties—agreements between Indian tribes and the United States that often guarantee ownership of Indian lands (the reservation) in exchange for compensation or other diplomatic considerations. The courts, however, as in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903), deem treaties with Indians breakable if such action is in the collective interests of the United States and the Indian tribes. Congress, by the early 1900s, assumed primary policy-making authority in Indian affairs, because the U.S. Constitution says in the commerce clause that Congress will manage trade and relations with Indian tribes.

With the application of the Indian New Deal policy under Franklin Roosevelt starting in the middle 1930s, Indian policy was generated from the U.S. Congress, which began to pass legislation aimed at the assimilation of Indian communities. World War II intervened, but, after the end of the war, Congress revisited older efforts to pass resolutions and legislation opening the way to dismantle Indian reservations economically and politically and to move Indian people into full participation in U.S. society. Congressional supporters of termination believed that Indian people should be released from tribal governments and reservations so that they could enjoy full rights and participation in the United States.

Indian people were relocated from Indian reservations to urban areas, where they were assisted in seeking employment. Because the economies of most Indian reservations could not support Indian populations, many tribal members had migrated during the 1920s and World War II to urban areas in search of employment. The BIA's relocation program, however, was designed to move whole Indian families and people off the reservation and into the cities. In the early 1950s, Congress enacted PL83-280, usually known as Public Law 280, or PL280, the 280th law passed by the 83rd Congress. PL280 transferred the administration of criminal justice from federal administration to some state governments. With passage of the act, Indian reservations in six states saw their jurisdiction transferred and several other states





followed, requiring the use of state courts for criminal offenses. Tribal members in PL280 states were served by state and county police, especially if there were no tribal police or courts. BIA funded and generally managed the courts, and police served non-PL280 communities during the 1950s. The initial intent of PL280 was to assist termination procedures by delegating police and court authorities to states and counties withdrawing services that had been generally provided by the federal government to non-PL280 reservation communities. However, Congress did not provide additional funding to states and counties, which caused some financial and service difficulties.

Between the early 1950s and the early 1970s, one hundred and ten Indian reservations were terminated. A few reservations targeted for termination, such as the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota, mobilized political support from their congressional delegations and avoided termination. Several reservations, including the Turtle Mountain Reservation, Klamath Reservation in Oregon, and Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin, were targeted early in the termination process because they were deemed more economically capable and therefore ready for termination. More than forty tribal reservations in California were terminated, mostly small rancherias. Many communities in California were willing to adopt termination because they were greatly underserved by the BIA and saw few prospects for their communities under continued BIA administration. Some tribal communities, including the Lakota and Dakota reservations in South Dakota and the Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon, mobilized state political initiatives or their congressional delegations and lobbied successfully to avoid PL280 implementation on their reservations. Other tribes in Nevada were allowed to adopt PL280 in the early 1960s, but the Nevada tribes opted to withdraw or “retrocede” from PL280 and return to BIA-funded police and courts in the 1970s. States like California, Oregon, Nebraska, and Minnesota had most of their tribal communities assigned to PL280 law and police services.

The results of termination soon became apparent, and the outcomes for many communities, including the large Klamath and Menominee Reservations, were bleak. The tribal communities lost significant tribal assets and were subject to new taxes and market competition. Poverty increased, many businesses failed, additional lands were lost, and communities were broken up.

Other tribal communities observed the events among the terminated tribes and started to organize state, congressional, and national tribal organizations to prevent additional terminations of reservation communities. Congressional and state support was often forthcoming because states saw the termination policy as an unfunded mandate. (As reservation communities were dismantled, any new costs were borne by local county and state institutions.) Tribal communities rallied around the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), a national organization created by BIA employees in 1944, although there were similar earlier lobbying organizations proposed and developed during the 1930s. The NCAI developed into a national lobbying organization, and many tribal communities joined. Each tribe, a sovereign nation, has one vote in NCAI decision making. Each tribal community is respected as a member of the NCAI. The threat of more terminations across Indian country mobilized considerable resistance to the policy. By the end of the 1950s, NCAI and Indian leaders, with the help of Congress members and state and local support, were able to prevent new terminations. By 1960, the termination policy was defeated, although some terminations that were initiated before 1960 continued sporadically into the 1970s. The defeat of the termination policy was an early victory for NCAI and a national coalition of Indian leaders. NCAI became a national lobbying organization for tribal legislative issues and interests in Congress. Indian tribes had stopped termination, and many Indian groups were interested in influencing the government to develop policies that included Indian interests and values.

In the early 1960s, tribal leaders, students, community leaders, and scholars met in Chicago and other places to discuss the future of Indian policy. Tribal leaders and advocates looked to develop new policies that supported tribal governments; increased self-determination; secured Indian lands; encouraged Indian language, culture, and religion; and addressed issues of poverty and health. Indian people wanted a voice in their affairs, and they wanted the government to introduce policies that supported tribal community and economic development and that honored and upheld treaties. Government policy did not have a clear direction in the early 1960s, although some efforts at supporting economic development had minor impact. Nevertheless, direct response by the U.S. government to the increasingly mobilized Indian leadership was minimal and, while perhaps sympathetic, was without





direct motivation or capability to respond to the demands in some segments of the Indian community for major reform in Indian policy. Most tribal governments, however, remained within the administrative and financial influence of the BIA, where policies were not yet significantly affected by the new proposals for reform. Those governments and reservation leaders depended on BIA administration and funding, and most reservation tribal leaders were not in strong positions to challenge long-standing BIA control over reservation institutions. Tribal communities and leaders were constrained by BIA-imposed and -controlled tribal government forms, such as IRA (Indian Reorganization Act) constitutional governments or business councils, which did not encourage tribal government autonomy, functionality, or self-sufficiency.

### **The Rise of Self-Determination Policy (1965–1980)**

Self-determination policies eventually emerged from the efforts of a wide variety of Native American communities, activists, tribal leaders, Indian national organizations, and U.S. government policy makers during the 1960s. Inasmuch as U.S. government policy in Indian Country is often greatly influenced by changing cultures and political philosophies in mainstream U.S. politics, the 1960s were greatly influenced by the civil-rights movement, poor peoples' movements, and the changing cultural and political orientations surrounding debates and activism growing out of the Vietnam War. Minority groups and poor peoples began to seek recognition, aid, and redress from the federal government. The political campaigns of John F. Kennedy and his vice presidential partner, Lyndon B. Johnson, formed a democratic coalition of minority groups, bringing poor peoples together regarding civil rights issues. With this winning political coalition in 1960 and in 1964, Lyndon Johnson carried the Democratic party coalition with an overwhelming majority. Federal policies turned toward redistributing federal taxes and wealth, with policies encouraging civil rights, greater opportunity, education programs, environmental concerns, and new programs to alleviate poverty. President Johnson's administration formulated the Great Society programs, designed to assist poor people, minority groups, and others to gain better access and opportunity in American society. Congress passed many of the administration's legislative proposals in the early and middle 1960s, and

soon substantial numbers of programs and significant funds flowed to many formerly disenfranchised groups and communities.

While engaged in national politics and in developing Indian policy and issues, tribal leaders generally were not active in the democratic movement or the policy development of the Great Society programs. During the early 1960s, federal administration in Indian Country was managed by the BIA. In the middle 1960s, the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO) started to allocate community action program (CAP) grants directly to local communities. This plan was based on requests from many programs, especially urban poor peoples' movements that wanted to avoid top-down federal bureaucratic administration and actively participate in the decision making and administration of projects designed to assist local communities. Bypassing federal bureaucracies, federal funds were allocated directly to the community action boards, which received, administered, and distributed the allocations for local projects.

A question arose among federal officials and policy makers about whether Indian communities and tribal governments were eligible for CAP funds. The BIA wanted to administer all federal funds to Indians, but the OEO was suspicious of the track record and control that BIA administration maintained over tribal communities. OEO decided to send CAP grants directly to tribal governments. This was a major change in policy. Under the BIA few federal program funds went directly to tribal government administrations; instead, they generally were allocated to the BIA, which administered many programs and initiatives on behalf of the tribal governments. The OEO CAP grants were allocated directly to tribal governments, who were in a position to form community action boards and to administer and allocate funds according to local needs. The CAP grants bypassed the BIA administration, and many tribal governments for the first time gained access to and control over substantial grant funds. Following the OEO example, other federal agencies began to establish direct relations with tribal governments and determined tribal eligibility for grant programs. By the late 1960s and 1970s, tribal governments received funds from a variety of federal agencies for housing, education, drug control, police, tribal court administration, antipoverty programs and other purposes. The BIA, while still a central administrative feature of reservation administration, began to reform its programs to assist the delivery of





social and administrative services to tribal governments and Indian reservation communities.

The new attention from federal agencies in the middle and late 1960s revitalized tribal government organizations and administrations. Many tribal governments gained access to federal funds, along with control over the administration and distribution of significant funding. Previously, most tribal governments had few staff, little political power, and very little discretionary financing, and they were often subject to strict control by BIA administration. The new influx of grants and relations with many federal agencies enabled tribal governments to obtain more resources and to work with a variety of funding sources. Tribal governments, often still based on relatively weak government constitutions, bylaws, or business councils, soon became more capable organizations that began to interact and gain influence with federal agencies, like other local and state governments. Many tribal governments gathered considerable numbers of federal grants, increased administrative staffs, and established greater control over the distribution of program resources in local communities. Political leadership became more competitive as the stakes for tribal government leadership became more serious.

The tribal governments we know today were largely forged during the 1965–1980 period. During this time, many federal agencies allocated significant funds to the administration of tribal governments, which became recognized governmental entities in the federal-state-local system. The official self-determination policy was kicked off by President Richard Nixon in the late 1960s. The president took the new policy orientation from the then current trends in Indian Country, as tribal governments sought more direct federal funding and worked to strengthen tribal government resources, employees, and program capabilities.

During the 1960s, the Zuni Pueblos sought to decrease federal and BIA control over their communities by contracting all federal programs through the Zuni tribal government. Using a little known and until then rarely used law, the Zuni strengthened control over their own institutions and government by contracting all federal services whenever possible, thereby gaining considerable administrative control of federal programs on their reservation. The Zuni model was mentioned by President Nixon as a new template for Indian self-determination. The new plan for the local administration of federal programs by the tribal government was eventually

passed by Congress as the Self-Determination and Education Act of 1975 (Public Law 93-638). The Self-Determination Act created mechanisms for tribal governments and Indian-owned organizations to contract for the delivery of federal service to reservation communities. Tribal governments could now contract for BIA services on reservations, and many slowly began to work toward that end. Tribal communities in the 1970s began to contract for education programs, gaining greater participation and administration of education in reservation communities. More complicated programs, such as health clinics, tended to be avoided by many tribal governments, which generally pursued contracting according to their administrative and management capabilities. The Navajo tribal government became a major contractor of BIA and federal programs, but the contracting of federal services was varied across Indian Country. The contracts became known generally and informally as “638” contracts, named after the Congressional Public Law 93-638 (PL93-638, the 638th public law passed by the 93rd Congress).

The Self-Determination and Education Act of 1975 created a contracting mechanism for tribal governments to administer locally programs intended for tribal communities. The effect of the Act was to increase tribal government administration of federal programs, and it helped to extend and strengthen the powers of tribal governments, as well as taking away additional program autonomy from BIA administration. However, while contemporary tribal governments use 638 contracting extensively they do not possess the infrastructure to contract all BIA programs. The Self-Determination Act strengthened tribal organizations and increased local delivery and management of programs for reservation members. Nevertheless, the contracts were governed by BIA or federal rules and regulations, and funding came from Congress and was funneled through federal or BIA agencies that monitored the contracting processes. Tribal governments gained standing for funding and administrative purposes similar to local and state governments, but most tribal governments lack independent sources of income and had few discretionary resources to implement plans, programs, and economic development that represented tribal values, interests, and goals. Most tribal governments have acquired greater bureaucratic and program capacities since the 1960s, but most remain dependent on federal funding and administrative rules for most of its programmatic operational activities.





As time passed, many tribal governments provided program assistance and jobs to tribal communities, but the new arrangements maintained considerable dependency on federal funding, and federal rules and regulations dominated most program implementation. Most tribal governments did not have significant alternative sources of income. Although tribal governments have the right to tax, such measures generally are contrary to Indian cultures, and taxes do not meet with acceptance in most tribal communities. Consequently, tribal government leaders began to look toward reservation economic development for discretionary funds. Some leaders began to say that tribal governments needed to move away from federal dependency and engage market economies to help relieve tribal communities from poverty and dependence. Some federal programs offered business loans to aid investment in tourism and hotels in Indian Country. From the 1960s to the 1990s, however, there were few economic successes in Indian Country that did not depend on the sale of raw materials or gambling enterprises. The Mississippi Choctaws developed some manufacturing industries and provided work for community members and local non-Indians, but in general most reservation economies were far from providing their communities with American levels of economic well-being.

Tribal communities and governments increasingly are looking to establish more productive reservation economies as a means of generating autonomous revenues that they can use to pursue the goals of restoring tribal cultures and communities, as well as reclaiming land and strengthening tribal government capabilities and self-government. Toward these ends, some communities have sought to discuss reorganizing tribal governments to make them more effective and more responsible to tribal cultures and communities. Many tribal governments have looked to markets and businesses to create jobs, income, and tribal government revenues. The trend in Indian Country, however, has not been toward fostering individual entrepreneurship, as in American society, but rather most tribal communities, at least in their early steps, have favored a form of tribal capitalism, where tribal governments manage and own tribal assets and produce income for the tribal government that is available to support collective tribal programs and needs. The organization of the successful Mississippi Choctaw businesses are a main case in point. As time has passed, however, many tribal governments have sought creative legal

and market mechanisms to preserve tribal communities, norms, and values, at the same time creating tribal corporations or enterprises that are profitable in market competition.

### **Multiple Pathways to Self-Determination**

The development of the U.S. government self-determination policy is only one movement that characterizes the present period of government policy, tribal government, and American Indian community relations. Also helping to characterize the revival and development of contemporary Indian identity, communities, and tribal governments are Red Power activism; the tribal community college movement; cultural, religious, and language reclamation; federal and tribal legal developments; the international indigenous rights movement; and Indian market capitalism. The multidimensional roots along with the broad international recognition of Indian rights, cultural aspirations, and search for greater cultural and political autonomy, are part of the indigenous movement and the self-determination movement among American Indian communities.

Indian communities have been active throughout history in defense of their lands, territories, cultures, and governments. Historically, tribal leaders and communities mostly were raised within their cultures and traditions and, while having some contact with the United States, generally were well socialized within their own cultures and values. After 1871, active assimilation and Christianization programs began to change and introduce alternative forms of knowledge, worldviews, education, science, and ways of life. Tribal communities became multicultural, and tribal members held varying degrees of traditional knowledge as well as American or modern knowledge and understandings. Furthermore, their world has changed considerably over time. Most contemporary tribal leaders do not think that it is possible to return to the traditional societies and cultures of several hundred years ago. The emphasis is on upholding traditions and norms when they maintain identity and community, but tribal communities and leaders also are looking for pathways to the future. They want to uphold community and culture, at the same time engaging the globalized political, economic, informational, and cultural challenges of the twenty-first century. Tribal cultures and values will be preserved and used as tools to help formulate ways by which Indian peo-





ple and future generations will live in the contemporary and future world. Indian people, like all human groups, confront change, but they want to do so from the point of view of their communities, values, and ways of living.

Between 1871 and 1965, many Indian people and communities were discouraged from speaking their languages, practicing Indian ceremonies and religions, or otherwise living in ways informed by tribal values. Indian students were taught in government and state schools how to live in U.S. society, and they were encouraged to abandon Indian identities, cultures, and tribal membership and to join U.S. society as economically independent citizens. The U.S. government assimilation and Christianization programs had varying success. During the 1920s and after the 1950s, many Indian reservation people migrated to urban areas in search of education and employment. Many individuals and whole tribes by the 1960s had lost many aspects of their communities, identities, cultures, and values. In the contemporary period, many Indian people retain social and political identities as American Indian, but often many do not have strong or nurturing relations with their communities and cultures. Several generations of Indian people have been living in urban areas, and most have had only occasional contact with their tribal communities. There are over 4 million people on the 2000 U.S. Census who say they are at least part Indian, while only about 600,000 Indians live on reservations. About two-thirds of self-identified Indians live in urban areas. The urbanization and government assimilation programs have greatly changed and diversified the cultural makeup of Indian people. Many Indian communities and individuals have been separated from their communities, cultures, land, or tribal governments. Tribal communities are not composed of Indian people steeped in their tribal cultures and traditions, and many tribal members have had little shared contact with their cultures. The contemporary movement toward recovering tribal community and values involves recovering and reclaiming tribal culture, values, and identity.

The Red Power movement of the 1960s and 1970s had many characteristics of a cultural reclamation movement. The heyday of the Red Power Movement took place between the takeover of Alcatraz Island in late 1969 and the Longest Walk of 1977. During this period, Indian activists took over at least seventy-five locations, which were used as platforms to articulate Indian issues and rights and often to

express land claims. Many of the members of the Alcatraz takeover in 1969–1971 were urban Indians or students, many of whom did not have strong cultural ties to their communities. Many visitors to Alcatraz Island during the takeover period learned from discussions about tribal history, policy, and issues and conditions on Indian reservations. Many were then motivated to carry on activism to support Indian rights and issues and to pass information on to others. Soon there followed other takeovers, of which the most well-known was the BIA headquarters in Washington, DC (in 1972) and the Wounded Knee standoff on Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota the next year. The takeovers attracted international attention and highlighted Indian history, grievances, and rights in the mass media. Many Indians who were living American urban lives became inspired to recover their identities, to reclaim tribal histories and cultures, and to support strengthened tribal governments and communities. One reason that American Indian Movement (AIM) members returned to Pine Ridge in the early 1970s was that they believed they did not have sufficient grounding in traditional knowledge and wanted to learn from elders and spiritual leaders who retained an understanding of Lakota religion and ceremonies. Lakota elders at the Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations were surprised at how boldly the activists came to seek traditional understanding and knowledge. The elders were emboldened by the activists, and many more openly started to perform ceremonies, such as the Ghost Dances and Sun Dances, that had long been practiced away from the eyes of government agents. Many activists and spiritual elders began to practice traditional religions and ceremonies more openly and more often, and many younger members apprenticed themselves to learn more about traditional religion, ceremonies, and languages. Many communities are now seeking ways to recover, reclaim, and use traditional knowledge and language in their communities.

Many elders soon started teaching language and culture in newly formed tribally controlled community colleges on Indian reservations. The founders of the colleges were primarily local tribal people dedicated to improving educational opportunities in their communities. In the late 1960s, the Navajo Community College was formed, and several others soon followed. The new Indian community colleges sought federal legislation and financial aid to support student scholarships. The Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act





(PL95-471) was enacted by Congress in 1978. The tribal colleges formed a national organization, American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC), and soon admitted more colleges. By 2006 there were thirty-five tribally controlled community colleges in AIHEC.

Along with the contracting of reservation day schools by the tribal governments, these colleges reflect a concern for education that is informed by community culture and participation. Many Native students finish high school but do not want to leave the reservation community to enter college, but the tribally controlled community colleges have given many reservation Indian students the opportunity to remain in their community, while gaining the knowledge and skills useful for employment and for building stronger Indian communities, nations, and governments.

Many tribal communities continued to pursue primary rights and issues, often with the support of lawyers funded through legal aid or through the Native American Rights Fund (NARF). Tribal communities asserted land claims and made challenges to open discussion and legal disposition from broken treaties or forgotten laws and rights. Before the 1960s, Indian communities were less able to pursue legal claims in U.S. courts, and U.S. courts were often unsympathetic. For decades, the Indian tribes in Washington State pursued fishing rights from treaties signed during the 1850s providing that Indians could fish in their ancient fishing places and that they were entitled to take fish "in common" with immigrating Anglo-Americans each season. In 1974, a legal decision by Judge George Boldt, often called the Boldt decision, upheld the fishing treaty rights of many Washington tribal communities. Boldt interpreted the treaty phrase "in common with" to mean that Indians had a right to as much as half the salmon harvest. His decision was upheld on appeal.

Treaty rights, including fishing rights, also were contested in Wisconsin and Michigan, where tribal communities gained less favorable rulings, but ones that partially upheld treaty rights. The Alaska Natives during the 1960s, after Alaska was established as a state, claimed most of the territory of Alaska, and eventually a negotiated settlement in Congress resulted in the Alaska Native Claims Act of 1971. The Alaska Natives land claims were negotiated with Congress, setting the stage for the settlement of other major claims. Lawyers working with the northern Maine Indians made an argument that land had been illegally treated from Maine Indians,

such as the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot, in violation of the federal Non-Intercourse Acts, passed as early as 1790, that prohibit states from treating for land with Indians without federal approval. The Passamaquoddy land-claim settlement in Maine (1980) led to negotiated land settlements, and other tribes in the original thirteen colonies began to seek federal recognition and land from the U.S. government. In the early 1980s, the Pequots, their reservation under Connecticut state administration from the 1650s, sought and gained congressional approval for federal recognition. The Narragansetts of Rhode Island did the same, and more recently the Mohicans of Connecticut also received federal recognition.

Many of the terminated tribes also pursued reclamation of tribal government and community through legal action. During the early 1970s, a group of Menominees worked through Congress to obtain an act that restored federal recognition. A difficult lobbying process ended successfully, and the Menominees recovered part of their former reservation. Soon many other terminated communities sought congressional acts for restoration to federally recognized tribal status. In California, either by court cases or legislation, more than forty terminated tribes were restored to federal recognition. California Indian Legal Services, at one time a federally funded organization, helped many tribes with developing courts cases and working through the restoration procedures. The large majority of the hundred and ten terminated tribes have been restored, and those communities have reclaimed land and renewed tribal governments.

A related contemporary community movement is composed of Indian communities that have not been federally recognized and that are seeking recognition. To date, more than five hundred and sixty Indian communities are federally recognized as Indian tribes by the U.S. government, most of them through treaty relations or Congressional acts. Federal recognition allows a community to enjoy federal trust relations with the United States, especially protections for Indian reservation lands, so that they cannot be taken from or sold by the tribe without permission and oversight from the BIA or Secretary of the Interior. More than two hundred communities have petitioned for federal recognition and more nonrecognized Indian communities may be eligible.

Currently, tribal communities seeking recognition apply to the Office of Federal Acknowledgment. The situation of nonrecognized Indian communities was documented in a congressional report on Indian





issues produced by the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs during the middle 1970s. Legislation enabling the BIA to solicit, analyze, and make recommendations for recognition was passed into law in the late 1970s. The process for tribal communities to secure federal recognition is difficult, expensive, and time-consuming, and relatively few have been recognized through the formal BIA procedures. Perhaps only several cases are considered each year, but the entire process may take decades. Recent reorganizations in the Office of Federal Acknowledgment are designed to speed up the process. Tribal communities seeking federal recognition often do not have enough resources to fulfill the requirements proving continuous political community throughout their history to the present. Many tribal communities, often ignored and marginalized throughout their recent history, are in difficult positions to comply with federal recognition requirements. Nevertheless, many communities continue to seek federal recognition, acquire land, and form tribal governments.

Not only are tribal communities mobilized at the national and local levels, but many tribal leaders and nations, particularly groups of Iroquois, Lakota, and Hopi, have approached the United Nations (U.N.) and other international institutions seeking the recognition of indigenous rights and the preservation of cultural and political autonomy. International conferences have been held on indigenous issues, and indigenous leaders and communities have spent years working on a document called the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which has not received broad support and recognition within the United Nations, even though indigenous peoples from around the world participate in drafting it. Some American Indian leaders and organizations seek international alliances and international bodies to induce nation-states such as the United States to recognize indigenous rights. During the 1970s, many indigenous groups protested outside the United Nations building to gain a voice and recognition. The protests led to a series of international conferences on indigenous issues and, more recently, to the establishment of NGO (non-government organization) status for indigenous peoples in the U.N. There are some differences of opinion about the value of indigenous peoples working within the U.N. One argument is that the U.N. is a club of nation-states that fears potentially politically destabilizing effects on less established democracies or nation-states. Therefore the assertions of indigenous rights for greater cul-

tural and political autonomy will not find significant support in the U.N. Others argue that the participation and presence of indigenous peoples in the U.N. and in other international venues, as well as international recognition of indigenous rights, will create a moral standard providing protections to indigenous peoples that would otherwise not be available to them.

American Indians and indigenous peoples around the world have increasingly mobilized to pursue greater political and cultural autonomy and protections that will enable them to live and work more in accord with their cultural and political traditions. Recent decades have been characterized by greater cultural, political, and economic mobilization among American Indians at the local, national, and international levels. Many Indian groups and organizations have emerged at national levels, pursuing professional, artistic, media, sport, cultural, economic, and political goals. The mobilization of American Indian communities, not only at local community levels, but also at national and political levels, is a significant marker for present-day Indian policy. More than ever before, American Indian individuals are participating in U.S. national organizations and institutions, often pursuing tribal cultural and political goals within the framework of U.S. and international organizations. In many ways, American Indian communities, leaders, and organizations have come to actively participate in U.S. national political and cultural organizations and generally play by U.S. rules.

Most American Indians have strong loyalties of citizenship to the United States, but at the same time many believe that the United States should recognize the history, legal, and international relations of Indians with the United States. Since the granting of U.S. citizenship to American Indians in 1924, many have retained two citizenships, one as a member of a tribal community and the other as a citizen of the United States. While most American Indian individuals and communities are loyal to the United States and fight honorably in U.S. wars, American Indians seek recognition of their rights to tribal governments, culture, and land from time immemorial, which predate the adoption of the U.S. Constitution and the formation of the United States.

On a variety of fronts over the past fifty years, American Indians have mobilized to realize their claims to cultural and political autonomy and have done so as active participants within U.S. institutions and political relations. In a certain sense, Indian





groups and political activities are incorporated into U.S. political and institutional culture, but they continue to pursue unique goals of cultural and political autonomy that are often contrary to U.S. legal and political culture. No other ethnic or political group advocates for the preservation and enhancement of self-government, for the recovery and continuity of non-Western culture, and for institutional and political forms. The unusual goals and interests of American Indian nations make interaction with core American institutions, cultural groups, and political interests very difficult, and hence Indian issues are often not easily solved or well understood.

### **The Most Recent Policy Period (1980–2006)**

Since 1980, the U.S. political environment for American Indian goals and values has become less forthcoming overall. The trend in U.S. policy is toward fiscal conservatism, and, while there is more emphasis on local government autonomy, there is also more emphasis on local governments finding their own ways to support their needs. While the trends toward greater local self-sufficiency is congruent with many Indian government goals, many reservation communities still do not have local economies that can support their populations, and cutbacks in federal funding have created less support for tribal governments and programs. Many tribal governments have retained many of the gains in bureaucratic and government organization created during the 1960s and 1970s. While tribal governments and communities have become better organized and mobilized since 1980, the decline in federal resources, as well as in legal and administrative support, has led to fewer new opportunities for assertion or for the accomplishment of tribal political and cultural goals. The BIA's administration slowly is moving toward management of trust responsibility, with less emphasis and funds for the delivery of services to Indian communities.

While funding from the federal government has declined, so have legal and court opportunities as a result of more conservative supreme and district courts. During the 1960–1980 period, tribal communities won several significant cases upholding the powers of tribal governments as long as they had not been explicitly withdrawn by an act of Congress or violated the U.S. Constitution. During the 1980s and 1990s, however, court cases brought before the federal courts began to chip away at earlier legal

gains. While much of the legal action of the 1960s to 1980s helped to reaffirm Indian rights to self-government under U.S. law, recent cases have eroded the internal powers of tribal governments. The conservative courts have been less willing to recognize long-standing land claims, the powers of tribal courts over non-Indians, the trust land for Alaska Natives, and the rights of Indians to keep sacred places free from non-Indian interference. A string of legal losses has discouraged Indian lawyers and governments from pursuing remedies in U.S. federal and state courts.

A major exception to the trend has been the affirmation of tribal government sovereignty in the *California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians* in 1987. The *Cabazon* case provided significant legal support for Indian gaming in California and elsewhere and quickly led to a resolution of state and Indian interests surrounding gaming in the Indian Gaming Regulation Act of 1988 (IGRA). Congress sought to regulate Indian gaming and invite negotiated compacts between states and tribal governments on how gaming would be managed on Indian reservations. The gaming scenario illustrates the dynamics of the latest policy period. While the support of Indian issues and goals from U.S. government executive, legislative, and judicial institutions is less than in the past, Indian communities are more mobilized and willing to take advantage of any new opportunities they see in their economic, political, or cultural interests. The IGRA enabled many Indian communities eventually to work out with states ways in which to foster gaming establishments on Indian reservations.

Most Indian communities as late as the 1990s were relatively impoverished. Gaming was not a government program advocated by federal policy makers, and most government-formulated economic development projects in Indian Country have been short-lived and generally limited in success. Gaming emerged from tribal groups, like the Cabazon, who actively sought ways to develop market economies on reservations, often with extremely limited assets and possibilities. Tribal communities fought hard in state and federal legislatures, through referenda, and in negotiations with state governments, as well as in courts, to establish tribal rights to manage gaming establishments on reservations. While many Indian communities may have second thoughts about gaming on moral grounds, for many tribal communities gaming is one of few options available to them. The IGRA includes rules requiring that at least 70 percent of tribal gaming profits be redistributed for pro-





grams, infrastructure, and support of tribal members or tribal government. Gaming revenues are shared within the community; they support tribal communities and can be used for the diversification of the reservation economy and for future investment. Well over two hundred Indian communities are managing gaming establishments, but probably less than thirty make large profits. Isolated rural communities are not well located to draw significant gaming revenues, and, although tribal gaming is grossing in excess of \$12 billion annually, the funds are not evenly distributed throughout Indian Country.

### Indian Policy Now and in the Future

Indian communities have entered a policy era in which U.S. political institutions are less favorable to tribal interests and goals. At the same time, tribal communities never before have been so willing and able to participate in American national political and cultural institutions, but on their own terms. Most American Indians want and are willing to participate in American society, but they also want to uphold Native identity and tribal rights, including territory, self-government, and traditional cultural orientations. American Indians are more capable and better equipped than ever to participate in American society, but they want to do so with reference to their own histories, cultures, and political rights. Tribal communities will continue to mobilize themselves and become more capable in expressing their views and interests. Most likely, tribal communities and Indian individuals will become part of American society and institutions, not fully assimilated, but as

dual citizens. If U.S. policies remain austere, then tribal communities will be encouraged to seek market-based solutions to their economic and government problems. While tribal communities will become more capable of participating beneficially in U.S. society and the economy on their own cultural and political terms, most likely those capabilities and opportunities will be spread unevenly around Indian Country.

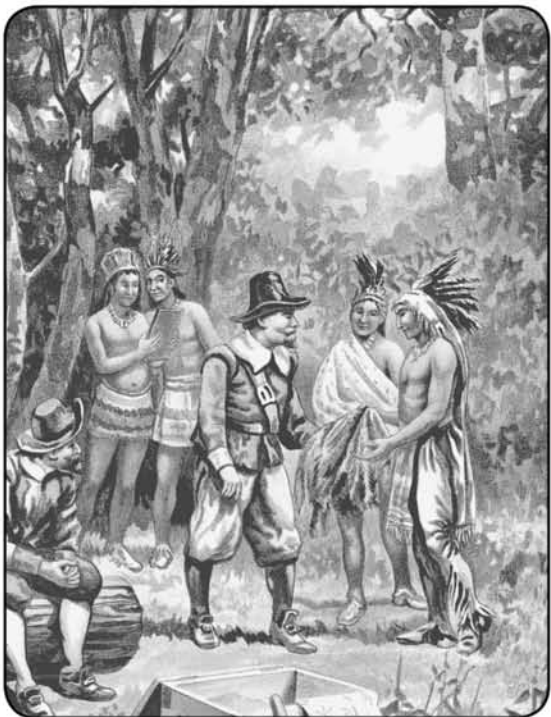
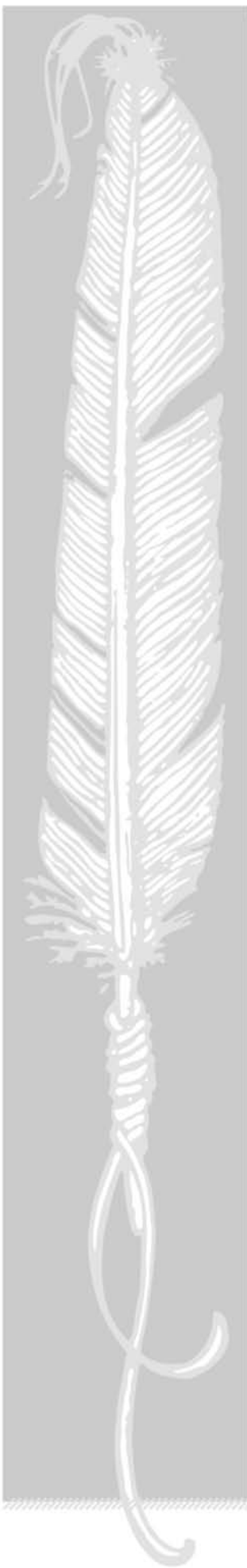
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*See also* American Indian Movement; Assembly of First Nations; Canada, Indian Policies of; Economic Development; Education; Hazardous Waste; Identity; Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act; Individual Indian Monies; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Language and Language Renewal; Language, Written in America, Pre-contact; National Congress of American Indians; National Indian Youth Council; Native American Museums; New Agers, "Indian" Ceremonies and; Pan-Indianism; Red Power Movement; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples; Termination; Tribal Sovereignty; United Nations, Indians and.

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# Issues in American Indian History



## Alcoholism and Substance Abuse

*"Drink no firewater of the white man. It makes you mice for the white men who are cats. Many a meal they have eaten of you."*

—Skenando, Oneida chief, ca. 1800

Substance abuse has been at the core of many Native social problems since the initial contact with European invaders and the British colonizers in the seventeenth century. Native American substance abuse must be considered in the context of cultural relativity. The cycle began with cultural trauma and loss, and stereotyping and discrimination perpetuated it through the generations. All of these factors combined to create a cultural form of post-traumatic stress disorder that continues to affect both reservation and urban Natives. Profound disruptions of Native lifeways that began in 1492 and continue to the present time have formed the foundation for Indian drinking patterns, substance abuse, and substance dependency problems (Mancall, 1995).

Professional research from such sources as the federal Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration, the Center for Addiction and Substance Abuse at the University of New Mexico (CASAA), as well as other pertinent research reports, indicate that Native American addiction and substance abuse stems from culturally based phenomena. The research prior to the mid-1980s focused primarily on males and on Southwestern tribes and indicated binge drinking as the most prevalent pattern in alcohol abuse and addiction. Research done since that time indicates that anxiety, dependency, conflict, and feelings of powerlessness and hopelessness associated with poverty and cultural isolation are at the heart of the pattern. Ironically, powerlessness and hopelessness are also two dominant emotional states associated with children of addictive families; hence the two factors reinforce the conditions that have bred substance abuse among Native peoples (Arbogast, 1996).

A survey conducted among the Navajo in the 1980s by the Center on Alcoholism, Substance Abuse, and Addictions (CASAA) indicated that 80







percent of respondents believed that Native American alcoholism was a racially genetic problem and that they were biologically predisposed to alcoholism as a race. Biological predisposition to addiction is a valid phenomenon, but it exists in the context of *family* genetics, rather than racial genetics. Familial addiction predisposes those in any particular genetic lineage in which it occurs. Considering the number of Native families impacted by intergenerational trauma, cultural loss, and grief for the past four hundred years, the widespread effect of the disease of addiction is staggering (May, 1988).

### History and Origins of Use and Abuse: Seventeenth–Nineteenth Centuries

Alcohol was first introduced to North American Indians in the 1600s by the British for trade purposes. The British government's goal was the assimilation of Indian people into colonial culture, and trade was an essential component of this goal. The British Empire needed to import furs and skins acquired in trade with Indians, who had to be participants in the commerce market if they were to become "civilized." Alcohol brought to the colonies was made available in the seventeenth century to the Eastern Woodlands and Southeastern Indian nations, and it was transported to the Great Lakes region and to the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys by the mideighteenth century. Indians living near colonial settlements had greater access than those living farther away.

The colonists' assimilation goals backfired. Indians treated alcohol as a powerful medicine that had to be taken in large quantities to benefit from the effects. Drinking all the alcohol at once reflected a conscious choice, not behavior learned from colonists (Mancall, 1995). Native Americans had no prior history of social drinking, although some fermented beverages were used among Native nations in spiritual ceremony before the arrival of Europeans (Mancall, 1995).

Indians were viewed by most Europeans as savages and heathens, unable to "hold their liquor"; hence the myth of the "drunken Indian" began under these circumstances. Increasingly concerned about the behavior of intoxicated Indians, many colonial cities enacted laws making it illegal to sell or trade alcohol to Native people. Peter Chester, governor of West Florida in 1774, was quoted in a local newspaper regarding Indian alcohol use: "It is often

bad enough with White people when they are drunk, therefore what can be expected from Indians who are void of sense and reason, born in savage ignorance and brought up in the same way, but the most barbarous and inhuman murders and cruelties?" (Mancall, 1995).

Colonial laws against liquor sales to Indians went largely unenforced, however, allowing the liquor trade to continue and creating a negative reaction cycle between stereotypical attitudes about Indian alcohol use and continued consumption by Native people (Mancall, 1995). Beginning in the early 1800s, alcohol was also used as a tool by the U.S. government to dupe Indian people out of their lands. Many government agents and high-ranking military men "facilitated" the treaty-signing process by exploiting Indians with alcohol (Maracle, 1994).

As Native people began to incur increasing cultural losses in the next two hundred years, drinking became a method of escape from the pain of intergenerational cultural loss, trauma, and grief. Tragically, the stereotypes were thus perpetuated, and the foundation of Native American alcoholism was well-established by the 1800s, the time of forced removal from their land onto reservations. Alcohol was supplied to them by government-appointed Indian agents and used in part as a means of keeping Indians subdued. The U.S. government continued the practices begun by the early colonial governments, aiding in the perpetuation of drinking patterns established in the early 1600s (Arbogast, 1996).

### Twentieth-Century Problems

By the early twentieth century, the drunken Indian stereotype was inseparable from other stereotypical and discriminatory attitudes. By that time, most tribes had been forced from ancestral lands onto reservations. They had lost their means of livelihood and were forbidden to practice cultural traditions and spiritual practices. Christian missionaries exacerbated the situation, lobbying Congress to outlaw Native spiritual practices they considered "barbaric." Without the practice of spiritual ceremonies that formed the basis of their well-being, Indian people became dangerously deprived from a mental-health perspective, enabling addiction. The United States established Indian Boarding Schools in the early 1800s as a last-resort effort at cultural annihilation. Children as young as six years old were taken forcibly from their parents and transported





hundreds and sometimes thousands of miles to boarding schools. These schools had policies forbidding children to speak their languages or to dress in traditional fashion. Students were assaulted by brainwashing techniques that told them being Indian was shameful and dirty. Their daily routines were managed by militaristic practices with bells and whistles signaling when they were to walk, stand, sit, and eat. These alienating practices were deliberately designed to “Kill the Indian and save the man.” Many Indian children died of tuberculosis and pneumonia in poorly heated dormitories. Many died of what seemed to be broken hearts or what might be medically termed depression today. They simply wasted away from the pain and sadness of grief (Lomawaima, 1994).

Additionally, boarding schools forced children to attend Christian services and to recite biblical scripture with the intention of squelching their Native spiritual beliefs. Children were forbidden any type of contact with their families. Placed in dormitory sleeping arrangements that were supervised by adult school employees, those who were caught whispering among themselves in their Native languages were punished. Sexual and physical abuse by boarding school staff was rampant. The Carlisle boarding school in Pennsylvania was notorious for the punishment of solitary confinement, where children were placed in small, dark, unheated rooms for days with only bread and water to eat. Many died of malnutrition or pneumonia.

Young adults graduated from the boarding schools cut off from their cultural and familial foundations, unable to speak their languages, and untrained for occupations other than labor and domestic work. In rare instances, a few boarding schools trained young girls in nursing, although these girls were allowed to work only as nurses’ aides. Indian graduates were thrust unprepared onto the fringes of white society where they faced poverty, chronic unemployment, and discrimination. This additional cultural attack by U.S. government policies exacerbated the pain of cultural loss, familial disintegration, and poor self-esteem stemming from a negative cultural identity. Many turned to suicide as an escape and to alcohol as a means of medicating the pain and grief (Lomawaima, 1994).

The termination of the sovereign status of certain Native tribes, a congressional policy of the early 1950s, was another attempt at assimilation that resulted in forced relocation for many Native peo-

ple. The tribal members affected by the policy moved from reservations into urban areas with little to no adequate preparation. Federal policy connected with the program failed to provide Native people with the financial and occupational preparation they were promised. Many were given small amounts of cash, one-way bus tickets to urban areas, and promises of good jobs and job training that never materialized. Additionally, they were culturally unprepared for urban life. They were given substandard housing, which was often in ghetto areas dominated by other minorities, making it difficult for Native people to maintain cultural traditions (Carr, 1996).

Poverty and cultural isolation exacerbated pre-existing unresolved cultural grief and trauma, and successive Native descendants suffered from continued cultural isolation and further identity loss. This reaction cycle, combined with poor cultural identity, was negatively reinforced by continued substance abuse, effectively expanding it to urban areas. Inordinately high rates of substance abuse among Native American adolescents has resulted in higher rates of suicide per capita than those among other minorities, fueled as it has been by unresolved cultural grief and poor cultural identity.

In many Indian communities, alcoholism and other substance abuse are closely linked with involvement in the justice system. Alcohol is not sold on reservations, and liquor stores in cities located nearby draw many Indian customers, who drink and then drive back home under the influence. The sad toll of alcohol-related fatalities touches many reservation families, as do arrest and conviction for vehicular homicide. For the individuals convicted of that offense, incarceration generally means confinement in federal prisons hundreds of miles away from home and family, further exacerbating the pain of cultural loss and grief created by the initial problems of substance abuse and addiction.

### **The Methamphetamine Epidemic**

In the years since 2000, methamphetamine (meth) use has been wreaking havoc on Native nations. According to a report by the National Survey on Drug Use and Health (2005), the prevalence of meth use by American Indians and Alaska Natives was the second highest among all demographic groups surveyed, which included Pacific Islanders, Hispanics, African Americans, and Caucasians.





Meth is a stimulant that can cause extreme paranoia, psychosis, dementia, and amnesia. A meth high involves prolonged periods of time without food and sleep. Additionally, it can cause high blood pressure, stroke, and heart attack as a result of the rapid heart rate that occurs for extended periods of time. Meth has been easier to buy on some reservations than marijuana, although, ironically, federal “war on drugs” policies focus mainly on marijuana. Meth use among Natives in the northern Plains area may have begun when Indian cowboys traveling the rodeo circuit used it to cope with long-distance driving and subsequently to stay alert after traveling when competing in rodeo events (Farquhar, 2005).

The Navajo Nation in Arizona has been hit especially hard by methamphetamine use. Their governing council voted in early 2005 to outlaw the drug, making its possession and sale punishable by a fine of up to \$5,000 and a year in tribal jail. The Chippewa-Cree Business Committee on the Rocky Boy Reservation in Montana adopted a “get tough” plan to curtail drug use that would result in the creation of a tribal drug court, workshops, and community forums to educate tribal members. Additional plans call for a centralized drug registry to track meth offenders and dealers from one reservation to the next, which they believe will play a major role in eliminating traffickers who exploit existing alcohol addicts among Native people, because polysubstance dependency is more difficult to treat and to recover from.

Similar efforts have developed on the Wind River Reservation, home to the Arapaho and Eastern Shoshone, where an extensive drug ring was broken up in 2005. The perpetrators attempted to circumvent state law enforcement jurisdictions by developing an elaborate business plan for distributing meth on reservations, where it was not yet illegal. Rosebud, Pine Ridge, Yankton, and Santee Sioux Reservations, as well as Wind River, were targeted by the elaborate scheme. The plan was carried out by dealers establishing residency on the reservations, developing relationships with Indian women, and giving away free samples of meth. The Indian recipients of this “business plan” eventually became methamphetamine addicts and distributors themselves in an effort to fund their own addiction. Through the combined law enforcement efforts of the Wind River Reservation Police and the state of Wyoming, the original distributors were arrested, tried, and convicted (Farquhar, 2005).

Multijurisdictional drug task forces have developed between reservation and state law enforcement for tracking and arresting meth users since 2005. The sprawling land base of Native nations has been an easy target for dealers establishing distribution operations because tribes have lagged behind states in developing meth legislation ([www.Indianz.com/News](http://www.Indianz.com/News)). There is an especially grave concern about meth addiction among Native Americans. Many have survived alcoholism extending back several generations, but the current generation’s survival is dubious, because the drug’s damaging effects are far more serious than those of alcohol (Farquhar, 2005). The new tribal laws against meth will make it easier for Indian and non-Indian law enforcement organizations to work together in putting more pressure on reservation dealers.

### **Peyote and the Native American Church**

Peyote use by members of the Native American Church has often been confused with substance abuse by mainstream America. Peyote is considered to be a sacred substance by American and Mexican Indians and has a rich history extending back as far as 200 CE in Mexico (Smith, 1996). The Native American Church plays a role for many Indian people in recovery from substance abuse that cannot be overstated. The peyote ceremony prohibits alcohol and drug use for a designated time before and after, and peyote ingestion itself reduces the craving for alcohol. Peyote use is legalized for ceremonial uses only by the Native American Church, which has become a pan-Indian spiritual practice in twenty-three states. Ceremonies are conducted by Road Men who are legally authorized to use, transport, and possess peyote for ceremonial purposes. In 2005, the Navajo Nation created a law limiting peyote use to Native American Church members with the hope of preventing its use by “New Age” spiritual seekers who come onto the reservation seeking peyote experiences.

### **Addiction Treatment and Recovery**

The subject of substance abuse among Native Americans must include information about treatment and recovery efforts to avoid the impression that Native substance abuse is a hopeless illness. In the past ten years, the most successful treatments





have been culturally specific and holistic (Bordewich, 1996). Prior to the development of culturally specific treatment, the dropout and relapse rates among Indians were much higher because conventional mainstream addiction recovery approaches were antagonistic to Native values. Most contemporary treatment programs include the core beliefs of the Medicine Wheel, the Circle of Life encompassing the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual aspects of human life. Successful Native treatment programs include a transcendental worldview and an emphasis on wellness rather than on the disease model of health.

Non-Native treatment counselors must learn to understand Native values and have a working knowledge of historical influences as the root causes and perpetuators of substance abuse (J. T. Garrett and M. W. Garrett, 1994). In a research project conducted by the Minnesota Department of Human Services Chemical Dependency Division in 1995, Indian women were participants in a culturally specific substance abuse treatment program. The project's objective was to gather information used to develop a treatment approach that was successful in developing a healthy recovery model for Native people. Each of the women participants was surveyed to determine what she valued as most effective in recovery. The results overwhelmingly pointed to successful cultural involvement, including Native community social events, participation in spiritual ceremonies such as Sun Dance, Sweat Lodge, Native American Church, Talking Circle, and tribally specific healing ceremonies such as the Navajo Sing.

The participants also viewed recovery as a community issue rather than as an individual issue, suggesting a focus on wellness; avoiding labels of "sick," "powerlessness," and "victim"; and an emphasis on strength and resilience. These women considered regaining the loss of cultural identity to be the key factor in treatment and recovery. The ability to regain and maintain healthy cultural values in conjunction with a community-focused approach is echoed in other culturally specific treatment programs, such as White Bison and Eagle Lodge in Colorado.

Since community is a vital core value among Native people, other culturally specific programs that have been developed for prevention as well as treatment are community oriented in their approach. Relapse prevention is also considered to be a culturally specific approach since the basis of maintaining sobriety for Indian people also requires cultural and social activities. For Native Americans, the Circle of

Life was broken centuries ago in the initial causes of substance abuse, and healing must focus on restoration of the Hoop.

Merlene Bishop

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## Archaeology and the First Americans

### Introduction

It is unclear when or how people first came to the Americas. Native American oral histories on the subject vary, and different groups have different histories. Some describe journeys by land through different worlds and environments, while others describe coming by water, and others believe that the first people originated of the American continents. The first Europeans to come to the Americas in historic times believed that Native Americans originated in the Old World (Europe, Africa, and Asia), based on their biblical beliefs that the genesis of all people occurred in the Garden of Eden. In addition to oral and biblical histories, archaeological research provides science-based evidence addressing the question of human origins in the Americas by dating geological events and artifacts in the context of environmental change. Most archaeological sites are dated by the radiocarbon method, and radiocarbon years can be different than calendar (solar) years. The dates used in this presentation are calibrated to calendar years.

### Migration Routes and Colonization

Scientific evidence indicates that humans originated and evolved in the Old World, first in Africa, then colonizing Asia, Europe and, later, Australia. There are many early (200,000- to 20,000-year-old) sites throughout the Americas that some researchers suggest were occupied prior to the last Ice Age, but the dating or integrity of all these sites has been questioned by subsequent research. The fossil remains of early humans, such as *Homo erectus* and Neanderthals, found in Africa, Europe, and Asia are hundreds of thousands years old. However, the fossil remains of humans found in North and South America are not that old. In fact, the earliest reliably dated human remains from the Americas are only about 13,350 years old. This and other evidence suggests people first arrived in the Americas no more than about 18,000 years ago, near the end of the last Ice Age. The limited extent of ice-free migration routes during that time limited possible migration routes available to the first people to colonize the Americas.

The idea that humans may have first entered the Americas via a land route in the high northern lati-



*Clovis spear points, similar to ones eventually discovered throughout the North American continent, have a distinctive design with six-inch long, two-inch wide, fluted points. (Warren Morgan/Corbis)*

tudes was first suggested by a Spanish priest, Fray de Acosta, more than 400 years ago. Over time, this concept became deeply embedded in scientific thought. Archaeological evidence indicated that people living in central Asia hunted large Ice Age animals, like the extinct woolly mammoth, as well as other animals that did not become extinct during the last Ice Age, such as bison. According to this theory, early people, hunting large Ice Age animals, crossed the land bridge into Alaska and then moved south into central-western Canada. From there they were able to colonize the more southern areas of North America and eventually South America. This theory seemed plausible because some of the oldest archaeological sites in the Americas contained the bones of Ice Age animals similar to those people had hunted in Asia. Research conducted in the 1980s and 1990s questioned the viability of this theory and led to a reconsideration of other routes.

The climate was much colder during the last Ice Age, and massive glaciers formed a huge ice sheet covering most of Canada. The ice blocked access





between what is today Alaska and the continental United States. Polar sea ice extended south into the Atlantic, covering Greenland, Iceland, and all but the most southern areas of Ireland and England. Because much of the earth's water was trapped in glacial ice, the sea level was lower than it is today. The continental shelves and the floor of the Bering and Chukchi Seas were exposed as dry land, creating the Bering Land Bridge. The geography of the Ice Age limited migration routes into the Americas to four possibilities: (1) the Beringian Mid-Continental, (2) the Northwest Coastal, (3) the Pacific, and (4) the Atlantic (see Figure 1). By analyzing the environmental conditions that existed during the last Ice Age, it is possible to evaluate each of these possible routes.

The Beringian Mid-Continental route presumes that hunters and gatherers first entered North America from Asia across the Bering Land Bridge. They then moved south into central-western Canada through a hypothetical ice-free corridor. Geologists working in Canada have demonstrated that such a corridor did not exist during most of the Ice Age and that connections between eastern Beringia and areas south of the continental glaciers were not established until about 13,000 years ago. Supporting this conclusion, no animal bones dating between 25,000 to 13,000 years ago have been found in the region formerly believed to have been ice-free. This evidence indicates that the ice-free corridor did not exist during the last Ice Age. It precludes a midcontinental route for human entry between about 21,000 and 13,000 years ago, possibly even later.

However, glacial melting (a process known as deglaciation) along the Northwest Coast of North America had begun by 16,800 years ago and was sufficiently advanced to enable people using watercraft to colonize coastal areas by 15,350 years ago. The remains of land and sea mammals, birds, and fish dating to this time have been discovered along the Northwest Coast, demonstrating sufficient resources for people to survive. Because earlier geologic misinterpretations indicated that the region had been ice covered until about 11,350 years ago, very little archaeological work has been undertaken to explore this region as a possible migration route.

Whereas the Bering Land Bridge-ice-free corridor model for human colonization requires an economy based on hunting terrestrial mammals, freshwater fishing, and pedestrian travel, the coastal hypothesis suggests an economy based on marine mammal hunting, saltwater fishing/shellfish gathering, and the use of watercraft. Each would have

required different types of adaptations to the New World. If the coastal colonization hypothesis is to be fully evaluated, the late Pleistocene coastal archaeology of western North America will require additional and sustained research efforts equivalent to those that have traditionally focused on midcontinental North America.

Some researchers believe humans may have crossed the vast expanse of the Pacific, colonizing South America and later moving into North America. Support for this theory is based on sites such as Monte Verde in southern Chile and Tiamá-Tiamá in northern Venezuela, which may be older than any site in North America. Biological evidence suggests that some of the earliest skeletons found in South America share similarities with examples from Polynesia and Australia.

A North Atlantic migration has been proposed by some who recognize similarities in tool-making technology between the Clovis complex of North America, dating to between 13,300 and 12,850 years ago, and the Solutrean tradition of Europe. This has led some archaeologists to suggest that, with the use of watercraft, Solutrean people (maritime hunters and fishing people) may have been able to reach North America from Europe by moving westward along the sea ice edge of the North Atlantic during the last Ice Age. Although the Solutrean tradition ended about 19,000 years ago in Portugal and Spain, the theory suggests that several pre-Clovis sites in North America, possibly including Meadowcroft Rock Shelter and the Cactus Hill site (Figure 2), may indicate continuity between the two cultural traditions.

While all these migration theories are possible, the preponderance of linguistic and biological evidence indicates that Native Americans most likely originated somewhere in northeastern Asia. The Northwest Coast, midcontinental, and Pacific routes lead from there to the Americas. Because the midcontinental route was not open until 11,000 to 11,500 years ago and transoceanic travel is so dangerous, the most plausible route for the first colonization of the Americas seems to be along the southern coast of the Bering Land Bridge and then southward along the Northwest Coast of North America.

These potential migration routes were not mutually exclusive. The colonization of the Americas may have involved many groups of people, possibly originating from different places in the Old World at different times. Migration was probably a complex process that spanned a long period of time. There are



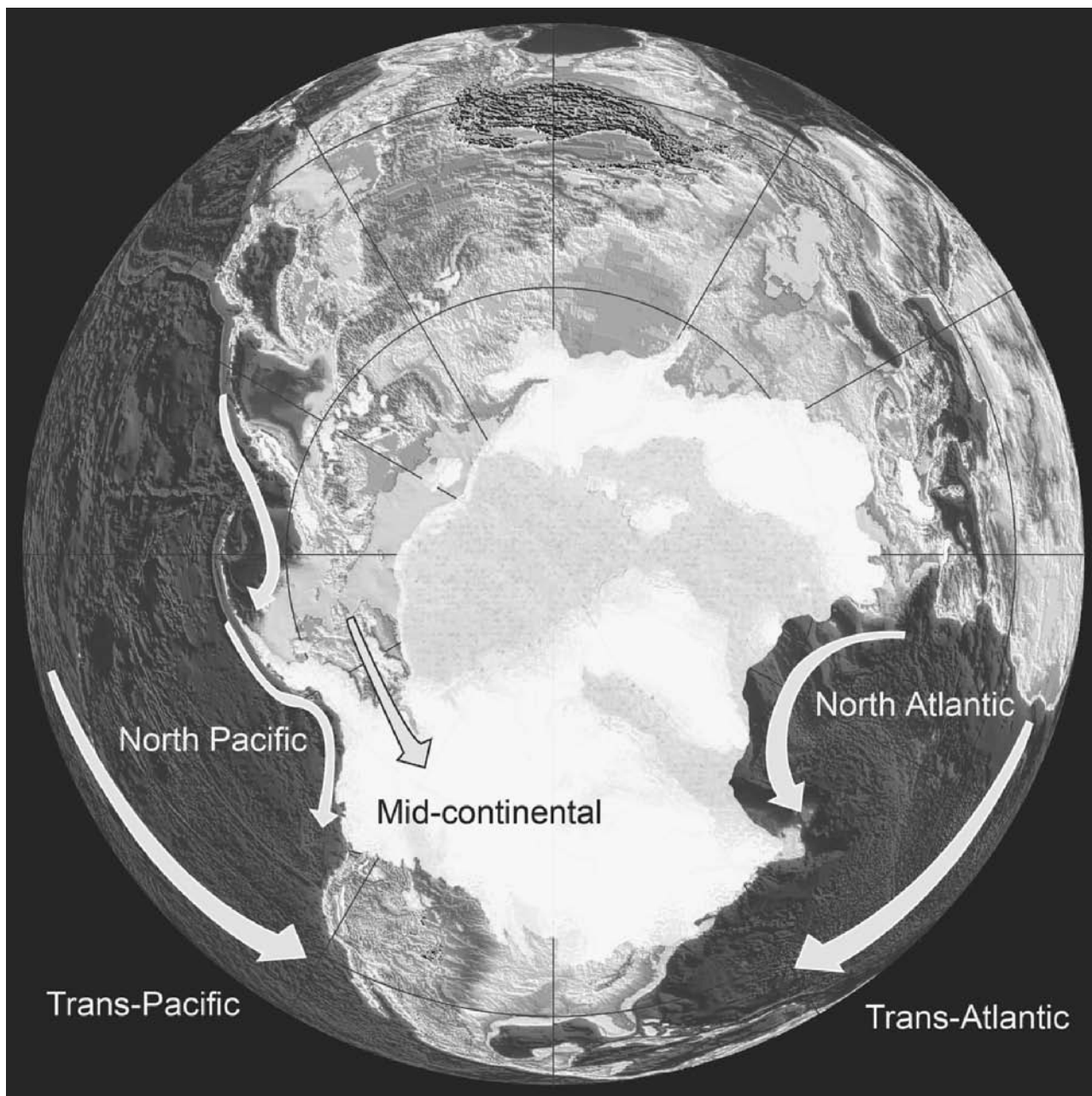


Figure 1. North polar projection depicting the extent of glacial ice at the height of the last Ice Age, about 21,000 years ago, with possible colonization routes.

tantalizing biological and technological clues that suggest that, prior to the arrival of Europeans in the fifteenth century, there was possible contact, and possibly even colonization, between the Americas and Australia, Polynesia, Europe, and even Africa.

Many sites in the Americas that appear to be reliably dated and interpreted are older than 13,000 years. Some of the better-known sites in North America include Meadowcroft Rock Shelter in Penn-

sylvania (19,000 years old), Cactus Hill in Virginia (18,000 years old), the Schaefer and Hebior sites in Wisconsin (14,200 years old), Swan Point in Alaska (13,900), Little Salt Springs in Florida (13,800 years old), and Manis Mastodon site in Washington State (13,700 years old) (Figure 2). Archaeological sites dating to this time period are rare and appear to have been occupied by few people for short periods of time. The little data available suggest that the



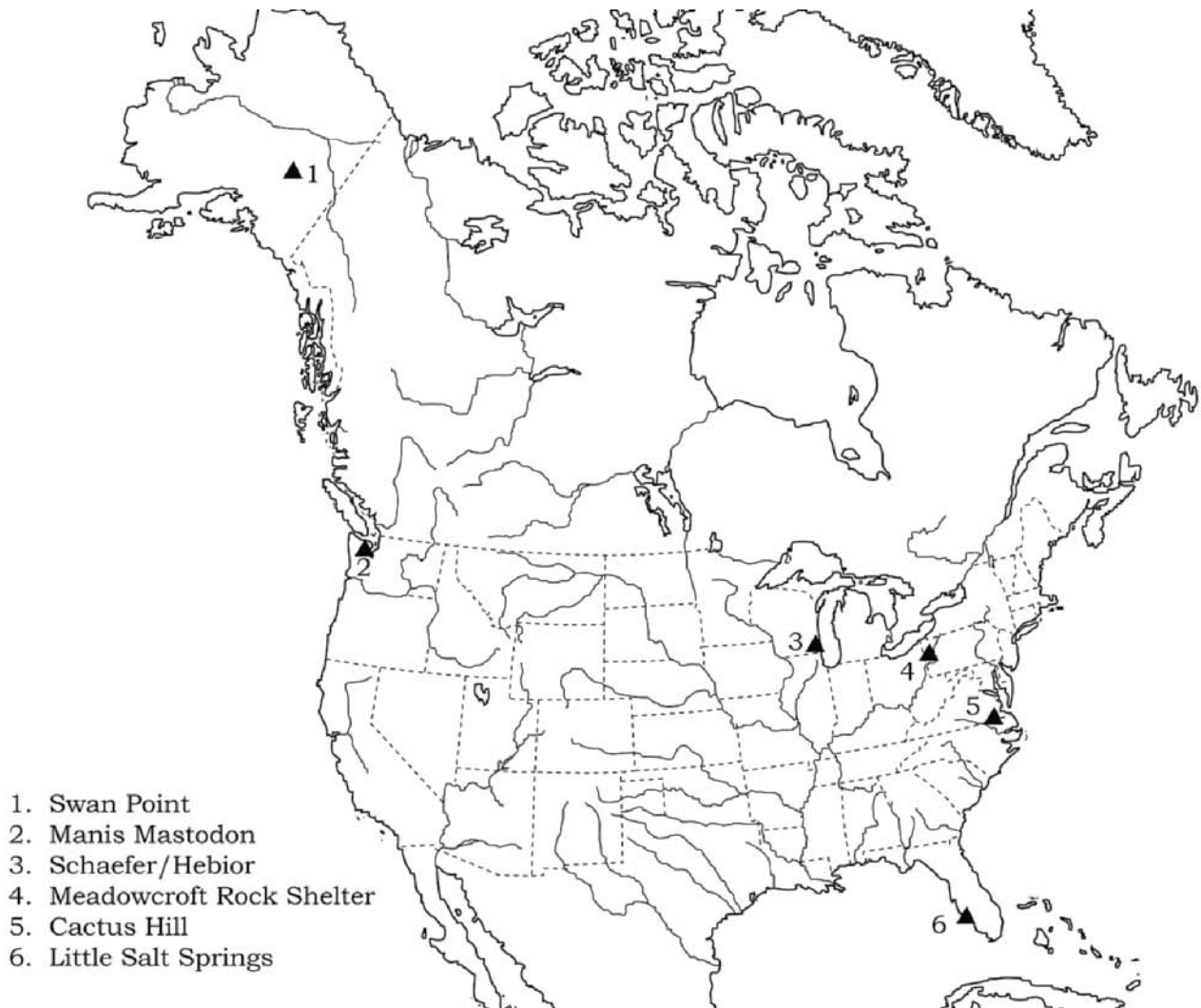


Figure 2. The locations of select archaeological sites possibly older than 13,000 years in North America.

population was small and that people made their living by hunting, gathering, and foraging. It is possible that many sites dating to this time period are currently underwater because they were located along the coast and were flooded by the rising sea level at the end of the Ice Age.

### Regional Development (13,500–10,000 years ago)

Archaeologists generally separate the archaeology of North America into time periods that are subdivided into traditions and complexes. The term “Paleo-Indian tradition” was introduced during the 1940s and is widely used to characterize sites older than about 9,000 years. These sites contain stone projectile points that generally have a characteristic “flute”

extending from the base toward the tip, along with a wide variety of other artifacts and later “lanceolate” types of projectile points (Figure 3). The people who made and used these tools subsisted by hunting, fishing, and foraging; they often hunted large animals such as bison. The Paleo-Indian tradition is recognized throughout most of North America. This is the earliest evidence, based on artifacts found at diverse archaeological sites throughout North and South America, documenting the widespread settlement of the New World.

In the area east of the Mississippi River, there appears to have been a gradual transition from Paleo-Indian tradition to artifact assemblages characteristic of later archaeological cultures. In the central part of the North American continent (the Great Plains region), the Paleo-Indian tradition includes



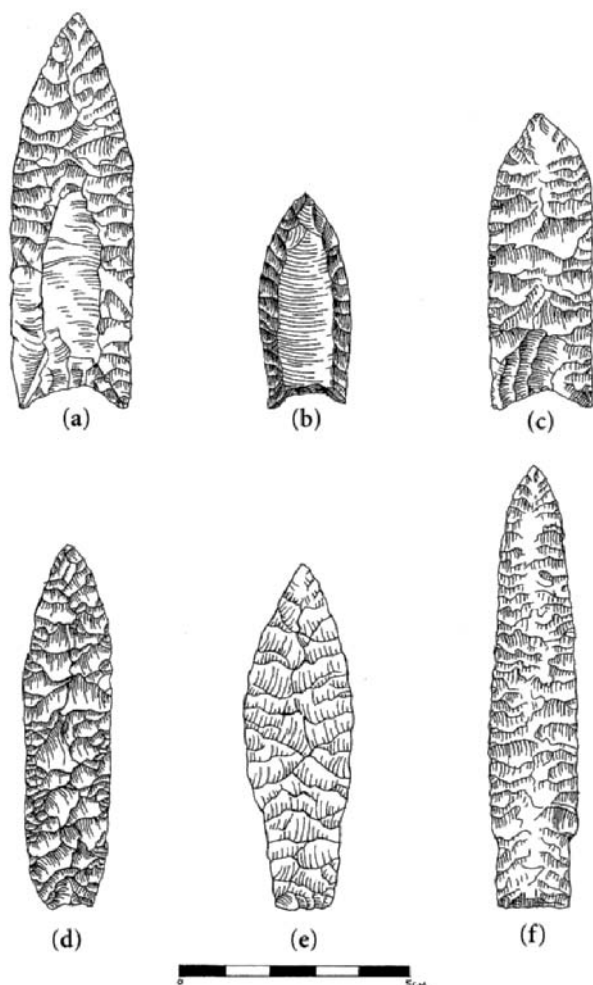


Figure 3. Early North American stone projectile point types: (a) Clovis, (b) Folsom, (c–f) later point forms (Dixon, 1999, 214).

the Clovis complex dating from 13,300 to 12,900 years ago and the Folsom complex, which lasted from 12,900 until 11,800 years ago. Clovis sites are the only ones associated with mammoth hunting in North America. (Folsom sites are most commonly associated with bison hunting.) Mammoths (Ice Age animals related to elephants) became extinct at this time. This and other evidence has led some scientists to suggest that the first people to colonize the Americas may have caused the extinction of these and other large mammals as a result of overhunting or possibly the introduction of new diseases. However, other theories suggest that their extinction was due to environmental change.

Fluted points have been found in the far west of North America, the region extending from the continental divide of the Rocky Mountains west to the Pacific Ocean. In the Far West these types of artifacts

are believed to be about the same age as the Clovis and Folsom complexes because they are stylistically similar to the examples from the Great Plains. They are commonly referred to as the Western Fluted Point tradition. However, another group of artifacts found throughout the Far West includes stone projectile points with “stemmed” bases rather than flutes. Although they have not been firmly dated, some archaeologists believe they are as old as Clovis artifacts, possibly even older. The remains of plants, animals, birds, and fish indicate that the economy of the people of the Western Stemmed and Fluted Point traditions and those living on the Great Plains practiced a generalized economy, occasionally hunting large mammals such as mammoth and bison, but more typically harvesting a wide array of resources, including birds, fish, and plant foods whenever and wherever they were available.

In the Far North, in an area known as eastern Beringia (Alaska and areas of extreme northwestern Canada that were not covered by glacial ice during the last Ice Age [Figure 1]), the oldest archaeological remains are very different. They are called the Denali complex. The earliest radiocarbon dates for the Denali complex are about 13,900 calendar years ago, and the complex appears to have persisted until at least 8,000 years ago. The artifacts are very similar to those characteristic of the Upper Paleolithic (the latter period of the Old Stone Age) in Europe and Asia, and they clearly have their origins there. Along with a variety of other types of tools, these people used tiny slivers of stone, called microblades, inset in slots carved in antler or bone projectile points. These types of artifacts are very different from those of the Paleo-Indian and Western Stemmed and Fluted Point traditions, suggesting that these artifacts were made by different groups of people with different cultural backgrounds.

## Summary

When the continental glaciers started to melt about 17,000 years ago, the sea level rose rapidly. Land that previously had been covered by glaciers was exposed for the first time since the beginning of the last Ice Age and was rapidly colonized by plants and animals. People living along the coasts of North America retreated inland in response to rising sea levels. In other areas, people also began to occupy new environments created by deglaciation.

Scientific evidence suggests that North and South America were the last continents on Earth to





be occupied by people. Colonization took place during a time of dramatic climate change when the sea level was rising rapidly, many Ice Age animals were becoming extinct, the land was rebounding (rising upward) as the great weight of the glaciers disappeared, and terrestrial ecosystems were undergoing massive reorganization. Understanding the timing, origins, culture, and technology of the first people to occupy the Americas is important because these adaptations established the foundation for the subsequent cultural development in the Americas and for the rich and diverse cultures that followed.

E. James Dixon

See also Bering Strait Theory; Kennewick Man; Paleo-Indians.

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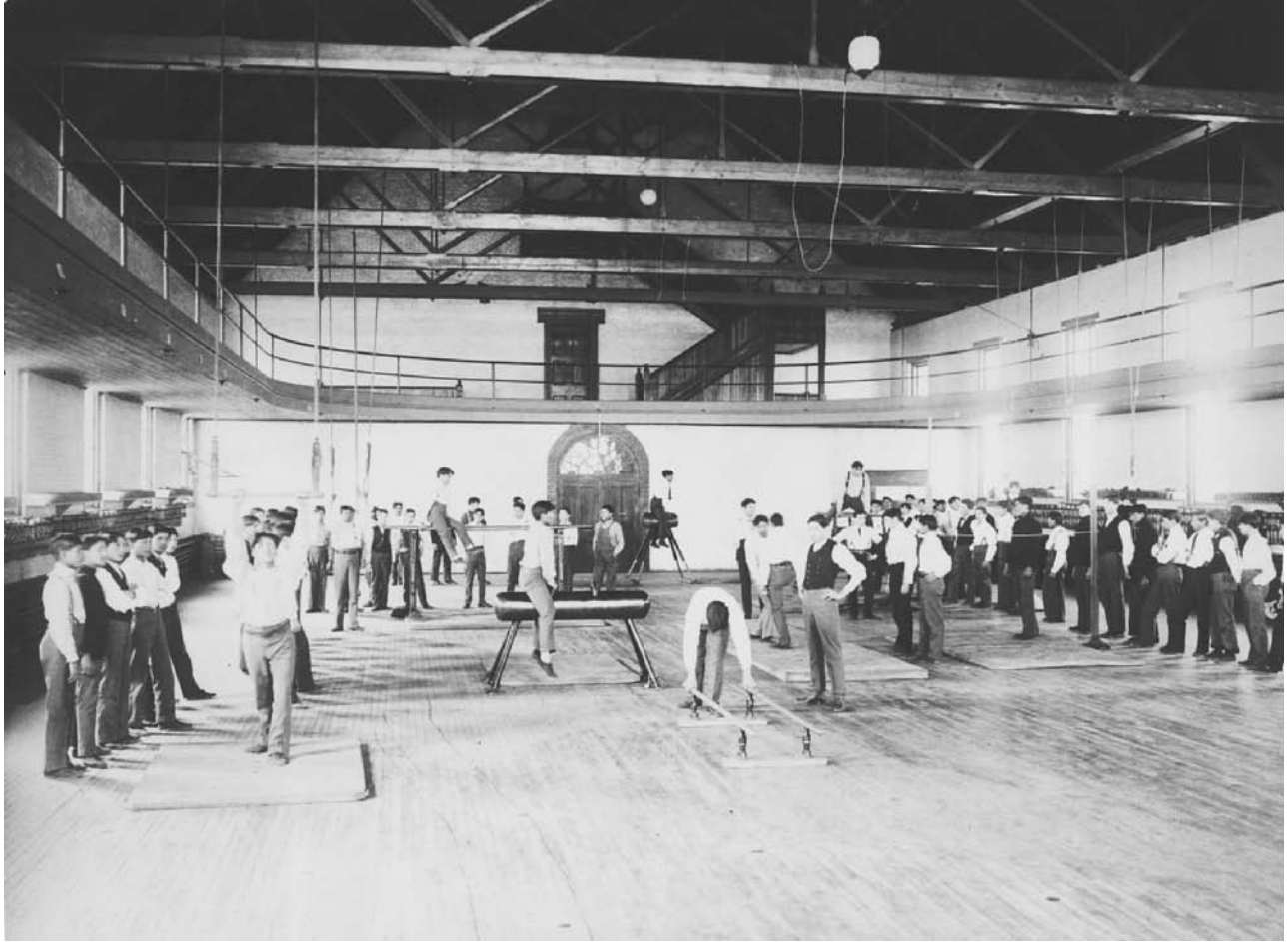
## Assimilation

Assimilation is the process of losing one culture and taking on another. Members of any given culture are naturally ethnocentric in that they tend to believe that the culture they are born into is the right and natural way for people to live and those who live differently are not "normal." Two logical conclusions can arise from ethnocentric thinking. At worst, one can consider other groups inferior and subject to genocide or compelled to exist in second-class citizenship or even slavery. On the other hand, groups lower down on a supposed social-evolutionary scale could be helped to progress and become like the members of the dominant culture, in other words to assimilate and become "civilized."

It is not normal to give up one's mother culture. However, in colonial and immigrant situations at least partial assimilation is common because either the colonial power introduces an educational system based on its language and culture or immigrants try to adjust to living in a new country. For American Indians, after what sometimes was an initial period of equality, European colonists soon got the upper hand militarily and sought to impose their culture on Indians through missionary activity and schooling.

Because of a drive in Christianity to convert nonbelievers, European colonists sought to make Christians of American Indians. Indians saw Christianity as more than the acceptance of a specific religious theology; they saw it as a way of life that involved living like the colonists, speaking their language, dressing like them, and becoming farmers. Catholic Jesuits and Franciscans were especially active in Canada and in Central and South America, working to Christianize and assimilate Indians, while Protestants made similar efforts in the British colonies. Protestant missionary John Eliot, for example, helped set up fourteen "Praying Towns" of converted Indians near Boston between 1651 and 1674.





*Male Native American students in physical education class, Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, ca. 1902. (Library of Congress)*

After the American Revolution, Thomas J. McKenney, the United States Superintendent of Indian Trade from 1816 to 1822, lobbied the U.S. Congress for a national system of Indian schools run by missionaries and supported by the government. In 1818 a House committee declared:

In the present state of our country, one of two things seems to be necessary: either that these sons of the forest should be moralized or exterminated. Humanity would rejoice at the former, but shrink with horror from the latter. Put into the hands of their children the primer and the hoe, and they will naturally, in time, take hold of the plough; and, as their minds become enlightened and expand, the Bible will be their book, and they will grow up in habits of morality and industry, leave the chase to those whose minds are less cultivated, and

become useful members of society (Prucha, 1984, 150).

Christian missionary work in Asia and Africa was used as an example of what could be done for Indians.

In 1819 Congress passed the Indian Civilization Act authorizing spending up to \$10,000 a year to pay missionaries and other interested individuals to teach Indians “for the purpose of providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes, adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization.” Funding under this act continued until its repeal in 1873. While \$10,000 had a lot more purchasing power than it does today, even combined with Indian treaty funds, relatively few Indian children actually received any kind of schooling under this Act.





Despite the fact that the Five Civilized Tribes of the Southeast, including the Cherokee, showed considerable progress toward assimilation in the early years of the nineteenth century, some starting small plantations and owning slaves, the U.S. government, especially under President Andrew Jackson, chose to emphasize a policy in the 1820s and 1830s of what is now called ethnic cleansing to make Indian lands available to white settlers. Most of the eastern tribes were forcibly exiled to lands in the West. Living in Indian Territory (now the state of Oklahoma) and on Indian reservations elsewhere in the west (including small reserves in Canada), Indians were able to keep some of their tribal culture alive. However, increasing demands by immigrants for land and assimilationist pressures led to a whittling away of the U.S. Indian reservations.

After the Civil War, in 1868, President Ulysses S. Grant's Peace Commissioners reported that, "In the difference of language to-day lies two-thirds of our trouble . . . Schools should be established, which children should be required to attend; their barbarous dialect should be blotted out and the English language substituted." Speaking English was a sign of assimilation. In the 1870s, as railroads reached across the United States, the U.S. government put more money into assimilating Indians through schools. A leader in this effort was Army Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt, who founded the Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania in 1879. Pratt's idea of starting a boarding school for Indians in the eastern United States was to get Indian children as far away from their parents as possible so that they would totally assimilate. Pratt believed there was nothing of value in Indian cultures and his goal was total assimilation, to "[k]ill the Indian and save the man," an advertising slogan he coined to promote the boarding schools. To reinforce the assimilationist English-only classroom education at Carlisle, Pratt also placed Indian students into white households for months or more in what he called the Outing System. He wanted Indian students to become Christians, stay in the East after they left Carlisle, become U.S. citizens, and even to intermarry with whites. Twenty-four more boarding schools patterned after Carlisle were started in the next quarter century, but these schools were all built in the West, closer to Indian reservations. The Canadians duplicated the U.S. system with their residential schools but continued to fund mostly Anglican and Catholic efforts up to the 1960s rather than having the government directly operate the schools, as increasingly became the case

in the United States. Three of the U.S. boarding schools remained open in 2005 as Indian high schools overseen by Indian school boards.

In the 1880s an unrealistic optimism prevailed in regard to assimilation, as exemplified by the government's Indian School Superintendent who declared in 1885 that, "if there were a sufficient number of reservation boarding-school-buildings to accommodate all the Indian children of school age . . . the Indian problem would be solved within the school age of the Indian child now six years old" (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 75). In conjunction with the expansion of government schooling for Indians on and off reservations, under the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887, "surplus land" on many reservations was thrown open to white settlement. At the same time, Indians were pressured to take small allotments to farm, which they eventually could sell, and to move toward U.S. citizenship.

When Darwin's theory of evolution became well-known in the late nineteenth century, a corollary theory of Social Darwinism became popular that put forth the idea that cultures evolved and that Euro-American culture was the highest level of evolution, with other cultures being lower down on the evolutionary scale. Although there was no scientific basis for this theory, it fed the egotism and ethnocentrism of white Americans and Europeans and provided renewed justification for assimilating American Indians into Euro-American white culture.

Albert Kneale, who started teaching Indians in 1899, noted in his autobiography that the U.S. government's Indian Bureau "at that time, always went on the assumption that any Indian custom was, per se, objectionable, whereas the customs of whites were the ways of civilization" (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 163). However, this ethnocentrism was not unique to dominant colonizing powers such as the Canadian and U.S. governments. Kneale, who worked thirty-six years as a teacher, principal, and Indian agent, also noted:

Every tribe with which I have associated is imbued with the idea that it is superior to all other peoples. Its members are thoroughly convinced of their superiority not alone over members of all other tribes but over the whites as well. . . . I have never known an Indian who would consent to being changed into a white man even were he convinced that such a change could readily be accomplished (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 162–163).





Because of this Indian ethnocentrism, Kneale concluded that many Indians remained unassimilated even though in boarding schools they “were taught to despise every custom of their forefathers, including religion, language, songs, dress, ideas, methods of living” (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 195). Under these conditions, some Indians developed what John Ogbu (1995) has termed an “oppositional identity,” rejecting schools as a place for becoming “white.”

Assimilation became a national political issue in the late nineteenth century as first Irish Catholics and then Eastern Europeans increasingly flooded into the United States, threatening the dominance of the mostly Protestant earlier immigrants from northwestern Europe. The fact that the Catholics were more successful than the Protestants in setting up schools for Indians using government funding led to the government’s ending funding for missionary schools in the 1890s and operating their own schools, which tended to teach a nondenominational Protestant-oriented Christianity.

The U.S. government repeatedly demanded in the 1880s that all instruction in missionary and government schools be in the English language. The government also banned traditional Indian religious ceremonies, including the Sun Dance of the Plains Indians. Similar policies in Canada were not reversed until 1960. In the United States, tribal police under the control of Indian agents enforced the suppression of Indian traditional religious activities, and parents who would not send their children to school risked having rations cut off and even being jailed. In 1894, nineteen Hopi men were sent to the military prison on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. Such harsh measures led to some assimilation, but also to resistance. Hopi artist Fred Kabotie, who was born in 1900 and who attended boarding school, recalled, “I’ve found the more outside education I receive, the more I appreciate the true Hopi way. When the missionaries would come into the village and try to convert us, I used to wonder why anyone would want to be a Christian if it meant becoming like those people” (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 201). Students entering Indian schools received white clothes, haircuts, and names. Corporal punishment and school “jails” were used to enforce the assimilationist English-only school rules.

In the 1890s, as students began to return to their homes after attending boarding school, it became apparent that many had not assimilated in the way Pratt and others had hoped. In addition, a growing

group of people began to see Indian cultures as a valuable part of the American heritage and something worth preserving. Voices raised against total assimilation included those of the founding director of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology John Wesley Powell, Clark University President G. Stanley Hall, and anthropologist Franz Boas. Powell and Hall emphasized the need for understanding the values of Indian cultures, while Boas put forward the idea of “cultural relativism,” where white cultures were not better than Indian cultures—just different.

The Great Depression that started with the stock market crash of 1929 made many Americans question the superiority of their capitalistic society. Some had doubted that superiority even earlier as they worked in settlement houses in the slums of New York and Chicago. One such doubter was John Collier, who became Commissioner of Indian Affairs after the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1920 Collier had seen something in American Indian cultures that he found missing in mainstream American culture and that he found to be “manipulative, exploitive, and imposed.” As a result, he concluded, “*Assimilation*, not into our culture but into modern life, and *preservation and intensification of heritage* are not hostile choices, excluding one another, but are interdependent through and through. . . . It is the ancient tribal, village, communal organization which must conquer the modern world” (1963, 203, 234, emphasis in original). As commissioner from 1933 to 1945, Collier hired anthropologists to work in the Indian Office, including students of Franz Boas such as Dr. Ruth Underhill, who became Supervisor of Indian Education.

In the twentieth century, Indian students increasingly attended public schools, where it was felt they would assimilate faster sitting side by side with white students. In Canada this trend accelerated in the 1950s. However, it was not unusual to find the white students sitting in the front, the mixed-blood students in the middle, and the full-blood students sitting in the back of “integrated” classrooms. In larger schools, Indian students could be relegated to special education “opportunity rooms.”

A major factor in breaking down the isolation of Indian reservations and promoting assimilation was the experiences of the many American Indians who served in the armed forces, especially during both world wars. Serving alongside white Americans, unlike blacks who served in segregated units, Indians improved their English and learned about





the outside world. Indians' service in World War II promoted a conservative call "to set Indians free" from their reservations. After the war, Indians were encouraged to leave their reservations and relocate to cities where it was hoped they would find jobs, and the Republican administration under Dwight Eisenhower sought to complete the assimilation of American Indians by terminating their reservations. However, Indian groups like the National Congress of American Indians founded in 1944 fought these efforts and only a few tribes were actually terminated.

Despite some culturally sensitive efforts, such as under Collier's leadership, Indian education in the United States stayed essentially assimilationist into the 1960s. Then the civil rights movement began to create a climate for more culturally appropriate education. The Bilingual Education Act was passed in 1968, which, although intended at first for Mexican-Americans, was soon expanded to include American Indians. However, its main purpose was to teach English and often Indian languages were taught only for a few minutes a day by teachers without language training, too often resulting in students' learning only a few words of their tribal language and a superficial knowledge of their traditional culture.

Canadian Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Jean Chrétien stated in 1972 that Indian education continued to be "a whitewash, . . . a process to equip him with white values, goals, language, skills needed to succeed in the dominant society" that served "no purpose in the child's world. . . . Rather it alienates him from his own people" (Milloy 1999, 199). In the United States an Indian Education Act was passed in 1972 to provide culturally relevant supplemental programs for Indian students in public schools, and in 1975 Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, allowing tribes to contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs to run their own schools. In 1978 an Indian Religious Freedoms Act was passed, making it "the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians." The 1978 Act reversed the suppression of traditional Indian religions and an Indian Child Welfare Act that stated "that an alarmingly high percentage of Indian families are broken up by the removal, often unwarranted, of their children from them by nontribal public and private agencies

and that an alarmingly high percentage of such children are placed in non-Indian foster and adoptive homes and institutions." The 1990 Native American Languages Act supported the continued use of American Indian languages.

From 1998 to 2002, votes on antibilingual education English for the Children propositions were spearheaded and financed in California, Arizona, Massachusetts, and Colorado by Ron Unz, a computer millionaire. Unz portrayed himself as "a strong believer in American assimilationism," and he wrote of the "social decay and violence" in the new multiethnic California and how the passage of Proposition 227 would save America from ethnic divisiveness (1999). While a flood of immigrants, especially from Mexico, brought on by the loosening of immigration regulations in 1965 were Unz's targets, American Indians were not exempted from the provisions of the initiatives he backed. Indian tribes in Arizona saw its English for the Children proposition as a direct attack at their attempts to revitalize their languages and strongly opposed it. In a September 2000 press release, Navajo Nation President Kelsey Begaye declared that the "preservation of Navajo culture, tradition, and language" was the number one guiding principle of the Navajo Nation. Unfortunately, in democracies the rights of minorities can become subject to the tyranny of the majority, and the English for the Children laws were passed by voters in three of the four states where they were introduced, including Arizona.

In the twenty-first century, globalization is impacting indigenous peoples worldwide with assimilationist pressures. Assimilation, which was greatly aided by the breakdown of isolation as roads were paved and Indians switched from horses to cars so that they could easily visit border towns, has vastly accelerated with the spread of movies, television, and video games, even into isolated reservation homes. The positive effects of assimilation and globalization are often touted, but this is not always the case. Omaha doctor Susan La Flesche found over a century ago that "voting and citizenship marked the beginning of alcohol abuse on the reservation. Local politicians with whiskey to dispense came to solicit the Omahas' votes, explaining to them that since they had the same rights as white men they could drink all they wanted" (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 82). Too often assimilation is into a popular culture that is materialistic, hedonistic, and individualistic. In 1999 Northern Cheyenne educator Richard Littlebear found that the breakdown of tribal culture by





assimilationist pressures led Indian youth to look to urban gangs for a sense of identity, importance, and belongingness, whereas he saw a return to their own tribal culture could offer the same needed sense of identity in a much healthier way. In 2005 when an Ojibwe high school student on the Red Lake Reservation in Minnesota shot and killed a teacher and seven students, Navajo Nation President Joe Shirley issued a statement that the breakdown of traditional tribal culture and poverty were responsible for creating the conditions on Indian reservations that made such a horrendous act possible.

Jon Reyhner

*See also* Anglicans; Baptist Church; Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Boas, Franz; Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Canada, Indian Policies of; Ceremonies, Criminalization of; Collier, John; Constitution Act; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Education; Episcopal Church; General Allotment (Dawes Act); Genocide; Identity; Indian Act; Indian Civilization Fund Act; Indian Removal Act; Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act; Language and Language Renewal; *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*; Meriam Report; Mission System, Spanish; Missionaries, French Jesuit; Mormon Church; Praying Villages of Massachusetts; Red Power Movement; Ross, John; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples; Termination; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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## Bering Strait Theory

According to the Bering Strait migration theory, the people now known as American Indians originated in Asia and wandered into the western hemisphere by way of a land bridge that once joined the eastern reaches of Siberia to western Alaska. This belief is now anthropological orthodoxy, taught as "fact" to schoolchildren and assumed virtually as self-evident "truth" in popular consciousness. The accepted timing of this presumed migration has shifted over time. During the first half of the twentieth century, it was widely believed to have begun no more than 4,000 years ago, although "reputable" scholars preferred the range of two to three millennia. Beginning in the late 1940s, it was declared that the crossing might have commenced as many as 15,000 years earlier. By the early 1990s reports noted that research in genetics and linguistics revealed a need to consider a number of other possible migration routes and a longer time line (some researchers have suggested as many as 30,000 years).

With the exception of a few marginalized academic "mavericks," the only significant resistance to the land bridge migration hypothesis comes from the Native North Americans who continue to embrace the origin stories of their own peoples' traditional understandings. They are regularly dismissed as adhering to a primitive mythic/religious worldview, long since displaced by the presumptively superior methods of Western science. However, the migration theory itself has not been supported by scientific evidence, but instead is





consistently tailored to meet the religious and/or political needs of Euro-American society.

Columbus's "discovery" of the western hemisphere and its large human population was difficult to reconcile with the Christian origin story of human descent from Adam and Eve. While some attempted to avoid the problem by classifying American Indians as nonhuman, most Western theologians preferred to believe that Indians were the progeny of the lost tribes of Israel. In 1650, rabbinical scholar Israel ben Mannasseh argued that Tartar migrants, with Jewish tribes among them, crossed an ancient land bridge now covered by what he termed the Strait of Anian sometime after the Assyrian conquest of 721 BCE. The "lost tribe" theory was embraced by American religious leaders from the Puritan Cotton Mather and the Quaker William Penn to Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormon Church.

Others, such as Thomas Jefferson, abandoned the theory of Judaic origins for the more "scientific" notion, also embedded in ben Mannasseh's thesis, that the earliest migrations across the land bridge were composed primarily of "Mongoloid stock." This, according to Jefferson, explained the resemblance between American Indians and the peoples of eastern Asia. Jefferson's motives were secular rather than religious; he hoped to reinforce the still-prevalent argument that Indians were no more genuinely indigenous to this land than the later arriving European settlers. A fervent advocate of human liberty who owned hundreds of slaves, Jefferson is not easy to read as an archaeologist. As a student of indigenous languages, he sometimes maintained that their number and complexity indicated a great antiquity for Native American cultures.

The immigrants came up with all manner of explanations for the human presence in the Americas. Constantine Samuel Rafinesque claimed to have discovered and deciphered what he called the *Walam Odum*, wooden tablets said to contain hieroglyphs depicting the settlement of North America by Lenape (Delaware) Indians, who crossed the frozen Bering Strait from Asia approximately 3,600 years ago. Since exposed as a crude hoax, it was defended by eminent archaeologists, ethnologists, linguists, and historians as recently as 1987.

In fact, the Bering Strait migration theory is not only unsupported but *countered* by available scientific evidence. One major problem is chronology, for until recently Western science insisted—and the belief is still prevalent—that modern humans did not appear in Europe until some

40,000 years ago. If so, it was unlikely that they could have spread across Asia to the far reaches of Siberia and then into North America until, at the earliest, some 20,000 years ago. In keeping with this theory, as late as the 1940s, scientists such as Ales Hrdlicka, curator of the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum, insisted that humans had inhabited the Americas for no more than 2,000 or 3,000 years.

The theory disregarded several important finds: the 1926 discovery near Folsom, New Mexico, of projectiles embedded in the bones of bison that had been extinct for some 10,000 years; the 1932 discovery of projectile points near Clovis, Texas, beneath a layer of earth containing Folsom points and lodged in the skeletons of woolly mammoths and camels extinct for twelve millennia; and the 1931 recovery of human skeletal remains in deposits from the last Ice Age.

Subsequently, however, geologists realized that the land bridge over which the migration supposedly took place would have been exposed only during an Ice Age, the most recent of which ended 10,000 years ago. In 1948 University of California anthropologist Alfred Louis Kroeber, who had replaced Hrdlicka as the "dean of the profession," was forced to revise anthropological orthodoxy, but he conceded a maximal date of human occupancy of only 12,000—then 15,000—years. Well before then, however, another eminent anthropologist and geologist had concluded that the "San Diego" skulls, discovered in 1926, were well over 40,000 years old. As radiocarbon and other dating techniques have evolved, human remains and artifacts found near Sunnyvale, California, and El Bosque, Nicaragua, have been dated to 70,000 years, and stone tools were found in San Diego's Mission Valley in a geological stratum more than 100,000 years old. By the mid-1960s, Louis Leakey, discoverer of *Australopithecines*, the oldest known protohuman remains, was convinced that evidence of even older sites, perhaps even the oldest of those occupied by fully modern humans (*Homo sapiens sapiens*), might be found in North America.

According to geologists, the most recent time when the whole of Beringia was above water lasted from approximately 35,000 to 10,000 years ago, but the conditions permitting human transit, if they existed at all, were limited to the period of maximum glaciation, approximately 25,000 to 15,000 years before the present. This renders problematic not only the evidence of human habitation that





significantly predates the 15,000-year maximum conceded by anthropologists, but also the locations and nature of these findings. How did people who first entered Alaska perhaps 15,000 years ago manage to establish themselves as far south as New Mexico or as far east as Pennsylvania at approximately the same time? How could they reach sites in present-day Venezuela, Brazil, and Chile more than 14,000 years ago? Evidence indicates that Fells Cave near Tierra del Fuego, at the very tip of South America, was inhabited about 8,500 years ago, and Monte Verde in Chile was occupied at least 13,000 years ago. In fact, several sites in South America predate Clovis in North America.

A related difficulty is raised by the Koster site in Illinois. While only approximately 8,000 years old, it clearly hosted a sizable and long-settled agrarian culture. How did the descendents of the primitive hunter-gatherers who are supposed to have crossed the Bering land bridge accomplish this in just a few thousand years, when it is generally accepted that it took the sedentary cultures of Mesopotamia about thirty millennia to do the same?

The Bering Strait thesis also presumes dispersal from the far northwest toward the south and east, yet many sites along the southern Atlantic seacoast substantially predate those in New England and eastern Canada. As a rule, coastal sites tend to be older than those in the interior. Even in Beringia, the oldest recorded site of human occupancy in eastern Siberia, is located at Lake Baikal, about 2,500 miles from the Strait. It appears to be an isolated and anomalous settlement, reliably dated at a little less than 20,000 years. On the American side, the most proximate site is the Old Crow/Bluefish Cave complex in the western Yukon, where there is evidence of numerous settlements. By some estimates, that area was occupied at least 24,800 years ago. If one applies the scientific method of proceeding from facts to conclusions, the available evidence indicates that, if anyone walked across an Ice Age Beringian land bridge, it was indigenous Americans moving into Asia rather than vice versa.

Another major difficulty with the land bridge theory relates to environmental conditions. Unless the migrants walked across 2,500 miles of open ice that was up to two miles thick, they would have followed an ice-free corridor approximately along the course of the McKenzie River today. If such a corridor existed, it would have opened up at the end of the last Ice Age, too late to account for most of the sites mentioned. Moreover, climatic evidence indi-

cates that in such a passage the air temperature would have been about 20 degrees *colder* than the surface of the glacial plateau.

And then there is the question of geography. As Vine Deloria, Jr., has pointed out, to even reach Beringia from the most proximate sites of habitation in Siberia, people would have had to cross two significant mountain ranges to arrive at the thousand or so miles of barren marshlands constituting the strait, after which they would have encountered the numerous mountain ranges that cut across present-day Alaska, both above and below the Arctic circle. The question becomes not so much whether this could have been done, but why anyone would have bothered. The standard response is that the "paleoliths" endured such hardships eventually to feed on the "megafauna" flourishing in the more temperate regions of Ice Age North America. Just how would Stone Age residents of the Asian steppes have known that an abundance of large game animals flourished 5,000 miles away, over a dozen mountain ranges, across a swampy land bridge, and through a frigid corridor? The anthropological establishment responds that the megafauna were already using the Beringian land bridge to migrate from North America into Asia, traversing that same daunting geography in the opposite direction. In other words, "science" tells us that humans could have gone in only one direction, but the mammoths could have, and apparently wanted to, move in the other.

Some scholars have pointed out the implausibility of these scenarios. One anthropologist proposes that people crossed the Bering Strait from Asia, then dispersed along both the western and the eastern seaboard. This is more consistent with the datings in coastal regions but does not explain why anyone would have traversed 3,000 miles across the North American Arctic before turning south. Others have speculated that people migrated along the southernmost edge of the land bridge, then moved south along the Pacific coastline before turning east. This avoids reliance on the theory of an ice-free corridor and allows dating back to perhaps 35,000 years.

The perceived need to restrict the inhabitation of the Americas to a very recent period also has been eased by the recently emerging consensus that *Homo sapiens sapiens* may have lived in the Middle East and southern Africa for at least seventy, rather than merely forty millennia. We may be on the verge of yet another revision of Western scientific orthodoxy that accounts for some—although by no means all—





of the inconsistencies in the data but maintains the political utility of the Bering Strait migration theory.

Unlike these constantly shifting and generally unsupported “scientific” theories, indigenous people have always had explanations of their origins in the Americas that exhibit both internal integrity and consistency. Because anthropologists always begin with the presumption that people could not possibly have been in this hemisphere for so long, they have dismissed the many vibrant accounts shared by native wisdom keepers of their ancestors’ interactions with giant beavers, stiff-legged bears, and hairy elephants as myths and legends. However, as evidence from other disciplines has accumulated to support a much longer occupancy, these legends have been slowly accepted as more literal accounts.

The Hopi Four Worlds chronicle, for example, depicts the Hopi as having lived through ages of fire, water, and ice before the beginning of the present era. Slowly, western science has acknowledged that they may have been here during the last Ice Age, perhaps even during the extensive flooding that ended some 25,000 years ago. Nonetheless, accounts of the Hopi experience of a world of fire are still dismissed as preposterous. Other peoples, including the Klamaths, Nisquallys, and Wishrams in the Northwest, have oral histories with detailed accounts of volcanic activity in the region, including the formation of Crater Lake and the last eruption of Mount Hood. These accounts were uniformly dismissed until recent geological studies revealed that the antiquity of such volcanic events have in some cases been significantly overestimated. The traditional understanding of the Lakota that they originated in the Black Hills, the Cherokee accounts of emerging from water, and the Tohono O’odham descriptions of mysterious dinosaurlike creatures have invariably been disparaged or ignored, while “scientific” findings are never subject to corroboration by way of their consistency with the knowledge of indigenous people.

There is much that we do not know about the origins of humanity. What is clear, however, is that rigid adherence to the latest catechisms of purported scientific “truth” only prevents us from being able to understand why, for example, ancient petroglyphs in Arizona’s Havasupai Canyon depict the African ibex or the oldest recorded sample of corn pollen, estimated to be 80,000 years old, was discovered 200 feet below Mexico City. Accepting the growing weight of evidence that Native Ameri-

cans did not necessarily come from somewhere else—not to mention the evidence that American Indians had domesticated dogs 30,000 years ago—might help explain why agriculture appears to have originated in this hemisphere. In light of the dramatic gaps in contemporary theories of human evolution, the questions raised by the notion of an American genesis based on some sort of “multiregional evolution” are no more daunting than those created by the Bering Strait migration theory.

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See also Archaeology and the First Americans; Paleo-Indians.

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## Boarding Schools, United States and Canada

Richard Henry Pratt (1840–1924), a U.S. Army officer who founded the boarding school system as an assimilationist device, was a reformer who coined the slogan “[k]ill the Indian and save the man” to describe their educational goal. The phrase was designed initially as an advertising slogan to be used in Congress to request appropriations for a nationwide system of Indian schools around 1900.

Pratt’s Indian schools were run with Army style boot camp discipline, the idea being to remake Indian children in the image of small farmers and urban workers with the rudiments of Anglo-American cultural heritage. The Carlisle Indian Industrial School, Pratt’s first, was run on an Army model. Students were strictly regimented and forced to divest themselves of all vestiges of Indian identity. They wore uniforms, and their hair was cut. Mis-

sionaries also were brought in to teach them Christianity. Runaways were punished severely. Discipline was sometimes personal and petty.

Pratt described his philosophy in a book, *Battlefield and Classroom: Four Decades with the American Indian, 1867–1904*. His educational experiment began in the 1870s with seventy-two Native men, most of them Cheyenne, who were imprisoned in an old Spanish fort at Saint Augustine, Florida. In 1878, this “class” “graduated,” and Pratt approached Congress for an appropriation to begin an Indian industrial school on an abandoned army post at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. To recruit students for his new school, Pratt visited the Sioux of the High Plains. One hundred and sixty-nine students traveled eastward in 1879 to form Carlisle’s first class. Included was Luther Standing Bear, who later became a well-known author. Standing Bear later recalled his days at Carlisle in *My Indian Boyhood*.



Native American students participate in a mathematics class at the Carlisle Industrial Indian School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, ca. 1903. The use of textbooks and a structured academic routine added to the rigid atmosphere at the boarding school. (Library of Congress)





The schools were established at a time when industrial enterprises were expanding rapidly in the United States. At the same time, the European-American settlement frontier was crossing the western half of the present continental United States. The curriculum of the schools was intensely vocational. "This is to be an industrial school to teach young Indians how to make a living among civilized people by practicing agricultural and mechanical pursuits and the usual industries of civilized life," Pratt wrote (1987, 235). He approached Congress for money to buy a long list of items to further Indians' induction into what he regarded as civilized industrial society: carpenters' tools, blacksmiths' forges and anvils, sewing machines, paint brushes, tools for making shoes and harnessing horses, printing presses and type.

Pratt ran the boarding schools on a model that was appropriate for training a factory workforce during the late nineteenth century. Thus, the communal lifeways of many American Indians were to be replaced by an emphasis on individual labor, which was regarded as a commodity in the capitalistic marketplace. Pratt continuously stressed the value of boarding school education and the Anglo-American world of work as two stops on the same avenue of assimilation for Native Americans.

By the 1880s, as the non-Native settlement frontier closed in the middle of the continent, government policy toward Indian education was marked by debate. One faction wanted to remove Native children from their homes under governmental or religious sponsorship and, person by person, remake the Indians into English-speaking, God-fearing participants in an agricultural and industrial economy, all within one generation. The other faction advocated extermination of surviving Indians. There was no room on this range of ideas for Indians' practice of their own cultures, what today we call "self-determination."

Even as many boarding school students were stunted by physical and psychological abuse, and as hundreds died in influenza and tuberculosis epidemics, a few overcame all obstacles to become well-known in Anglo-American culture. The Associated Press named Jim Thorpe, a graduate of the Carlisle Indian School, the greatest American athlete in America during the first half of the twentieth century. Luther Standing Bear, a Lakota author, is another prominent example. Thus, mixed with memories of pain, isolation, and despair, the boarding schools produced occasional testaments to their value as havens

from an aggressive non-Native world that could be very hostile to the few hundred thousand Native American people who survived the Indian wars.

Boarding schools usually were purposefully located far from children's homes to break down ties to their families and cultures. During their scholastic careers, many Native children were "outed" (i.e., lent) to European-American families for as many as three years. Students who were outed often performed domestic labor (for women) and farm or urban wage labor (for men). Young men were trained in agriculture, carpentry, blacksmithing, harness and shoemaking, printing, tailoring, and baking. Young women were trained in cooking, sewing, and laundry.

The outing policy was based on an assumption that Native American children were less intelligent than European-Americans. During the 1940s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and University of Chicago researchers set out to test this assumption. They compared Indian children's intelligence with that of non-Indians in a rural Midwestern area. They used performance tests in which comprehension of English was not the main factor in defining intelligence, testing Hopi, Navajo, Sioux, Papago, and Zuni children. A group of Hopis averaged a score of 111 to 117 on a battery of tests. A comparison group of European-American children scored 101 to 103 on the same tests. Pine Ridge children averaged 101 to 114 on the tests, and the other Indian groups scored in similar ranges (Havighurst and Hilkevitch, 1944).

Native people displayed an unexpectedly (to many non-Natives) intense attachment to their traditions. This attachment, combined with boarding school curricula that profoundly rejected Native values and self-worth, often resulted in fostering self-defeat, suicide, and/or alcoholism (also eventually a form of suicide). Some students rebelled outright at the contradictions they were being taught compared to the lives they knew and the traditions they were taught at home. At the same time, the boarding school system had a curious effect on some of its best students of a more activist era. It turned some of them into the Indian militants of the 1960s. That such a transformation is not totally unique to the twentieth century may be seen in the case of Wovoka, the man who initiated the Ghost Dance and was raised in a Christian, settler family during the early years of the boarding schools.

The boarding school system was based on an assumption that making students accept the degradation of their traditions as an objective fact would cause them to accept acculturation. The Carlisle





School published one essay that its teachers regarded as “excellent”:

Question: To what race do you belong?

Answer: The human race.

Question: How many classes belong to this race?

Answer: There are five classes belonging to the human race.

Question: Which was the first?

Answer: The white people are the strongest.

Question: Which are the next?

Answer: The Mongolian or yellows.

Question: The next?

Answer: The Ethiopians or blacks.

Question: Next?

Answer: The American or reds.

Question: Tell me something of the white people.

Answer: The Caucasian is way ahead of all the other races. He thought more than any other race, he thought that somebody must [have] made the earth, and if the white people did not find that out, nobody would ever know it—it is God who made the world (Weeks, 1990, 224–225).

When the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) forbade traditional ceremonies such as the Sun Dance and the rituals of the kiva, Native people took them underground. The same was true of shamanistic practices, which survived stringent attacks by those who regarded them as acts of “paganism.” The off-reservation boarding schools were designed to immerse Native students in Anglicized culture and to strip them of their own, beginning with language. English was taught and enforced as the *lingua franca*. Speaking Native languages often earned the offender punishment, which was often of a violent nature. Even under such pressure, however, many Native languages, the vessels of many hundreds of cultures, survived.

As allotment reduced the Native land base, enrollment in BIA-sponsored schools increased. Between 1895 and 1905, the number of off-reservation boarding schools designed on the Carlisle model rose from nineteen to twenty-five, and their

enrollment doubled to 9,736. The number of boarding schools on reservations increased from seventy-five to ninety-three, with enrollment rising from 8,068 to 11,402 (Olson and Wilson, 1984, 90–100).

## Reliving the Boarding School Experience in Canada

The paternalistic assumptions of Pratt’s schools also influenced Canadian educational policies. In 1908, Canadian Minister of Indian affairs Frank Oliver forecast that the residential school system would “elevate the Indian from his condition of savagery” and “make him a self-supporting member of the state, and eventually a citizen in good standing” (Johansen, 2000, 12). Canadian officials sent delegations south of the border to study boarding schools in the United States before establishing their own system. By the early twenty-first century, hundreds of Native people in Canada were suing churches and the federal government there because of maltreatment at these schools.

Even after decades, the memories of Native Americans who were forced to attend Canadian boarding schools have a searing quality. “It was like jail,” Warner Scout, who was fifty-four years old in 1999, told the *Calgary Herald*. “The scar will be there for the rest of our lives” (Lowey, 1999, A-1). Scout, who is one of two thousand Canadian natives seeking legal redress for boarding school abuse, recalled regular beatings and taunts that he was “an ugly savage” (Lowey, 1999, A-1).

Scout was taken from his adopted family to attend the Saint Paul residential school, operated by the Anglican Church of Canada on the Blood Reserve near Lethbridge, in southern Alberta. There, he said, “Teaching . . . was beaten into us” (Lowey, 1999, A-1). Scout watched as one Indian student was forced to eat his own vomit after he threw up into a bowl of porridge. Students who wet their beds had urine rubbed in their faces, and those who spoke the Blackfoot language had their heads shaven.

Jackie Blackface, who was fifty-two in 1999, recalled being beaten with a tractor’s fan belt at an Anglican school on the Siksika First Nation Reserve east of Calgary. Federal Canadian law at the time gave the Indian agent on each Native reserve authority to invade homes and order children aged seven or older into residential schools. Parents who did not cooperate were threatened with time in jail.

More than a hundred thousand Native American students attended residential schools across





Canada until the 1980s. Most of these schools were funded by the Canadian federal government and operated by employees of the Catholic, Anglican, Presbyterian, and other churches. During early years of the twenty-first century, hundreds of men and women filed lawsuits outlining the physical and sexual abuse they said they were forced to endure as children in these schools. Eventually, settlements could reach billions of Canadian dollars, possibly devastating the financial resources of the churches that had maintained the schools.

Why has a drive to apologize and compensate for the abuses of boarding schools developed in Canada while the issue has been virtually untouched in the United States? The seeds were sown in the summer of 1990 at Oka, Quebec, on and near the Kanesatake Mohawk Reserve. At that time, a confrontation over a long-ignored land claim reverberated across Canada, causing intense soul-searching by many non-Native Canadians. This wave of questioning expressed itself in the appointment of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, which, in 1996, published a massive, multivolume study of the many ways in which Native Americans had had their land stolen and their rights abused throughout Canadian history.

Part of this report (Volume 1, Chapter 10) documented the abuses of the boarding schools, providing a basis for the establishment of a \$350 million "healing fund" by Canada's federal government. It also prompted a tidal wave of lawsuits because the healing fund is reserved for community projects, not for individual compensation. Individual compensation must be sought through the Canadian court system or by negotiation with agencies of the federal government.

The graphic sexual nature of boarding school abuses shocked many Canadians. Their sense of disgust was hardly alleviated by the fact that many of the abuses took place at the hands of priests, nuns, and other clerics. The Royal Commission found that abuse was systemic, not occasional or accidental. Thousands of Native young people are said to have died in the schools, and thousands more were scarred for life by physical and sexual abuse.

Aboriginal people often realized the purpose of the schools to begin with, according to the report of the Royal Commission: "The Aboriginal leader George Manuel, a residential school graduate, was more blunt. The schools, he wrote, were the laboratory and production line of the colonial system . . . the colonial system that was designed to make room

for European expansion into a vast empty wilderness needed an Indian population that it could describe as lazy and shiftless . . . the colonial system required such an Indian for casual labor" (Royal Commission, n.d.).

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples found that the effects of the residential schools' concerted campaign to obliterate Aboriginal habits and associations, languages, traditions, and beliefs, in concert with its vision of radical resocialization, were compounded by mismanagement and underfunding, by the provision of inferior educational services, and by the woeful mistreatment, neglect, and abuse of many children—facts that were known to the department and the churches throughout the history of the school system. In the words of the Royal Commission's report, the purpose of the schools was to

release [the children] from the shackles that tied them to their parents, communities and cultures. The civilizers in the churches and the department understood this and, moreover, that it would not be accomplished simply by bringing the children into the school. Rather it required a concerted attack on the ontology, on the basic cultural patterning of the children and on their world view. They had to be taught to see and understand the world as a European place within which only European values and beliefs had meaning; thus the wisdom of their cultures would seem to them only savage superstition (Royal Commission, n.d.).

The main enforcement mechanism in this transformation from "permissive" aboriginal life to white Canadian discipline was punishment, much of it violent. In 1943, the principal of St. George's School (located on the Fraser River, just north of Lyttons, British Columbia) disclosed that a set of shackles had been used routinely "to chain run-aways to the bed." Furthermore, "At the heart of the vision of residential education—of the school as home and sanctuary of motherly care—there was a stark contradiction, an inherent element of savagery in the mechanics of civilizing the children. The very language in which the vision was couched revealed what would have to be the essentially violent nature of the school system in its assault on child and culture. The basic premise of resocialization, of the great transformation from 'savage' to 'civilized', was violent" (Royal Commission, n.d.). In 1936, G. Barry, district inspector of schools in





British Columbia, described the Alberni Indian Residential School on Vancouver Island, “where every member of staff carried a strap” and where “children have never learned to work without punishment” (Royal Commission, n.d.). In 1896, according to the Royal Commission’s report, Agent D. L. Clink refused to return a child to Red Deer School because he feared “he would be abused.” Without reprimand from the principal, a teacher had beaten children severely on several occasions, and one of them had had to be hospitalized. “Such brutality,” Clink concluded, “should not be tolerated for a moment” and “would not be tolerated in a white school for a single day in any part of Canada” (Royal Commission, n.d.).

The Royal Commission also included a report by a senior official in western Canada, David Laird, on Norway House in 1907. The report detailing “frequent whippings” over an eight-year period of a young boy, Charlie Clines, for bed-wetting. The severity of his punishment was not, Laird asserted, “in accordance with Christian methods.” Clines hated the new Anglo world that was being thrust on him so much that he ran away from the school and slept in weather so severe that he lost several toes to frostbite.

In 1902, Johnny Sticks found his son, Duncan, dead of exposure, after he fled from the Williams Lake, British Columbia, industrial school. Nearly four decades later, in 1937 at the Lejac school, four boys ran away and were found frozen to death on the lake within sight of their community. They were wearing only summer clothes. In both cases, investigations uncovered a history of neglect and violence in evidence given by staff, children, and some graduates. Some students complained that they were given rotten, worm-ridden meat and punished if they didn’t eat it. In 1921, a visiting nurse at Crowstand School discovered nine children “chained to the benches” in the dining room, one of them “marked badly by a strap” (Royal Commission, n.d.). Children were frequently beaten severely with whips, rods, and fists, chained and shackled, bound hand and foot and locked in closets, basements, and bathrooms.

The Royal Commission reported that in 1919, a runaway student from the Anglican Old Sun’s school was captured, shackled to a bed, and, with his hands tied, “most brutally and unmercifully beaten with a horse quirt until his back was bleeding.” The accused, P. H. Gentlemen, admitted to having used a whip and shackles. Canon S. Gould, the general sec-

retary of the Missionary Society, mounted a curious defense: that such a beating was the norm “more or less, in every boarding school in the country.” Gentlemen remained at the school.

Writing in 1991 of her experience in both Anglican and Catholic schools, Mary Carpenter told an all-too-familiar story: After a lifetime of beatings, going hungry, standing in a corridor on one leg, and walking in the snow with no shoes for speaking Inuvialuktun, and after having a heavy, stinging paste rubbed on her face (to stop her from expressing her Inuit custom of raising eyebrows for “yes” and wrinkling noses for “no”), she lost the ability to speak her native language.

The Aboriginal Commission found that:

By the mid-1980s, it was widely and publicly recognized that the residential school experience . . . like smallpox and tuberculosis in earlier decades, had devastated and continued to devastate communities. The schools were, with the agents and instruments of economic and political marginalization, part of the contagion of colonization. In their direct attack on language, beliefs and spirituality, the schools had been a particularly virulent strain of that epidemic of empire, sapping the children’s bodies and beings. In later life, many adult survivors, and the families and communities to which they returned, all manifested a tragic range of symptoms emblematic of “the silent tortures that continue in our communities” (Royal Commission, n.d.).

While school supervisors acknowledged and sometimes even took pride in stern discipline, including corporal punishment, they said very little about the deepest secret of the system: sexual abuse of the children. The official files ignore the issue almost completely. Any references were encoded in the language of repression that marked the Canadian discourse on sexual matters. One report at Red Deer School commented that “the moral aspect of affairs is deplorable.” Others wrote of “questions of immorality” of “the breaking of the Seventh Commandment” (Royal Commission, n.d.).

In 1990, the *Toronto Globe and Mail* reported that Rix Rogers, special advisor to the minister of national health and welfare on child sexual abuse, had commented at a meeting of the Canadian Psychological Association that the abuse revealed to date was “just the tip of the iceberg” and that closer





scrutiny of the treatment of children at residential schools would show that all children at some schools were sexually abused. A 1989 study sponsored by the Native Women's Association of the Northwest Territories found that eight out of ten girls under the age of eight had been victims of sexual abuse, and 50 percent of boys the same age had been sexually molested as well.

On January 7, 1998, Minister of Indian Affairs Jane Stewart read a Statement of Reconciliation into the record of Canada's federal Parliament at Ottawa that acknowledged the damage done to the Native population, including the hanging of Louis Riel after he led a rebellion of Indian and mixed-race people in western Canada in 1885. The government apology stopped short of pardoning Riel, a step that aboriginal leaders have demanded for decades. Stewart did, however, apologize for the government's assimilation policies, including the abuses of boarding schools.

"Attitudes of racial and cultural superiority led to a suppression of aboriginal culture and values," Stewart said. She continued:

As a country, we are burdened by past actions that resulted in weakening the identity of aboriginal peoples, suppressing their languages and cultures, and outlawing spiritual practices. We must recognize the impact of these actions on the once self-sustaining nations that were disaggregated, disrupted, limited or even destroyed by the dispossession of traditional territory, by the relocation of aboriginal people, and by some provisions of the Indian Act. The time has come to state formally that the days of paternalism and disrespect are behind us and we are committed to changing the nature of the relationship between aboriginal and non-aboriginal people in Canada (Bourrie, 1998).

Phil Fontaine, leader of the Assembly of First Nations, a coalition of nationwide aboriginal groups, said that the apology paves the way for lasting peace between Native peoples and the Canadian government. "This celebrates the beginning of a new era," Fontaine told Interpress Service. "It is a major step forward in our quest to be recognized as a distinct order of government in Canada" (Bourrie, 1998).

Some aboriginal leaders were not happy with the reconciliation statement. Representatives of the Inuit, Native women's groups, and Metis said they did not believe the apology was strong enough.

They were critical because the statement did not refer in more detail to the wrongs done to their communities. The same groups also maintained that the money involved in recompense was too little and too late. Inuit and Metis leaders, who are not included in the Assembly of First Nations, also complained that Stewart's later statements did not mention specific programs for them.

Other non-Indian Canadians complained that the surge of lawsuits for residential school abuse would clog the court system, bankrupt some religious denominations, and strain the Canadian federal budget, requiring new taxes. By the end of the year 2002, according to the Canadian government, more than 19,000 Native persons had entered some form of claim, a number equal to roughly 15 to 20 percent of the boarding schools' living alumni. This legal backlog included four class action suits. Indian plaintiffs won all five boarding school abuse trials held during the late 1990s, two in Saskatchewan and three in British Columbia. By 2006, the Canadian federal government had paid out at least \$50 million worth of individual compensation.

In late October 1998, the United Church of Canada, the country's largest Protestant body (including three million Presbyterians, Congregationalists, and Methodists) issued an apology for physical and sexual abuse meted out to Native students at boarding schools it had operated. The apology was made shortly after the disclosure of evidence indicating that church officials knew of the abuse as early as 1960 and did nothing to stop it. Peter Grant, an attorney for former students at a British Columbia boarding school, had presented evidence indicating that the vice principal at the Port Alberni residential school was convicted of indecently assaulting male students between 1948 and 1968. Arthur Plint, who supervised the school's dormitories, pleaded guilty in 1995 to "dozens of sexual assaults," according to the Associated Press. He was sentenced to eleven years in prison. British Columbia Court Justice William Brenner ruled that both the federal government and the church were "vicariously responsible" for Plint's assaults on Native young people.

"I apologize for the pain and suffering that our church's involvement in the Indian residential school system has caused," the Reverend Bill Phipps, the church's chief executive (or "moderator"), told a news conference on October 27 (Associated Press, 1998). "We are aware of some of the damage that some of this cruel and ill-conceived system





of assimilation has perpetuated on Canada's first nations," Phipps said. "We are truly and humbly sorry" (McIlroy, 1998, 5).

One of Grant's clients, Willy Blackwater, said that the church should be prepared to compensate abuse victims with money as well as with words. Harry Daniels, president of the Congress of Aboriginal Peoples, said, "These things are nice to hear, but talk is cheap" (Associated Press, 1998). The Anglican and Roman Catholic churches of Canada expressed repentance for their role in boarding school abuses, but, as of 2002, they had not apologized, in part because they fear legal liability. The United Church seems to have decided that it will settle with litigants out of court.

The Royal Commission concluded that:

The terrible facts of the residential school system must be made a part of a new sense of what Canada has been and will continue to be for as long as that record is not officially recognized and repudiated. Only by such an act of recognition and repudiation can a start be made on a very different future. Canada and Canadians must realize that they need to consider changing their society so that they can discover ways of living in harmony with the original people of the land (Royal Commission, n.d.).

The Royal Commission called for a full investigation into Canada's residential school system, "to bring to light and begin to heal the grievous harms suffered by countless Aboriginal children, families and communities as a result of the residential school system" (Royal Commission, n.d.). Although not the forum the Royal Commission may have intended, such a public inquiry has begun to unfold, case by specific case, in many Canadian courtrooms. The economic stakes of boarding school compensation in Canada were reflected by the fact that, by late 2002, the Canadian federal government had reserved \$1.7 billion to settle up to 18,000 native residential school lawsuits brought for physical and sexual abuse. The government was planning to require plaintiffs to waive rights to future litigation, including claims based on loss of language and culture.

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*See also* Assimilation; Canada, Indian Policies of; Education; Genocide; Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

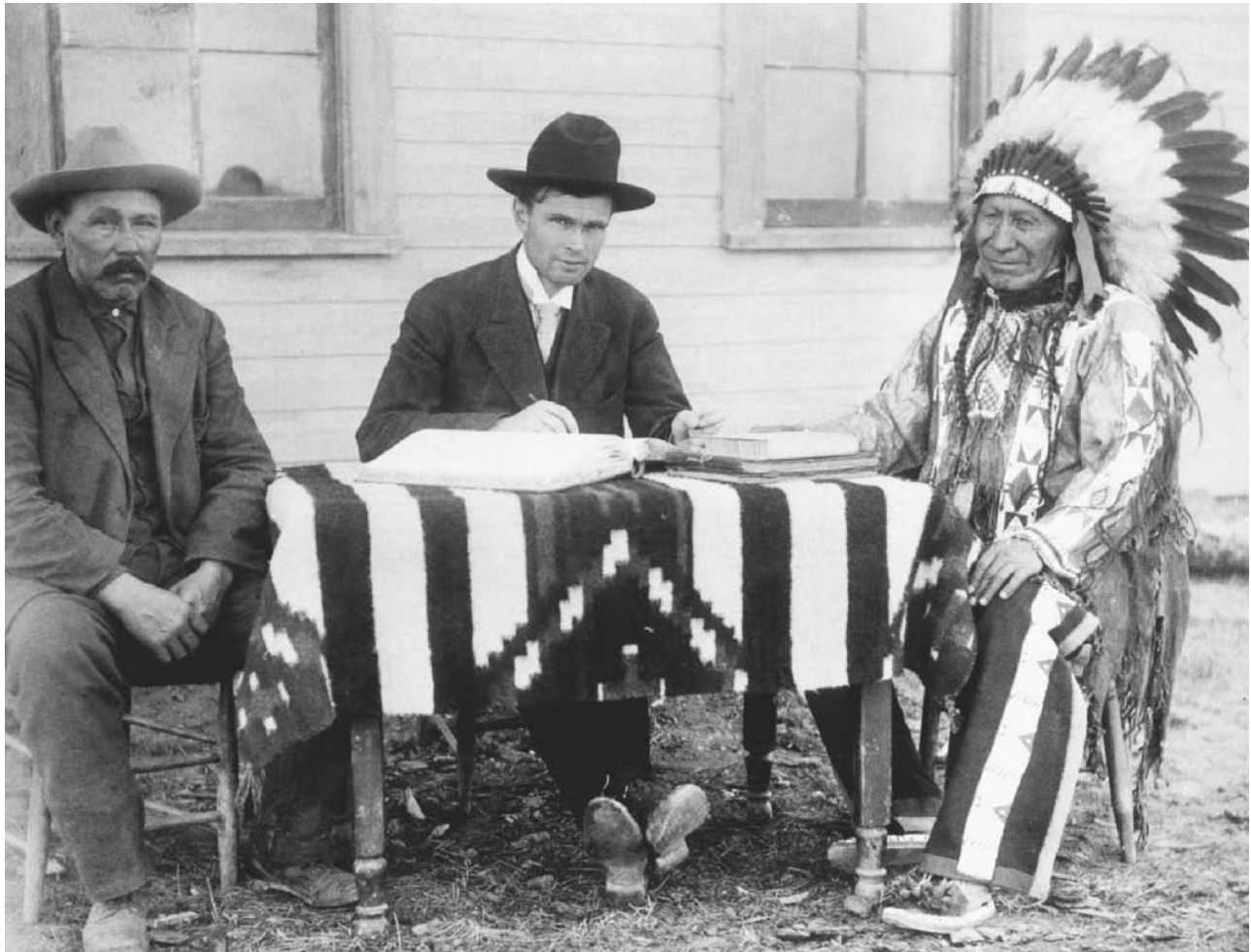
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## Citizenship

Even though citizenship in the United States was not extended to American Indians as a whole by federal statute until the Citizenship Act of 1924, members of many Native tribes and nations had become citizens before that, usually after they accepted the legal terms of assimilation. Citizenship sometimes was part of treaty negotiations, as well as allotment legislation. Some individual American Indians were offered citizenship for service in the U.S. armed forces, even as others were denied the right to vote by some federal courts. An American Indian woman could become a citizen by marrying a man who held citizenship status (but not vice versa). Despite the existence of some open doors, the opportunity of acquiring citizenship via naturalization, as provided





*An allotment official and his interpreter grant U.S. citizenship to Oglala Sioux Chief American Horse in 1907. The Indian Citizenship Act of 1924 granted the right of U.S. citizenship to Native Americans who were not already citizens. (Library of Congress)*

to immigrants from abroad, was denied to Indians living in the United States.

An offer of citizenship to members of Native nations usually included destruction of their collective government and land base. Treaties in 1855 and 1862 involving the Wyandots (Hurons) and Ottawas, for example, required the Indians to relinquish their collective identity in return for U.S. citizenship and individual land ownership. A series of treaties in the 1860s gave the president and the courts the power to determine when adult male allottees had become sufficiently “intelligent and prudent” to conduct their affairs and interests. The treaty of 1867 with the Potawatomies permitted women who were heads of families or single adult women to become citizens in the same manner as males, and authorized the Tribal Business Committee and the agent to determine the competency of Indians to manage their own affairs (ORACLE, n. d.)

Citizenship “was a move by the federal government to absorb Indians into the mainstream of American life. No doubt Indian participation in World War I accelerated the granting of citizenship to all Indians, but it seems more likely to have been the logical extension and culmination of the assimilation policy” (Nebraska Studies, n.d.). To this day, some Native Americans reject the rights of U.S. citizenship (such as voting) as a sign of colonialism. A few have refused to pay taxes and have found themselves prosecuted for this action by the Internal Revenue Service.

Some Native Americans have contended that citizenship would erode their peoples’ distinct status as sovereign nations. In the words of one observer, “United States citizenship was just another way of absorbing us and destroying our customs and our government. How could these Europeans come over and tell us we were citizens in our country? We had





our own citizenship. By its [the Citizenship Act of 1924] provisions all Indians were automatically made United States citizens whether they wanted to be so or not. This was a violation of our sovereignty" (Nebraska Studies, n.d.).

Charles Curtis (1860–1936), of Kansa and Osage heritage, was one of the most prominent advocates of citizenship as a method of assimilation. The first American Indian to do so, Curtis served as a Republican member of the U.S. Senate from 1907 to 1913 and again from 1915 to 1929. Curtis rose to majority leader (1924–1929) and served as Herbert Hoover's vice president (1929–1933). As chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in 1924, Curtis sponsored the Indian Citizenship Act.

As allotment and its provisions for citizenship were being legislated, the Supreme Court denied citizenship to Indians who wished to take the policy to its logical conclusion. In 1884, in *Elk v. Wilkins*, Indians were denied the right to vote despite the wording of the recently passed Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. Supreme Court held in *Elk v. Wilkins* that an Indian is not made a citizen by the Fourteenth Amendment. This position held even if the Indian is living apart from his nation or band. The court also ruled that acts of Congress do not generally apply to Indians unless they are specifically mentioned.

At issue was the constitutional status of American Indians for purposes of citizenship and voting. The Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship to "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction of the United States." Did American Indians fall under this definition? A federal district court ruled that it did not apply to Indians who had not been "born subject to its jurisdiction—that is, in its power and obedience" (*McKay v. Campbell* 16 Fed. Cas. 161 [1871] [No. 8840]).

For instance, John Elk had been born outside U.S. jurisdiction, but moved to Omaha as an adult and lived what the court described as a "civilized" life. He sought to become a citizen and exercise the right to vote in Omaha elections during 1880. The Supreme Court ruled that the Fifteenth Amendment (which grants the right to vote to all persons regardless of race) did not apply in Elk's case, because he was not born in an area under U.S. jurisdiction. Therefore, Elk was not a citizen within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. The fact that Elk had abandoned his Indian relatives and lifeways did not matter to the court. Elk's citizenship and voting rights were denied because the court held that an

affirmative act was required of the United States before an Indian could become a citizen. The Supreme Court's opinion cited a dozen treaties, four court rulings, four laws, and eight opinions of the U.S. attorney general requiring "proof of fitness for civilization" as a precondition of granting Indians citizenship and voting rights.

Six years after John Elk's desire for citizenship was denied, Congress passed the Indian Territory Naturalization Act (26 Stat. 81, 99–100), which allowed any Indian living in Indian Territory to apply for citizenship through the federal courts. The aim of this Act was to break down communal loyalties among Native Americans in Indian Territory as it moved toward statehood as Oklahoma.

Vine Deloria, Jr., commented on *Elk v. Wilkins*: "Thus, while federal courts were busy maintaining the plenary power of Congress over Indians, and classifying Indian tribes as wards of the federal government, and denying an international dimension to Indian political existence, the individual Indians seeking to exercise their constitutional rights were being told that they were, in effect, no more than the children of [foreign] subjects" (Deloria, 1985, 146–147).

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**See also** Assimilation; Domestic Dependent Nation; *Elk v. Wilkins*; Indian Civilization Fund Act; Plenary Power; *Standing Bear v. Crook*; Tribal Sovereignty; Trust, Doctrine of.

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## Demographics, Historical

Historical demography entails the study of fertility and mortality patterns, along with changes in historic populations. Several themes dominate the dis-





cussion of Native American historical demography. These include the demographic collapse of many populations over several centuries following 1492, the establishment of sustained contact between the Old and New Worlds, and the survival and recovery of some Native populations. A number of factors contributed to demographic collapse, including war, slavery, and the introduction of highly contagious diseases, such as smallpox and measles.

Smallpox created such chaos in the Inca Empire that Francisco Pizarro was able to seize an empire as large and populous as Spain and Italy combined with a force of only 168 men (Mann, 2002, 43). By the time imported diseases were done with Native Americans, according to Dobyns, 95 percent of them had died, the worst demographic collapse in recorded human history (Mann, 2002, 43). All across America, "Languages, prayers, hopes, habits, and dreams, entire ways of life hissed away like steam" (Mann, 2002, 46).

Henry Dobyns has estimated that the population of Mexico declined from between 30 and 37.5 million people in 1520 to 1.5 million in 1650, a holocaust of a severity unknown in the Old World (Dobyns, 1966, 395–449). Even if one argues that Dobyns' figures are too high, cutting them almost in half, to 20 million in 1520, would produce a mortality rate in 130 years of 92.5 percent (Driver, 1969, 457).

A second theme in Native American historical demography is cultural and biological mixing, called in Spanish *mestizaje* and in French *mestissage*. This entailed not only biological mixing with peoples from Europe and Africa, but also sociocultural mixing.

A comprehensive overview of Native American historical demography is not possible in this article, but it can introduce the major topics that scholars have discussed and debated in recent years, including research focused on the Native Peoples of the American Southwest, northern Mexico, and the Andean and Rio de la Plata regions of South America, as well as studies of the demography of peoples drawn into missions established by the Franciscans, Jesuits, and Dominicans on the fringes of Spanish America. The sources available for the study of Native American population trends include early conquest accounts, censuses, baptismal and burial registers, government reports, and other types of documents. This entry also examines epidemiology through a discussion of epidemics as well as how demographic patterns among Native Peoples com-

pared to contemporary European populations. It also considers the topic of miscegenation or biological and cultural mixing and passing.

Today a general consensus exists that the Americas sustained large populations when Europeans first established sustained contact after 1492 and that the Native populations experienced drastic declines in numbers after 1492. Instead of engaging in a numbers game, trying to make educated guesstimates of contact population sizes, this entry explores the dynamics of population decline. There is one fundamental assumption made in the model of "virgin soil epidemics" that Native populations in the Americas were more susceptible to epidemics of highly contagious crowd diseases such as smallpox introduced after 1492. This may be an overly simplistic assumption that does not take into consideration other factors related to mortality during epidemics and patterns of morbidity and mortality. An examination of contemporary European demographic patterns calls into question the assumption of high susceptibility and the buildup of immunities to disease. A host of maladies routinely killed as many as 10 to 20 percent of children in Europe, and the individuals lucky enough to survive built up some immunity from their exposure as well as from antibodies acquired from their mothers. However, surviving childhood disease did not mean that adults could not become ill from the same diseases a second time.

Until the acceptance by doctors of the germ theory in the late nineteenth century, there were few effective treatments for the maladies introduced into the New World from the Old World. Medical knowledge had a basis in the ancient Greek humoral theory that posited disease to be caused by an imbalance in the four basic elements: earth, air, water, and fire. According to the humoral theory, a fever is caused by an excess of fire, and the proper treatment is to reduce the fire. This gave rise to bloodletting as a common treatment, which, of course, only weakened the patient by depleting the immunological system. The other prevailing theory for the cause of disease was miasma, which held that clouds of noxious gas floating in the air caused disease. The gas originated from rotting vegetation, rotting corpses, and garbage, among other things. Practical responses to the belief in miasma included the clearing of garbage and drainage of standing water, which could be beneficial. Garbage, for example, attracted rats that could carry fleas. Mosquitoes breed in standing water and carry a variety





of diseases, including yellow fever and malaria. Doctors also made use of what most accurately could be called folk remedies. A 1797 document distributed throughout Spanish California suggested, among other things, to clean the eyes of smallpox victims with water made from rose petals. This treatment first appeared in a fifteenth-century Spanish medical text.

Smallpox was one of the great killers of Native Americans, and two treatments reached the Americas in the eighteenth century. The first was called inoculation by variolation, and it entailed injecting a healthy person with pus from a ripe pustule from a smallpox victim. The expectation was that the individual inoculated would develop a milder infection, and evidence from the period suggests that mortality rates were lower among those inoculated when compared to people naturally infected. At the same time there was considerable resistance to the use of inoculation when introduced in the eighteenth century, primarily because of the fear that inoculation would help spread the contagion. Doctors in Mexico first used inoculation by variolation during a smallpox outbreak in Mexico City in 1779, and Dominican missionaries successfully inoculated Native residents of several missions in Baja California in 1781.

The second smallpox prophylaxis introduced in the eighteenth century was the cowpox vaccine, first described in the late 1790s by English doctor Edward Jenner. Jenner was a country doctor, and he noted that milkmaids did not contract smallpox, which was still a problem in England. Milkmaids inhaled dry cowpox pustules and became infected with cowpox, which is related to smallpox but not fatal to humans. The milkmaids developed antibodies that protected them from smallpox. In 1803, the Spanish government sent a medical team to the Americas to disseminate the cowpox vaccine. The team transported the vaccine on the arms of infected children and maintained the chain of infection from child to child.

How did epidemics spread among Native peoples? Extensive trade networks existed in the Americas prior to the arrival of Europeans, and diseases may have been conducted along them. For example, archaeologists have encountered evidence of trade, including copper bells produced in central Mexico and bird plumes in sites in northern Mexico such as Casas Grandes in Chihuahua, and the native communities of New Mexico. Conversely, turquoise from New Mexico has been discovered in pre-Hispanic sites in central Mexico. When Europeans arrived in

different parts of North America and came into contact with Native populations, disease spread to the Natives as a result of the contacts. Contagion spread from one Native community to another, carried in the bodies of merchants or other travelers. Early accounts of European exploration and colonization report the spread of epidemics in advance of Europeans.

It cannot be assumed that disease spread uniformly among Native populations or that rates of morbidity and mortality were uniform from population to population. A number of factors limited the rates of morbidity and mortality. Maladies such as smallpox and measles spread through contact between people sneezing or in other ways of exchanging body fluids. Contagion spreads in dense populations, but not as easily among dispersed populations, particularly among small bands of hunter-gatherers that migrated in search of food within a clearly defined but often extensive territory. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, for example, Spaniards explored and conquered the populations living in western Mexico in Sinaloa and Sonora, and up into what today is the southwestern United States, including Arizona and New Mexico. The first Spanish descriptions of the region described sophisticated tribal states based on compact nucleated communities. In some areas, such as northern Sonora and southern Arizona, this settlement pattern gave way to a more dispersed *ranchería* settlement pattern characterized by homesteads dispersed over a large area, usually in a river flood plain. Scholars speculate that the more dispersed settlement pattern was an adaptation resulting from the spread of lethal epidemics in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Several other factors influenced the impact of epidemics on Native populations. The frequency of epidemics is important, and it is possible to construct tentative epidemic chronologies in some regions of European settlement. For an epidemic to spread among and between populations, there must be enough susceptible individuals not previously exposed to the contagion to maintain the chain of infection. Moreover, pathogens such as smallpox are inefficient in the sense that either they kill the host or the host survives. The pathogen then dies out and the epidemic ends until the next outbreak, which will occur when once again there are enough susceptible hosts to maintain the chain of infection. Generally, a given pathogen finds enough susceptible hosts about once a generation, after a population has





recovered and grown following the previous epidemics. However, if a series of epidemics spread through a population with a greater frequency, the possibility of recovery following the outbreak is diminished.

Useful parallels can be drawn between demographic trends among the Native populations in the Americas and contemporary European populations. Two aspects of demographic patterns in Europe are relevant to a discussion of Native American population trends. The first is the culling of the population by lethal epidemics, such as the Black Death in the fourteenth century that killed perhaps a third of Europe's population and its subsequent outbreaks. The epidemics slowed or temporarily stopped population growth, but, following the epidemic episodes, the population recovered. Early modern Europe was a patriarchic society, and the father generally controlled the lives of his children until such time as he decided to let them marry. Moreover, in rural communities, a son generally could not start a family until he had his own land and could establish economic independence. Mortality crises (mortality at three times the normal rate) often caused a redistribution of wealth and enabled sons to marry at a younger age. European populations rebounded or recovered following epidemics as a result of increased birth rates. Discussions of epidemics in the Americas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries focus on reports of horrific mortality, but rarely do they examine whether the Native populations rebounded or recovered following the epidemics.

The second consists of patterns of mortality in nonepidemic years in European populations when maladies such as smallpox and measles became established as endemic maladies that killed as many as 10 to 20 percent of the children every year. Contagion spread and reached epidemic proportions when a large pool of susceptible people had been born since the previous epidemic outbreak. To understand the recovery of larger Native populations, it is necessary to document the patterns of mortality among Native populations in nonepidemic years, when maladies such as smallpox became chronic childhood diseases. Furthermore, it is essential to examine birth rates and the age and gender structure of a population, to show whether sufficient numbers of women of childbearing age survived epidemics to reproduce.

At the same time, other factors also contributed to Native population losses, although all causes for depopulation were interrelated and

should not be discussed in isolation. These include war; famine resulting from food shortages and crop losses due to drought, excessive rainfall, frost, locust infestation, and other causes; enslavement; and migration. People died in war, but in the early modern period more casualties resulted from the spread of disease and famine than from actual battlefield losses. Armies on campaign in contemporary Europe lived in filthy conditions and bred disease. The armies then spread disease when they moved from place to place. The same occurred in the Americas. Moreover, armies lived off the land and took food supplies that civilian populations needed to survive. Additionally, armies deliberately destroyed crops to weaken the enemy. This took place, for example, during the Sullivan-Clinton campaign against the Iroquois during the American Revolution. The army systematically destroyed growing crops, and many Iroquois died from starvation during the ensuing winter.

Famine also contributed to mortality, and epidemics frequently occurred in conjunction with it. Some scholars believe that food shortages led to the weakening of the immunological system that then resulted in epidemic outbreaks. However, recent studies have suggested that the relationship between famine and epidemics was the movement of large numbers of people in search of food, who spread disease as they moved from place to place. Studies of historical famines have identified one common phenomenon: the movement of people from the countryside into towns and cities and the discovery of abandoned bodies of famine and disease victims. Priests recorded in burial registers the discovery of the dead on the steps of churches or near cemeteries.

Migration, forced or voluntary, contributed to mortality and population losses as well. The Trail of Tears (the forced relocation of thousands of Cherokee in the late 1830s) is a good example of how mortality contributed to population losses. Causes for mortality during the forced relocation to Oklahoma included accidents, food shortages, and the less than ideal hygienic conditions on the trail. But again the movement of peoples also contributed to the spread of epidemics. The enslavement of Native peoples was common and also contributed to population losses. Slavery removed adults from the population, and the enslavement of women of childbearing age had the greatest consequence. Moreover, the forced movement of people also contributed to the spread of disease.





Did the native populations acquire immunities to smallpox and the other maladies brought to the Americas after 1492? No convincing evidence exists to support this assumption. New insights on this subject come from recent research on historic epidemics in Spanish America that are documented in detail in burial registers and censuses and that recorded the number of deaths or in some instances the actual numbers of victims of contagion during an outbreak. Burial registers exist for Spanish-Americans from the seventeenth century, but records are more complete for the eighteenth century, some two centuries after the Spanish arrived in the Americas. As suggested, the frequency of epidemic outbreaks and the initial size of a population are critical factors in determining epidemic mortality and the short- and long-term consequences of epidemics.

Consider two case studies of eighteenth-century epidemics: one from the Baja California missions established after 1697 in northwestern Mexico and the other from the Jesuit missions of Paraguay. The second example is a bit far afield, but information on patterns of mortality and epidemic mortality is rich and can be applied to understand demographic collapse of Native populations in North America.

Hernan Cortes attempted to colonize Baja California in the mid-1530s, and Spanish colonists and foreign pirates visited the peninsula sporadically over the next 160 years. In 1697, the Jesuits negotiated permission to establish missions at their own expense and in 1697 established the first mission, named Loreto. The Jesuits and later the Franciscans and Dominicans operated missions for about 140 years, and during this period most of the native peoples declined in numbers to virtual biological and cultural extinction. Burial registers and other contemporary sources identify twenty-five epidemics in the missions between 1697 and 1808, a span of 111 years. This works out to an average of an epidemic every 4.4 years. During nonepidemic years there was heavy infant and child mortality in the missions, and generally during epidemics both children and adults died. It was the combination of high infant and child mortality (some 90 percent of children died before reaching age ten) and the frequently recurring lethal epidemics that decimated the Native peoples of Baja California (Jackson, 1981, 347).

A discussion of two of the Baja California missions for which there are complete records from the date of foundation gives a sense of the rapid decline of the native population. For Santa Gertrudis, established in 1751, a 1755 census recorded the population

of the mission as 1,586 and as 1,730 seven years later in 1762. This last figure was the highest recorded population for the mission. Over the next four decades the surviving population dropped rapidly. For example, smallpox killed 296 in 1781, and in the following year only 317 survived. In two decades the mission experienced a net decline of some 1,400 people. The numbers continued to drop, and only 137 remained in 1808. A second example is San Fernando, established in 1769 by Franciscan missionary Junipero Serra. In 1775, the population of the mission totaled 1,406, but only 19 remained in 1829 (Jackson, 1981, 370–372).

The Native peoples of Baja California were hunters and gatherers living in small bands. They were fragile populations that could not recover following epidemics because of the frequency and severity of the outbreaks and because of the high mortality among small children. The pool of potential mothers of childbearing age shrank, and each succeeding generation was much smaller than the previous. By the beginning of the twentieth century only two small populations survived in the mountainous north of the peninsula.

The Jesuits established missions among the Guarani in Paraguay and the surrounding areas of Argentina and Brazil after 1610. Unlike the Native peoples of Baja California, the Guarani were sedentary agriculturalists living in clan-based villages, and they moved to the Jesuit missions by the thousands. In 1732, some 141,000 lived on thirty missions, or an average of 4,700 per mission. This was a much larger number than in the Baja California missions. Lethal epidemics spread through the missions, but enough women of childbearing age survived to ensure the reproduction of the population. An analysis of the gender structure shows that the mission populations were generally balanced, with slightly more girls and women than boys and men.

In nonepidemic years the heaviest mortality was among young children, as was the case in contemporary Europe. In 1724, for example, a typical nonepidemic year, 173 young children and 63 adults died at San Lorenzo Martir mission. In 1739, smallpox broke out at the mission, killing 1,026 young children and 1,655 adults in a total population of 4,814. In other words, 55.7 percent of the population died in one year. In 1764, smallpox killed 1,596 Guarani living on the Santa Rosa mission out of a population of 3,292, and during the same epidemic in 1765 1,833 died at the Loreto mission, which had a population of 4,937 prior to the outbreak. These were





extreme examples of mortality during the epidemics; smaller numbers of Guarani died at other missions in the region (Jackson, 2005, 350–359).

In some cases, epidemics continued to ravage Native communities for centuries after first contact with Europeans. The Spanish first colonized Paraguay in 1537, and the Guarani had been exposed to smallpox and other diseases for several hundred years. Yet lethal epidemics continued to kill as many as half of the population of a community. The contagion may have mutated, but the evidence strongly suggests a different pattern. Smallpox struck the missions about once a generation, or approximately every twenty years. Epidemics of smallpox have been documented in 1718, 1738–1740, and 1764–1765. In nonepidemic years, as already noted, more children than adults died, but still large numbers of children survived childhood between the major epidemics. The contagion proved to be lethal among the children born after the previous outbreak, who had not been previously exposed. There is one final point to be made regarding the smallpox epidemics of 1738–1740 and 1764–1765: The mobilization and movement of large numbers of soldiers contributed to the spread of smallpox in both instances (Jackson, 2003, 55–56).

Biological mixing and sociocultural passing, known as miscegenation, also contributed to demographic change following the arrival in the Americas of peoples from the Old World. Recent studies of *mestizaje* and the creation of race/caste categories in Spanish America provide insights that can also be applied to other parts of the Americas. One recent study (Jackson, 1999) compared the race and caste categories on the colonial north Mexican frontier with those in a rural zone in Bolivia dominated by haciendas and corporate indigenous communities. The Spanish caste system created categories that ostensibly delineated degrees of mixture based on the documentation of bloodlines and skin color, but also on the application of sociocultural and economic criteria that shifted over time. Under the caste system the Spanish collapsed all Native American ethnic groups into a single fiscal category of “Indian,” based on an obligation to pay tribute and provide labor services. The stereotypical sociocultural and economic criteria used to define Indian status shifted over time and were idiosyncratic. In the Cochabamba region of Bolivia, for example, the Spanish and later the Bolivian government categorized Indians as residents of corporate native communities legally recognized by the Crown. At the

same time, residents of those communities could move to the Spanish towns, adopt a European style of dress, learn a little Spanish, and pass as people categorized as being of mixed European and Native ancestry. They also passed from the ranks of tribute payers.

During the nineteenth century, following Bolivian independence, the economy of the Cochabamba region shifted, and in the 1870s the government passed legislation that abolished the corporate Native communities and attempted to force the community residents to take private title to their lands. There was also a growth in the number of smallholders identified by government officials as not being Natives, since the definition of Indian status was linked to residence on corporate Native communities with communal land tenure. As this sociocultural and economic shift occurred, the population defined as being Indian came to be people of mixed ancestry. This change did not include a distinction based on language, since even today Quechua is still the dominant language spoken in the countryside (Jackson, 1999).

A similar creation of a caste system did not occur on the north Mexican frontier, primarily because rigid distinctions between Native and non-Native were not as important. Sacramental registers and censuses did not record or did not consistently record race/caste terms. At the same time the Spanish engaged in the practice of creating new “ethnicities” in an attempt to make order out of the many Native polities and communities that existed in northern Mexico and in what today is the American Southwest. One example is the creation of Apache to identify different bands of Native peoples spread across Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and neighboring regions. A second example is the creation of an ethnic group called the Nijoras, Natives who in reality were slaves brought into Sonora by the Spaniards from the Colorado River area, ostensibly as war captives who had been ransomed.

Many Native communities, bands, and polities disappeared in the centuries following the arrival of the Europeans, whereas other groups survived, recovered, and experienced population growth after about 1900. A variety of factors help explain survival and later population growth. A key one was improvement in health care and in the development of medicines to combat disease in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as well as the mass inoculation of the non-Native populations in the Americas that brought pathogens such as smallpox





under control. The control of smallpox in the cities in the Americas meant that there were fewer epidemic outbreaks that could spread to the Native populations. Moreover, in the United States and Canada the creation of reservations managed, and mismanaged, by bureaucracies such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs led to public health measures for Native populations. At the same time, the relocation of Native groups to reservations with the sociocultural changes that the bureaucrats attempted to impose created new problems, such as sociocultural disintegration, poverty and marginalization, alcoholism and fetal alcohol syndrome, and high rates of suicide.

Some Native groups survived by incorporating new members to replace those killed in recurring epidemics. This was the practice among the Iroquois, for example. The Iroquois engaged in wars with neighboring groups and incorporated captives into their communities. The introduction of the horse revolutionized the society and culture of Native peoples who previously had lived on the fringes of the Great Plains. The horse made it possible to live full-time on the Great Plains, following the huge buffalo herds; living in a more dispersed and shifting settlement pattern buffered somewhat the spread of epidemics. Larger Native populations suffered declines resulting from disease and the other factors already discussed, but the degree of decline did not reach a threshold at which the drop in the number of women of childbearing age precluded recovery.

In the twentieth century, Native populations grew in the Americas, as did the number of wannabes. As occurred in the United States in 1970 and 1980, changes in the definitions of census categories could greatly expand the number of people categorized as Indian. The 1990 Census reported that 1.8 million people classified themselves as Native American, more than three times as many as the 523,600 reported thirty years earlier. The 1890 U.S. Census reported 228,000 American Indians. The trend continued in the 2000 Census, in which more than 4.1 million people said they were at least partially Native American, an increase of more than 100 percent in ten years, and thirteen times the official figure of about 300,000 a century earlier. Part of the increase was due to an excess of births over deaths among Native Americans. The census figures must be qualified because they rely on self-identification.

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*See also* Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Spanish Influence.

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## Disease, Historic and Contemporary

When English explorer George Vancouver sailed into Puget Sound in 1793, he met Indian people with pockmarked faces and found human bones and skulls scattered along the beach, the grim reminders of an earlier epidemic. Such scenes were echoed coast to coast in North America during the surge of non-Native exploration and settlement.

Epidemics of smallpox, measles, bubonic plague, influenza, typhus, scarlet fever, and many other European diseases sharply diminished Native American populations and curtailed economic productivity, generating hunger and famine, even before the non-Natives' physical arrival in the New World, often from visiting fishing vessels. As birth rates fell, many survivors allayed their losses with alcoholic beverages, further reducing Native societies' vibrancy and economic productivity. Societies that had been constructed on kinship ties dissolved as large parts of many families were wiped out. Survivors faced the world without family elders' help. The ravages of disease undermined the traditional authority of Native American healers, who found their practices useless against imported pathogens.

Historian Colin Calloway described the widespread impact of epidemics on Native American political, economic, and social institutions:

The devastating impact of disease cannot be measured only in numerical losses. Epidemics left social and economic chaos in their wake and caused immeasurable spiritual and psychological damage. Killer diseases tore holes in the fabric of Indian societies held together by extensive networks of kinship and reciprocity, disrupted time-honored cycles of hunting, planting, and fishing, discouraged social and ceremonial gatherings, and drained confidence in the old certainties of life and the shamans who mediated with the spirit world (Calloway, 1990, 39).

The arrival of imported pathogens affected Native groups differently, depending on the economic conduct of their lives. Sedentary groups were hit the hardest, while migratory groups (such as the Cheyennes after about 1800), who left their wastes (which drew disease-carrying flies and other insects) behind, suffered less intensely, at least at first. Migratory peoples also left behind water that they may





have contaminated, usually exchanging it for fresh supplies. The Cheyennes were quite conscious of water contamination and always set up camp so that their horses drank and defecated downstream from human occupants. The Cheyennes consciously fought the spread of disease by breaking camp often and scattering into small family groups, so that one infected family would not bring disease to an entire band.

A major epidemic hit present-day Massachusetts in 1616, four years before the landing of the Mayflower at Plymouth Rock. The disease may have been brought ashore by visiting European fishermen, who had been exploiting the rich coastal banks for many years. While the worst of the bubonic plague killed one in three people in Europe, continuing waves of epidemics of other imported diseases all but destroyed many Native societies and economies within a few years of non-Natives' first landfall in a given area. Plagues of various pathogens—smallpox, influenza, measles, and others—took nearly all of the Western Abenakis and at least half the Mohawks. A disease frontier spread across North America about a generation, generally, before non-Native settlers, traders, and miners reached a given area.

The plagues brought to the Americas by contact with the Old World have not ended, even today. The heritage of suffering brought by imported diseases left their mark on Native America well into the twentieth century. For example, between 1988 and 1990, 15 percent of the Yanomami of Brazil, who had only limited contact with people of European descent until this time, died of malaria, influenza, and even the common cold. As late as 1955, the annual Native American death rate from gastrointestinal illnesses was 15.4 per 100,000 among Native Americans, compared to 3.6 in the United States as a whole. The death rate from tuberculosis was 57.9 per 100,000 in 1955, compared to a nationwide average of 8.4. From alcoholism, the rate was at least 60 per 100,000, compared to a national average of 8.1.

During the last half of the twentieth century, some diseases declined dramatically among Native Americans. The death rate from gastrointestinal diseases fell from 15.4 per 100,000 in 1955 to 4.2 in 1983; the national average in 1983 was 2.8. For tuberculosis, the 1983 rate was 3.3 per annual deaths per 100,000, down from 57.9 in 1955; the national rate fell from 8.4 per 100,000 in 1955 to 0.5 in 1983. For alcoholism, the Native American rate of at least 60 per 100,000 in 1955 declined to about 28 in 1983.

## Disease and Demography

The question of the number of people who lived in the Americas prior to permanent contact with Europeans has become the subject of a lively debate during the last third of the twentieth century. The debate involves two very different ways of looking at historical and archaeological evidence. One side in the population debate restricts itself to a strict interpretation of the written evidence at hand. Another point of view accepts the probability that observers (usually of European ancestry) recorded only a fraction of the events that actually occurred in the Americas.

The fact that disease was the major cause of Native depopulation is not at issue. Both sides agree on the importance of disease in the depopulation of the Americas to the point at which many European immigrants thought they had come to an empty land that was theirs for the taking. The debate is over the *number* of Native people who died, the size of the economic decline caused by disease, and the magnitude of suffering endured by Native Americans.

Henry F. Dobyns estimates that about 16 million Native Americans lived in North America north of Mesoamerica, the area populated by the Aztecs and other Central American native nations, at the time of Columbus's first voyage (Dobyns, 1983, 42). Since population densities were much greater in Central America and along the spine of the Andes, an estimate of 16 million north of Mesoamerica indicates to Dobyns that 90 to 112 million native people lived in the Americas before the year 1500, making some parts of the New World as densely populated at the time as many fertile areas of Europe and Asia.

One measure of the demographic (and therefore economic) destruction Native Americans have faced during the last five centuries may be gained by comparing Dobyns' estimate of 90 to 112 million in 1492 to contemporary environmental activist Winona LaDuke's calculation of the number of indigenous people alive in 1992—28,264,000, 25 to 30 percent of the precontact total (LaDuke, 1992, 55). Given the magnitude of population loss, one can only begin to imagine the economic consequences on societies in which 80 to 90 percent of the people died within periods ranging from a few years to a century.

Dobyns' estimates of indigenous population at contact represent a radical departure from earlier tallies. The first "systematic" count was compiled during the early twentieth century by James Mooney, who maintained that 1,153,000 people lived in the land area now occupied by the continental United





States at first contact. Mooney calculated the 1907 Native population in the same area at 406,000. Dividing the country into regions, he calculated the percentage loss ranging from 61 percent (in the North Atlantic states) to 93 percent in California.

Defending his precontact population estimates, Dobyns argues that the absence of evidence does not mean the absence of phenomenon, especially where written records are scanty, as in America before or just after permanent European contact. Dobyns maintains that European epidemic diseases invaded a relatively disease-free environment in the Americas with amazing rapidity, first in Mesoamerica (with the Spanish), arriving in Eastern North America along native trade routes long before English and French settlers arrived. The fact that Cartier observed the deaths of fifty natives in the village of Stadacona in 1535 indicates to Dobyns that many more may have died in other villages that Cartier never saw. Because of the lack of evidence, conclusions must be drawn from what little remains, according to Dobyns, who extends his ideas to other continents as well: "Lack of Chinese records of influenza does not necessarily mean that the Chinese did not suffer from influenza; an epidemic could have gone unrecorded, or records of it may not have survived" (Dobyns, 1989, 296).

Critics of Dobyns assert that "there is still little certain knowledge about pre-1500 population levels" and that "... Dobyns has been accused of misusing a few scraps of documentary evidence we have in an effort to sustain his argument for widespread 16th-century epidemics" (Snow and Lanphear, 1988, 16). To critics of Dobyns, the fact that fifty natives were recorded as dying at Stadacona means just that: Fifty natives died, no more, no fewer. To Dobyns, however, such arguments "align themselves with the Bandler-Rosenblatt-Kroeber-Steward group, which minimizes Native American population magnitude and social structural complexity" (Dobyns, 1989, 289).

While Snow and Lanphear maintain that "there were often buffer zones between population concentrations or isolates that would have impeded the spread of diseases" (Snow and Lanphear, 1988, p. 16), Dobyns has replied that the practice of trade, war, diplomacy, and other demographic movements obliterated such "buffer zones" and aided the spread of disease. Snow and Lanphear also assert that the sparseness of Native populations in North America above the Rio Grande impeded the spread of disease, a point of view that does not account for the speed with which smallpox and other infections spread once they reached a particular area.

Dobyns not only denies that buffer zones existed, but maintains that smallpox was only the most virulent of several diseases to devastate New World populations. The others included measles, influenza, bubonic plague, diphtheria, typhus, cholera, and scarlet fever. According to Dobyns, "The frontier of European/Euroamerican settlement in North America was not a zone of interaction between people of European background and vacant land, nor was it a region where initial farm colonization achieved any 'higher' use of the land as measured in human population density. It was actually an interethnic frontier of biological, social, and economic interchange between Native Americans and Europeans and/or Euroamericans" (Dobyns, 1983, 43). The most important point to Snow and Lanphear, however, is "where one puts the burden of proof in this argument, or, for that matter, in any argument of this kind . . . We cannot allow ourselves to be tricked into assuming the burden of disproving assertions for which there is no evidence" (Snow and Lanphear, 1989, 299–300).

Given the evidence, however, even Snow and Lanphear acknowledge that between two-thirds and 98 percent of the Native peoples inhabiting areas of the northeastern United States died in epidemics between roughly 1600 and 1650. The Western Abenakis, for example, declined from 12,000 to 250 (98 percent), the Massachusetts (including the Narragansetts) from 44,000 to 6,400 (86 percent), the Mohawk from 8,100 to 2,000 (75 percent), and the Eastern Abenakis from 13,800 to 3,000 (78 percent) (Snow and Lanphear, 1988, 21).

David Henige of the University of Wisconsin/Madison also criticizes Dobyns for "remorseless attention to disease to the exclusion of all else," as the major cause of depopulation among Native peoples. "We might well ask why he does not consider the possible role of such factors as warfare, land exhaustion, climatic pressure, or cultural changes" (Henige, 1989, 306).

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*See also* Demographics, Historical.

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## Economic Development

The future of tribal governments and cultural survival relies heavily on economic development. For

more than two hundred years, the U.S. federal government has exercised control over Indian economies and resources. This control damaged tribal economies and thwarted efforts at redevelopment. Only since the 1970s has the federal government recognized that the continuing cycle of poverty and social issues in Indian Country can be addressed best by tribal governments.

However, due to past federal land policy, tribal governments lack the traditional tax base on which state and local governments rely. Therefore, tribal governments must rely on economic development for the revenues required to provide strong and effective governments for their citizens. This circumstance obliges the tribal government to act as a business participant more than other governments that possess traditional tax bases such as state and local governments.

Additionally, Native American governments face several obstacles in economic development such as federal involvement, reservation politics, and the perceptions of potential investors on issues such as sovereign immunity. To date, for the majority of Native governments, economic development has mainly consisted of the exploitation of natural resources and gaming (since the passage of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act). However, many tribes and nations are working on strategies to diversify their economies. These tribes realize that the lack of economic diversity leaves any government extremely vulnerable to the loss of governmental revenues.

## A Brief History of Tribal Economies

A brief review of the history of tribal economies leads to an excellent understanding of the origins of the challenges facing tribal economic development. When Europeans first arrived in the area later to be the United States, the Native peoples' social organization and trade rivaled that of Europe. The area contained an estimated 4 to 10 million people. At least 2 million Native Americans lived east of the Mississippi River. The tribal governments of these people exercised all internal and external aspects of sovereignty, including shaping their own economies and taxation.

In the first hundred years following the Europeans' arrival, Native American societies and governments underwent dramatic changes. To a limited extent, European illnesses made their entry into the





*John Collier, Indian Affairs Commissioner, with Blackfoot chiefs. (Library of Congress)*

continent and began affecting the indigenous population. Access to European trade goods became a key component in war, alliances, and population movements.

The next fifty years brought extreme changes to tribal economies, cultures, and governments. As the European-descended population in North America increased, intercultural commerce flourished between the Europeans and the Native Americans. During this time, Indians became fully integrated into the world economy by trading with European counterparties. Unfortunately for Native Americans, as economic relations increased, their contact with Europeans and the associated European diseases likewise increased. By 1750, the Native American population east of the Mississippi River dropped to approximately 250,000, whereas the European and African population east of the Mississippi River increased from approximately 250,000 in 1700 to 1.25 million in 1750.

In less than fifty years, the forces of new economies, of their impact on the environment, and of new diseases completely reordered the Native American world. The survivors consolidated into the historically known tribes. The massive death toll strained social and governmental institutions. However, regardless of the enormous changes and their weakened status, Native American governments maintained their autonomy and sovereign authority to determine economic and trading policy.

As Native American dependence on European goods increased, the tribes' ability to maintain relations with more than one European power became increasingly imperative. By maintaining their independence and carefully navigating the competing interests of the major European powers, Native Americans often secured better access to European trade goods than their Euro-American neighbors.

Unfortunately for the tribes, their ability to maintain multiple foreign trading relationships was





severely compromised by Britain's defeat of France in the Seven Years War. As the French withdrew from the continent, the British obtained nearly absolute power over European relationships with the tribes. With no other European counterbalance, the British attempted to tightly control trade with the Indians. This trade behavior, combined with several instances of land encroachment, ignited Indian wars against British settlements. To avoid the expense of war, the British Crown issued the Royal Proclamation of October 1763, reserving the lands not duly ceded or purchased from the Indians to the Indians. Although the declaration also asserts a protectorate concept of the British over the Indian tribes, the tribal nations maintained control over their resources and economies. However, on the eve of the American Revolution, the supremacy of one European power had severely eroded tribal control of external economic factors.

After the American Revolution, British control of the external relations of the tribes east of the Mississippi passed to the new American republic. To some extent, the entry of this new power helped restore trading options to Native American tribes. In addition to the new American republic, Britain remained active on the continent and Spain returned to Florida.

Fresh from its victory over the world's greatest power of the time, the American republic made the same mistake as the British approximately twenty years earlier. In the first three years after the treaty ending the American Revolutionary War, the United States executed a series of treaties with Native Americans claiming nearly all of present-day western New York and Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio. Even before the adoption of the U.S. Constitution, the Confederation Congress arranged for the area's development through the Land Ordinance of 1785 and the Northwest Ordinance of 1787.

In July of 1790, the U.S. Congress asserted complete control over all trade with American Indian tribes by passing the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of 1790. Based on the constitutional authority to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes (known as the Indian Commerce Clause), the act recognized tribal sovereignty and centralized control of relations between the tribes and the states. This centralized control extended to tribal land resources and prohibited land sales to any party other than the U.S. federal government.

Contemporaneous with asserting control over all trade with the Indian tribes, the new American

republic launched a military offensive against the Ohio River Valley tribes. After experiencing two crushing defeats, the United States chose diplomacy and treaties over open warfare with the tribes. The new strategy involved an economic component, known as the "civilization" program. The program assumed that shifting Indian economies from a mix of hunting, gathering, and agriculture to the Euro-American small farm economy model would require a much smaller tribal land base and would therefore open more lands to Euro-American settlement.

To implement the program, the U.S. Congress enacted a series of laws between 1790 and 1820, known collectively as the Trade and Intercourse Acts. These laws vested exclusive control of the external relations of tribal economies in the federal government. Federal policy evolved to one of economically leveraging land cessions from the tribes. The United States used the Natives' debt owed to federally licensed traders to leverage land cessions throughout the western frontier. President Thomas Jefferson illustrated this economic policy by explaining to Indiana's territorial governor that the debt of influential Indians beyond their means could ease the way to increased land cessions.

The 1803 Louisiana Purchase ended France's presence in North America and added to the United States a vast area west of the Mississippi River. Thus, the tribes found themselves even further isolated within an ever growing sphere of exclusive American influence. Only Britain and a continually weakening Spain remained to counter American influence.

The American victory in the War of 1812 even further isolated the Native nations and tribes. Britain withdrew to Canada and played only a small part in future North American affairs. In 1820, the Spanish ceded Florida to the United States. With this cession, the last of the Native Americans' potential European allies withdrew from the region. The tribes found themselves surrounded and highly outnumbered by Euro-Americans. Exploiting its newly powerful position, the United States under the leadership of Andrew Jackson imposed a series of treaties (often illegally) that transferred millions of acres by 1820 from a variety of tribes to the United States.

Between 1821 and 1832, the U.S. Supreme Court decided three cases (known as the Marshall Trilogy) that had huge implications for tribal sovereignty, land, and economies. In the 1823 case of *Johnson v. M'Intosh*, the Court addressed the legiti-





macy of Indian land ownership and a tribe's restriction against transferring lands only to the centralized federal government. The Court decided this case attempting to establish consistency in land titles and to create a basis for the national public domain.

Chief Justice John Marshall used the medieval doctrine of discovery to accomplish this goal. Under this doctrine, the "discovering" European nations held ultimate ownership rights to the land, subject to the Indians' "right of occupancy." A discovering power could extinguish this right of occupancy by purchase or conquest. In this instance, Marshall reasoned that the United States was the successor to Great Britain's rights as a discovering nation.

The decision limited the disposition of tribal land only to the federal government. Thus, the alienation of the main tribal economic resources, its land base, was placed completely under federal control. Marshall did, however, recognize an Indian sovereign's control of its land resources while the land remained in tribal possession.

By 1831, in an environment promoting the forced removal of all tribes to areas west of the Mississippi River, the U.S. Supreme Court was forced to define the status of Indian tribes within the U.S. constitutional scheme. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, the Court recognized tribal sovereignty by finding that, although the Cherokee Nation is a "state" (meaning a government), it was not a "foreign nation." Instead, Chief Justice Marshall created the new concept of "domestic dependent nations." The decision was politically expedient because it allowed the Court to avoid the question of the validity of the Georgia laws over Cherokee territory by ruling that the Cherokee Nation did not have standing under the court rules then in place.

A year later, in *Worcester v. Georgia*, two men used their status as American citizens to bring the issue of Georgia versus Cherokee sovereignty back to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Chief Justice identified only three specific references to tribes in the constitution: (1) war powers, (2) treaty powers, and (3) the regulation of commerce with foreign nations, among the states, and with the Indian tribes. The Court found that the Indian tribes possessed exclusive authority within their territorial boundaries. Concurrently, the Court also found that Cherokee tribal sovereignty existed under the exclusive control of the federal government.

Even victory in the U.S. Supreme Court could not save the Cherokee Nation and most of the other Eastern tribes from forced removal to lands west of the Mississippi. The forced relocations, known as the many Trails of Tears, brought great hardship and the loss of many lives to most American Indian tribes. The Cherokee cases did, however, establish the guiding principles of tribal sovereignty that, although diluted, continue in Indian law today. Further, Indian perseverance and tenacity sustained their sovereign governments against great odds, although tribal economies languished in the face of such chaos.

Within one hundred years of U.S. independence, the organized Indian battle against the American government ended. Relocation and reservation programs added to the increasing isolation and challenges of maintaining and developing tribal economies. Although Indians existed on reservations surrounded by a Euro-American world, they managed to maintain their unique cultures and governments. Disruption in tribal economies and food sources forced many tribes to rely heavily on federal subsidies or payments. This situation left the tribal economy open to interference and control from Washington.

Although the doctrines set forth in the Marshall Trilogy established inherent tribal sovereignty, the Supreme Court also recognized Congress's absolute (or plenary) power in determining the survival of all or a portion of the tribes' sovereignty. Thus, the tribes were subjected to the political whims of a body in which they had no representation.

In 1871, Congress passed an act ending the practice of negotiating treaties with the Indian tribes. By the 1880s, federal policy became one of forced assimilation. In 1885, Congress placed Indians under federal jurisdiction for certain crimes. Beginning with the General Allotment Act of 1887, Congress exercised its plenary power over the next twenty years to break up the large tribal communal landholdings by allotting specified acreage to tribal members and selling "surplus" lands to non-Indians.

By the late 1920s, the American government recognized the assimilation programs as a huge economic and human rights disaster. The allotment program had resulted in the transfer of over two-thirds of Indian lands into non-Indian hands within twenty years. In 1928, 96 percent of Indians earned less than \$200 per year. By 1933, 49 percent of Indians living on reservations were landless. With the typical allotment being too small for productive use.





Only 7 percent of Indian land was being used by Indians by 1935. Deprived of their land base and governmental systems, economic conditions remained dismal for Indians. Further, misguided policy and an arrogant, misdirected, inefficient, and inconsistent administration of federal Indian programs exacerbated the problems.

The 1930s brought New Deal reformers led by John Collier. At their urging, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). The Act was designed to assist tribes in organizing their governments and in developing their economies. The Act intended economic development to reflect the values of the traditional tribal society. It also secured the remnants of the tribal land base by immediately repealing the allotment laws and restoring "surplus" reservation lands to tribal ownership. To strengthen the tribal governmental structure, the IRA (and other associated acts) funded the organization of governments and tribal corporations for select tribes.

By 1940, however, critics of Indian reorganization took control of Congress. Indian appropriations took a nosedive, as critics of the program sought to strangle the reorganization work and as World War II drew away financial and human resources. (Many Indian leaders left to participate in the war.) Collier eventually resigned as critics mounted new and more effective assaults on his person and his administration. Upon his departure, Congress pressured the new bureau leaders to revive assimilation, this time through the termination of the tribal-federal relationship.

By 1953, Congress initiated the termination of tribal governments through a series of laws designed to end the relationship between the federal government and Indian governments and people. In 1954, Congress began the termination of more than a hundred bands and tribes.

Ironically, the termination policy helped reinvigorate the various interests that had begun organizing during the reforms of the 1940s. Protests, combined with the states' reluctance to bear the costs associated with assuming authority over Indian Country, eventually killed the momentum of the termination policy. With the Civil Rights Movement underway, federal policy concerning Indian Country began to shift again in the 1960s. By the early 1970s, congressional reports determined that the termination policies had resulted in yet another round of economic and cultural disaster in Indian Country.

President Lyndon B. Johnson announced the modern federal Indian policy in 1968 in a special address to Congress entitled the "Forgotten Americans." This was the first time a president had devoted a special address to Congress exclusively to Indian affairs. Two years later, President Richard M. Nixon announced the official policy of "self-determination" for tribes. Basically, the president's recommendations to Congress were to (1) reject termination, (2) grant the right to control and operate federal programs to the tribes, (3) restore specific sacred lands, (4) grant the right to control federal education funds and Indian schools to the tribes, and (5) pass legislation to encourage economic development.

In a series of acts passed in the 1970s, Congress began reversing the termination process and instituting the policy of self-determination. The trend has continued with Congress allowing for the expansion of tribal land bases, for greater control of natural resources, for recognition of "inherent sovereign powers," and even for amending the major environmental statutes to recognize "tribes as states."

As the legislative and executive branches embraced self-determination, the U.S. Supreme Court moved from the traditional protector of sovereignty into a role of limiting tribal sovereignty through judicial determination. In 1978, the Court initiated the modern trend of judicial termination of inherent sovereign powers. Since then, a series of cases have slowly chipped away at tribal sovereignty. Specifically, the Court has determined that tribal sovereignty is limited by treaties or statutes and has also lost the powers that are "*inconsistent with their status*" as domestic dependent nations.

Even in the Supreme Court's latest decision concerning tribal sovereign powers, *United States v. Lara*, the majority preserves its past analysis and restrictions on tribal authority. The case, however, recognizes congressional authority to "relax" the restrictions. The Court notes that such congressional authority may face constitutional challenges if relaxing the restriction interferes with a state's authority or creates due process or equal protection issues.

Inconsistency and rapid changes in federal Indian policy (e.g., from the Indian Reorganization Act in the 1930s to federal termination of tribes in the 1950s) left Indian Country and its economies in chaos. Congress's use of its plenary power to forcibly assimilate tribal members damaged self-





government and often fractionated or destroyed the Native resource base. Administrative policies and inefficiencies squandered Indians' capital and resources. All combined to destroy almost completely tribal economies that had been deteriorating since the Trade and Intercourse Acts first installed federal monopolies on trade with the Indians and promoted indebtedness. Poverty ran rampant in Indian Country. The lack of predictability and stability destroyed the incentive for tribal or nontribal investment in tribal economies.

Since the 1970s, both the executive and administrative branches have embraced a policy of tribal self-determination. Congress has enacted several statutes aimed at reversing the disastrous federal intervention of the last hundred years. Support of these programs appears to be continuing in both the executive and legislative branches.

In contrast to executive and legislative efforts to renew tribal governments, the modern judiciary has turned from the traditional protectors of inherent Indian sovereignty, with absolute deference to Congress's plenary power, to self-appointed arbiters of the survival of inherent tribal sovereignty. The latest Court trend appears to limit all remaining sovereign power to only the members of the tribe, regardless of whether those powers were being exercised within Indian Country. Unfortunately, the Court appears to lack the ability to see the practical application on Indian Country. As a tribe or nation loses its ability to enforce tribal regulations on nonmembers on tribal land, it loses control of its territory. This situation severely compromises the territorial integrity of the tribe. A tribe must increasingly rely on state control over nonmembers to maintain order in its territory. Therefore, the current judicial trend erodes elements of self-government that are important to sustained economic development.

### **The Economic Situation in Indian Country Today**

Indian Country still suffers from widespread poverty. Despite federal programs and philanthropic contributions, sustained economic development has yet to occur. Without sustained economic development, Indian Country will continue to suffer high unemployment, dependence on welfare and other government programs, and social problems including drug and alcohol abuse.

With a huge list of obstacles against them, such as the lack of capital and a well-educated or trained populace/workforce, tribal governments struggle for sustained economic development. Even with these obstacles, most tribal governments remain determined to increase opportunities for the tribe's youth while working to preserve culture. After decades of federal programs designed to demean and destroy the traditional way of life, tribal elders want to restore pride, self-worth, and belonging to the young people. Achieving such goals requires sustained economic success.

To achieve sustained economic growth, Indian tribes must attract investment into Indian Country. When deciding where to place their money, investors compare investment opportunities with opportunities elsewhere in the United States or, to some extent, around the world. Generally, any business considers the risks involved in three fundamental factors when investing in Indian Country (or anywhere): efficiency, predictability, and enforceability. Efficiency is the ability to complete the project effectively in a timely manner. Predictability means that the investment parameters remain constant enough to allow for a return on investment over the life of the project. Enforceability means that the pertinent project contracts can be enforced.

American Indian self-government allows the tribes and nations to best accomplish economic development, whereas decisions made by the federal bureaucracy often do not result in sustained economic development. Tribal control returns the decision-making process to those most affected by the decision's consequences. Thus, tribal sovereignty and self-determination are inextricably linked to sustained economic development and prolonging poverty in Indian Country.

To effectively achieve sustained economic development, tribes must create governmental structures that carefully balance tribal and business needs and that reflect the tribes' cultural foundations. Without such a foundation, the formal tribal government is likely to lack legitimacy and fail to gain respect in the tribal community. A government that lacks legitimacy also lacks the ability to create an environment for economic development.

Even with legitimate government structures, Native tribes and nations must still create attractive business environments. Tribal governments (as with any governments) should establish the appropriate rules for economic development within the tribes'





sphere of influence. The tribal government should set general strategic goals and direction. However, often Native governments become entangled in the day-to-day business decisions to which they are not well suited. Most economically successful tribes have insulated the day-to-day operations from politics. Investors look for protections, such as that of an independent judiciary, that protect them against tribal politicians turning their power into personal gain. The tribal government (like any government) must carefully monitor its position in the business environment.

To attract investment and to create sustained economic development, tribes must have formalized rules and procedures in place. This helps outside investors determine the business environment and increases their comfort level when investing in Indian Country. These formal institutions should include good financial controls and monitoring, record systems, professional personnel standards, and grievance procedures. Further, the tribes need to maintain a good business reputation for their tribal governments, as well as for any of their divisions or corporations.

If done correctly, these formal institutions will create an environment that brings investment into Indian Country. The tribes must create an environment with predictability and continuity, especially in tax and regulatory matters. To attract capital, investors must achieve risk and return profiles similar to (if not better than) non-Indian opportunities. Tribes must also confront the suspicions of business owners who fear that sovereign immunity may be used unfairly in business dealings by tribal governments and entities to gain competitive advantage.

### **Tribal Economic Development Entities**

To achieve sustained economic development and to attract business partners and investors to Indian Country, tribes need a coherent strategy. Tribes must choose a strategy that includes a tribal economic development structure, and they should be able to clearly explain the reasons behind the structure. Randomly choosing, mixing, or changing structures defeats the underlying goals of bringing predictability and consistency for sustained economic development. The potential entities or structures can take two approaches: (1) economic development through the direct participation of the tribal government and

(2) economic development through a tribally affiliated corporation.

When a tribe or nation decides to directly participate, it usually creates a division or agency of government under which to pursue economic development. Using this approach, the tribal government directly participates in the day-to-day business decisions.

This type of structure offers the advantage of simplicity. It involves only actions by the tribal government. It is a completely internal process; it requires neither federal bureaucratic involvement nor the development of a tribal corporate code. As an integral part of the tribal government, an economic development division of the tribe also falls within the tribe's sovereign immunity.

A tribe or nation that is directly involved in economic development must also acknowledge the disadvantages. As discussed, the tribes most successful in economic development have insulated economic development from tribal politics. In a direct participation strategy, all staffing, structure, and business decisions are subject to the whims of tribal politics. This situation greatly affects the prospects of predictability and consistency for potential investors, thereby injuring the tribe's chances of sustained economic development.

A Native tribe or nation is well served to make the business environment familiar and comfortable for potential investors. Contracting with a governmental entity is unfamiliar and thus uncomfortable for investors, and many potential investors will be unfamiliar with doing business in Indian Country. Additionally, tribal governments vary widely so that past dealings with a division of another tribe may provide little guidance for investors. Further, though useful to the tribes, a potential business partner is going to be very wary of the tribe's sovereign immunity. The inability of a business partner to enforce contractual obligations greatly detracts from the predictability, consistency, and enforceability required to foster sustained economic development.

However, from a tribal government's perspective, it would be unwise for a Native government to completely waive its sovereign immunity, potentially opening the way for state judicial interference in its governmental business activities. Therefore, every transaction between a tribal economic development division or agency and a business partner would require a limited waiver of sovereign immunity. A long list of limited tribal waivers, however, may slowly erode sovereign immunity, and requir-





ing a continuous use of waivers in each document creates a lingering issue in long-term relationships.

To add consistency, predictability, and familiarity to tribal dealings with potential business partners and investors, tribes have borrowed the concept of corporations from European-American law. The underlying premise of corporate law requires a specific legislative act or constitutional provision granting sovereign authority to create a corporation. Under these basics of corporate law, the tribe may use (a) its inherent sovereign powers to create a corporation within tribal territory, (b) federal sovereign powers in the Constitution's Indian Commerce Clause, or (c) a state's sovereign powers.

Since a corporation requires a statutory or constitutional basis, a tribe must either adopt its own corporate statutes or amend its constitution. Either tribal action constitutes an exercise of inherent tribal authority. Once a tribal statutory or constitutional basis for incorporation exists, the tribe may then charter a corporation pursuant to its sovereign authority.

Using a tribal corporate code to incorporate a tribal development entity, the tribe incurs both advantages and disadvantages. Depending on the tribe's relationship with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, incorporation under a tribal corporate code may be a completely internal process that avoids major federal bureaucratic involvement. The tribal corporation has some degree of separation from the tribal government and associated politics, and an independent board is possible. However, as a creation of tribal statute or resolution, the tribal corporation can still be affected by radical changes in tribal corporate law.

Using a constitutional process to create a tribally chartered corporation can require the approval of the federal bureaucracy. Although time-consuming, any hurdles for constitutional changes place another layer of insulation between the tribal corporation and the tribal government. Any radical changes in the provision authorizing the corporation would also require clearing the same hurdles. In contrast, an easily changed tribal constitution provides little protection against tribal politics that may detrimentally affect predictability and consistency.

Using the federally chartered tribal corporation (also known as a Section 17 corporation) also has certain advantages. The tribes are not required to pass any statutes. They simply vote to avail themselves of the provisions of the federal law. The authority for these actions is inherent in the federal

government, and congressional statute creates the opportunity. Further, once issued, the termination of the charter requires an act of Congress.

However, using this option requires involving the federal bureaucratic process. The Department of the Interior must approve and issue the corporate charter. In enacting the IRA, Congress recognized that sovereign immunity could put the tribes at a competitive disadvantage. Therefore, it provided for the ability of the secretary of the Interior to waive sovereign immunity for Section 17 corporations. As originally conceived, the federal charter for Section 17 corporations often includes a "sue and be sued" provision.

Using a state-chartered corporation may also provide some advantages. Potential business partners and investors find this vehicle the most familiar, and an independent board is possible. However, incorporation under state authority creates tax and sovereign immunity questions.

In any situation, a tribally chartered corporation still falls within the tribe's sovereign immunity, which causes the same concerns among potential business partners as previously discussed. However, in this situation, the tribal government itself never faces waiving sovereign immunity. The corporation can make broad waivers without directly affecting its parent, the tribal government. To avoid confusion and any impact on tribal governments, the tribes should take special care during incorporation to explicitly divest the tribal corporation from the tribal government's authority to waive sovereign immunity. Further, tribes must carefully avoid mixing the authority of the tribal government with that of the tribal corporation.

From an investor's perspective, contracting with a tribal corporate entity is more familiar. Companies are used to contracting with other companies. Also, a board at least somewhat insulated from politics adds consistency and predictability to the relationship.

## Conclusion

Native Americans have shown a great deal of tenacity in maintaining their inherent right to self-government. Even in the aftermath of great destruction and upheaval, tribes have managed to re-form inherently sovereign governments from the remnants of scattered peoples in a relatively short period of time. After almost 200 years of federal intervention, these sovereigns survive and at long last are getting the opportunity to determine their own course under the federal government's





program of self-determination. Tribal economic development is crucial to tribes' ability to realize their true potential as sovereigns. Sustained economic development by tribes requires the ability to exercise sovereign rights.

John L. Williams

*See also* Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission; Council of Energy Resource Tribes; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Domestic Dependent Nation; General Allotment Act (Dawes Act); Indian Gaming Regulatory Act; Indian Reorganization Act; Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; National Indian Gaming Commission; Plenary Power; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Trade and Intercourse Acts; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Education

Native American education is not a new idea or even a Euro-American idea. Indians were educated prior to their first contact with Europeans. Just as they had their own cultures, their own governments, and their own histories, Native peoples taught their own young as well. Indian education by Indians has always had goals similar to "all societies, to perpetuating family values, language, religion, politics,

economies, skills, sciences, and technologies" (Lomawaima, 2002, 422). On the other hand, these features of Native culture were targeted for eradication by European colonizers and form the key element in the acculturative educational initiative imposed on Indians by outsiders.

Indian education has for centuries put the federal government at odds with Native governments, as mainstream values have come into conflict with traditional values. Federal control has been imposed on Indian tribes and nations, as well as on individuals, in an attempt to subjugate and exploit them rather than provide them with a practical, desirable education. In response to this treatment, "students devised strategies to assert independence, express individuality, develop leadership, use Native languages, and undermine federal goals of homogenization and assimilation" (Lomawaima, 2002, 423). Finally, Indians have asserted individual tribal and pan-Indian sovereignty, winning their right to educational self-determination.

Since colonial times, Indian education has involved struggles for educational autonomy where the education of Indian children is concerned. The goal was local control and the implementation of tribal sovereignty in the development of curriculum and in deciding who will govern school boards. Most contemporary Indian education goals concentrate on "effective local control, and locally relevant curriculum, language materials, and pedagogical methods" (Lomawaima, 2002, 424). Since the civil rights movements of the 1960s, there have been many victories in realizing this goal of self-determination and self-empowerment.

Lomawaima explains that, traditionally, Indian education generally "utilize[s] structured and age-or-ability-graded curricula developed by social and ceremonial groups such as kivas (Pueblo), houses (Northwest Coast), kin-defined clans (nearly everywhere), social classes (such as the Yurok Talth) and/or, women's or men's societies" (Lomawaima, 2002, 425). Using specialists, Native educational systems built successive layers of skill and knowledge in various subjects important to the group. Students are often separated or divided into *programs* of "selected groups" and guided in the learning of "selected knowledge." In other words, "higher education is not necessarily open to, or sought out by, everyone" (Lomawaima, 2002, 425).

From the late 1800s through the 1920s, there was little agreement about the goals and methods of Indian education. "Policymakers, professional edu-





*A group of Navajo children study English at a public school in 1948. (Bettmann/Corbis)*

cators, federal bureaucrats, and interested citizens argued over Indian abilities as they proposed radically different visions of the Indian ‘place’ in America” (Lomawaima, 2002, 427). Indians were the only interested parties not consulted in this discourse (Lomawaima, 2002, 427). During this era, industrial (vocational) schooling for Indians was intended to coincide with Congress’s passing the General Allotment Act of 1887. This act stripped many Indian tribes and nations of their lands, thus forcing them to give up their traditional lifestyles and assimilate. At the same time the Act provided access to this land to the constituents of those who had voted for it. Federal educational initiatives were geared to condition Indians to work individual plots of land while simultaneously eroding the idea of common, tribal property (Lomawaima, 2002, 430).

Brenda Child explains that, while the General Allotment Act (1887) fragmented Indian communities by breaking up tribal landholdings, the boarding schools—especially the schools located off-reservation—destroyed Indian family structure. One can only imagine the profound despair of having lost home, family, livelihood, and important elements of culture. These hardships were compounded by high rates of death and disease suffered by Indians, especially during the height of the era of allotment and the boarding school period. The land remaining in the hands of Indians was not sufficient to sustain their traditional ways of securing their sustenance such as hunting, fishing, and harvesting fruits and wild rice and the maple sap, used for making sugar (Child, 1998, 361). The high death rate created many orphans. Child emphasizes the effects of





the additional pressures of allotment on these orphans. Traditionally, these children would have been adopted within the tribal community—often by extended families—where they were “treated with kindness, and little distinction was made between ‘natural’ children and those adopted.” Due to the unraveling of the community fabric, these children were taken by the federal government to be adopted outside the community (Child, 1998, 366).

While the boarding school policy may have been intended to assimilate Indians into mainstream society, it sometimes had the opposite effect. Many Indian children saw the “boarding school experience” as a means to come into contact with other Indians—building the first foundations of a pan-Indian viewpoint—away from European-American society (Lomawaima, 2002, 436).

Generally, Indian people have been absent from discussions concerning Indian education, which has historically been applied by non-Indians. The results have been devastating to Indian peoples, fragmenting entire cultures. Now, through self-determination initiatives such as tribally controlled community colleges (TCCC), Indians regained control of their own destinies to aid in the reconstruction of their cultures.

Margaret Connell Szasz thoroughly chronicled Indian education from the 1980s through the 1990s. She explains that the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) was given the responsibility for educating Indian children in the late nineteenth century (1977, 1). This responsibility was executed in a variety of venues, including boarding schools and day schools, both off and on the reservations. Conditions at most of these schools were harsh. Boarding schools were overcrowded, and children had insufficient food. Sick children were not cared for properly, resulting in epidemics. Preadolescent students worked “long hours in the shops, the gardens, and the kitchens” (Szasz, 1977, 2) as a means of reducing operating expenses. Discipline was strict, and life was regimented by stern superintendents and their staff. Academics were too basic, coursework was not applicable to reservation life, and the vocational training left most students who have been unable to succeed in an urban environment (Szasz, 1977, 2).

In 1928, the Brookings Institute, an independent group of experts, published the Meriam Report, which included an analysis of the BIA’s Education Division’s methods and success in educating Indian young people. The report found many problems and provided a myriad of suggested reforms (Szasz, 1977, 1–3). Among the suggestions were to build

more day schools on the reservations that would also serve as community centers, to integrate Indian culture into the curriculum of the boarding schools, while making instruction more pertinent to the life needs of students, and to provide salaries for professional educators. Many of the suggestions were implemented during John Collier’s tenure as the commissioner of Indian Affairs between 1933 and 1945, but then an era of stagnation ensued for about fifteen years (Szasz, 1977, 3).

The National Congress of American Indians, founded in 1944, saw education as a major priority during the war years, but its priorities turned to fighting termination shortly afterward. Termination was a direct assault on Indian communities in an attempt to dissolve the relationship that had long been established between the Indians and the federal government. Although the fight against termination had been a great distraction from educational issues, it gave many Indians the experience of dealing with federal bureaucracies that later proved necessary in the broader battles for sovereignty in the 1960s (Iverson, 1998, 7). In 1969 the Kennedy Report was released by the U.S. Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, providing new hope for Indian education (Iverson, 1998, 160). The report exposed misappropriations of funds by state public schools that served Indian students and opened the door for a change in policy (Iverson, 1998, 5–6).

In 1961 approximately 800 American Indians met in Chicago for the American Indian Chicago Conference (AICC) in a pan-Indian attempt to address the problems of Native Americans and find solutions by working with the federal government to better help themselves. They produced a forty-nine-page document called the Declaration of Indian Purpose. They proposed to avert the crisis that Indians faced in America at the time, which was mainly the result of abject poverty. Much of this Indian poverty was a direct result of the termination policy of the federal government (Lomawaima, 2002, 131–132).

In recent decades, Native American communities considered some common issues. They want to undo the effects of urban migration’s draining of population in Indian communities, as well as the loss of tribal unity and values, by economic rejuvenation and social improvements such as educational advancements. At the same time, the BIA wants to discontinue the use of boarding schools and the old system of day schools by placing Indian children in public schools. According to Peter Iverson, “by 1980





about 80 percent of all Native children attended public schools" (Iverson, 1998, 159). In the mid-1960s through 1970s, off-reservation schools, such as Chiloco in Oklahoma and Phoenix Indian School in Arizona, were in decline as public schools on reservations took their place (Iverson, 1998, 159–160). Into the 1980s these "off-reservation schools attracted a steadily higher percentage of students who had serious problems" (Iverson, 1998, 160).

While Indians fought for control of their education during the 1960s and 1970s, they began to realize significant victories along the way. These victories included increased funding for public schools located on many reservations, "the development of community or contract schools," the founding of tribally controlled community colleges, and a higher enrollment and graduation rate by Indian students in mainstream institutions of higher education (Iverson, 1998, 160).

Another indication of the victories during this period was a shift in government policy, as "from the mid 1960s through the 1970s Congress passed more legislation relating to Indian education [than] it had approved during the prior two centuries" (Iverson, 1998, 160). This new legislation included the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which encouraged "community involvement" and also assisted low-income families; the Indian Education Act of 1972; and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975. With this new legislation also came provisions for more control by the United States Office of Education, to reach those Indian students overlooked by the BIA (Iverson, 1998, 160).

The new legislation had been ushered in by the Kennedy Report. The report described the national Indian education policy as "a failure of major proportions," yet it provided no viable solutions to the problems that it pointed out. This lack of solutions on the part of the federal government provided opportunities for Indians to take control of the issue in the form of contract schools (Iverson, 1998, 160). Rough Rock Demonstration School, opened in 1966 on the Navajo reservation in Arizona and was the first contract school, followed by Ramah Navajo High School, also in Arizona, and Busby School on the Northern Cheyenne reservation on Montana (Iverson, 1998, 161).

Another factor that helped to determine the direction of many aspects of Indian education was a large number of newly registered Indian voters. These voters began to influence the composition of

public school boards in areas with large Indian student enrollments. By the early 1970s, seventy-eight public school district boards had a majority of Indian board members (Iverson, 1998, 161). Thanks to these initial changes in Indian self-determination, Indian children can now study their own language in the same venue as English, rather than having to "[scrub] toilets with a toothbrush" for speaking their Native languages (Iverson, 1998, 162).

The first Native-controlled community college was the Navajo Community College (NCC), founded in 1968. It shared the facilities with a BIA boarding school at Many Farms, Arizona, while awaiting the completion of its own facilities at Tsaile, Arizona, in 1973. Funding to continue the operation of the school was guaranteed by the Navajo Community College Act of 1971, along with financial support from the Navajo Nation and privately sponsored foundations. In 1997, the school's name was changed from NCC to Diné College, to utilize the Navajos' name for themselves (Iverson, 1998, 162). Also founded in the late 1960s through early 1970s, were the Oglala Lakota College on the Pine Ridge (Sioux) Reservation and Sinte Gleska College on the Rosebud (Sioux) Reservation, both in South Dakota (Iverson, 1998, 162–163). These first institutions provided a basic template for the rest to follow.

One important development that coincided with the founding of many of the TCCCs was a new commitment of non-Indian institutions to the success of Indian students in higher education (Iverson, 1998, 164). Another advantage to Indian (and non-Indian) students that developed during these years was the offering of new Indian studies programs in institutions of higher learning throughout the United States. The programs provided scholarship relevant to the enhancement of Native community colleges and their missions, and stimulated the formation of their teaching cadres as well (Iverson, 1998, 164). With more urban Indians finding a forum for discussions of Native American issues, they saw a need for a national Native-controlled university that would serve the needs of nonreservation Indians.

Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University (D-Q U) was cofounded in 1970 by Jack Forbes and other Indian and Chicano scholars (Iverson, 1998, 163). Forbes had advocated such an institution to teach Indians to control their own futures since 1961. The new university was housed in an abandoned military communications facility near Davis, California, under reclamation procedures for "surplus land,"





similar to those invoked unsuccessfully at Alcatraz Island. Department of Health, Education and Welfare officials wanted D-Q moved to the campus of the University of California at Davis, but D-Q refused (Iverson, 1998, 163).

When the Tribally Controlled Community College Act was passed in 1978, D-Q's board members saw an opportunity to gain support and stability, and hopefully end many of the school's financial problems, by becoming an urban TCCC. The decision was made to make the transition and the Chicano board members stepped down, leaving an all-Indian board of trustees. D-Q had already joined the American Indian Higher Education Consortium in 1972 (Iverson, 1998, 163–164).

TCCCs had not yet become the standard for tribal higher education initiatives when Northwest Indian College (NWIC) began as the Lummi Aquatic Training Program in 1969. "[W]ith 18 trainees under the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) and the Economic Development Administration (EDA) funding for the purpose of providing skilled technicians for the new Lummi Aquatic Project [LAP]" (Lummi Archives, 2002, 1). After the first eighteen students completed the program, eight became assistant instructors, eight went on to colleges or universities, and two became full-time employees of the LAP. Sixty-four Lummis enrolled in the second session of the program, of whom forty continued to an advanced program at the LAP (Lummi Archives, 2002, 1).

As the Lummi Nation received requests to train members of other tribes, an intertribal approach became one of the core principles of the program. In 1972, the school—Lummi Indian School of Aquaculture (LISA)—was officially formed. In the first two years of operations, students from twenty-five Native nations and tribes, from across the United States, received certificates of graduation from LISA. These students learned the necessary skills to return to their tribes to help solve "similar water resource development problems" (Lummi Archives, 2002, 2).

The federal funding that made the aquaculture program possible in the beginning was due to "[t]he Democratic sweep of 1960 [which] initiated yet another switch in federal Indian policy" (Boxberger, 1989, 131). In 1961, the Kennedy administration halted the termination process, a policy of the 1950s aimed at relocating Indians into urban centers in an attempt to "terminate" tribalism and reliance on the federal government, by assimilation into mainstream society; the policy had had limited success

and had proved extremely detrimental to most Indian communities and to the individuals who participated. While relocation continued, it was restructured into a program that provided financial aid and vocational training. Until this time, "[g]enerally the relocatees were unskilled and undereducated" (Boxberger, 1989, 130).

Many Lummis who left their reservation during the 1950s and 1960s returned in the 1970s. Their arrival was the result of changes in the commercial fishing opportunities ushered in by court decisions. The Boldt decision of 1974, for example, upheld Indian fishing rights as provided by the Treaty of Point Elliot in 1855 (Boxberger, 1989, 154). This return of tribal members, along with the favorable court decision, did not, however, put an end to the Lummis' legal or economic troubles.

By this time, more than half of the Lummis' reservation land had passed into non-Indian ownership. The Indian gillnet (salmon fishing) fleet was dilapidated, and seasonal unemployment was soaring as high as 80 percent in the Lummi Nation (Boxberger, 1989, 131, 147, 149). By the 1970s, the primary means of subsistence on the Lummi Reservation was welfare (Boxberger, 1989, 150). The state of Washington relentlessly pursued court battles against Indian fishing rights in the Puget Sound area, and state regulators harassed Indian fishermen. With yet another change in federal Indian policy, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act (1975), signed into law by the Nixon administration, the Lummis found themselves able to receive federal funding for educational and economic development. The Lummi Indian School of Aquaculture was the direct result of this act. These new laws also provided for more Indian control of the salmon resource (Boxberger, 1989, 132).

LISA has been of great importance to the Lummis and other tribes throughout the United States, by providing an opportunity to develop or enhance water use and fisheries. However, the school has never been the commercial success that is so desperately needed on a reservation with few economic resources. There seem to be three reasons for the failure of LISA: First, the bulk of government funding dried up; second, management turnover was so high that the project was mismanaged; third, all of this occurred during a time when the Boldt decision turned the Lummis' attention to catching fish, rather than raising fish. However, it did form the basis for the development of an institution of higher learning by the Lummis and for carrying the concept out as





an intertribal endeavor. Coming out of the turbulence of the court battles, Washington State's application of its interpretation of fishing laws, and the Indians' fish-ins as a means of protesting this application of the law, the founders of LISA/NWIC and its students have traditions steeped in nonconformity and protest, as does D-Q. This student body has become, by all indications, a solid foundation for Native American higher education in the region (Boxberger, 1989, 152–153).

When examining the history of Indian education, one can easily recognize the importance and interdependence of the foundations of activism and the civil rights movements; the creation of new legislation regarding Indian education and self-determination; and the social change that came about as a result of this legislation. This is what created the atmosphere in which the tribally controlled community colleges were born.

As in most social movements, government support, indigenous leadership, public sympathy, and effective mobilization strategies advanced the cause. The effort and reform came at the right historical moment to benefit from the larger reform efforts. Higher education expanded for many Native Americans due to the sociopolitical changes that took place during the 1960s and 1970s. These changes, in turn, had an effect on Native American higher education. They provided more educators and administrators—Indian and non-Indian—who were more aware of Indian issues and the needs of Native Americans. These individuals created the foundations of Native American education—the specialized Native curriculum.

Daniel R. Gibbs

*See also* American Indian Higher Education Consortium; Assimilation; Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Canada, Indian Policies of; Education and Social Control; Indian Reorganization Act; Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act; Language and Language Renewal; National Congress of American Indians; Pan-Indianism; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples; Tribal Colleges; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Education and Social Control

Federal control of Indian education in the United States began as, and largely has continued to be, a way for the dominant social interests of the U.S. government to control American Indian cultures and prevent their various unique philosophical perspectives from being sustained. Beginning with the earliest treaties in the late 1700s up until the last ones in 1871, the government agreed to provide vocational training in return for land and peace settlements. In truth, the educational provisions were designed to assimilate Indians. In fact, for the most part such education was contracted out to religious groups whose main purpose was to convert Indian people.

After ongoing conflict throughout the 1800s between U.S. troops and American Indians, specifically the nations that did not want to sign treaties or by those reacting to broken treaties, Congress established boarding schools in 1879 as an alternative to shooting Indians. Army officer Richard H. Pratt convinced legislators that it would cost less money to "[k]ill the Indian and save the man" than to use bullets. Children were forced into boarding schools





where all aspects of Indian culture were forbidden. Indian families who would not send their children to the schools were sometimes imprisoned and those on reservations were denied rations.

Federal treaties continued to guide the U.S. inclination to provide education for American Indians, but beginning in 1917 more and more responsibility was transferred to state public schools. In 1928, the Meriam Report, which harshly criticized the boarding schools, enhanced this transfer to the states, although the federal government continued to finance the programs. Education was henceforth administered largely through the newly established Bureau of Indian Affairs, but public schools receiving funds for Indian Education still did not involve Native peoples in the education process and assimilation remained the goal.

The 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the 1972 Indian Education Act, the 1975 Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, the 1978 Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act, and the 1990 Native American Language Act attempted to reduce school problems, illiteracy and dropout rates in Indian schools, enhance educational opportunities for Indian students, and replace U.S. control of Indian education with more Native-controlled policy and curriculum decisions. Problems continued, however, and in 1998 an executive order entitled, "American Indian and Alaska Native Education" stated a commitment to improve academic performance and reduce dropout rates of the half million or so elementary and secondary Native students who attend state public schools.

Funding for the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act was reauthorized in 1994 as Title IX, and in 2001 funding for the 1972 Indian Education Act was reauthorized as Title VII, Part A, in the No Child Left Behind Act. Both reauthorizations specifically recognize that American Indians have unique educational and culturally relative academic needs, as well as distinct language and cultural needs. Title VII (Indian, Native Hawaiian, and Alaska Native Education) allows for grants to school districts that focus on culturally related activities and Native-specific curriculum content. A stipulation requires that such activities and curriculum must be "consistent with state standards." As a result, the forced assimilation of boarding school approaches to Indian education has, in significant ways, merely been replaced by another, more subtle approach to assimilation goals in that state standards and the process identified by NCLB for imple-

menting compliance to them often contradict the very goals of cultural relevance intended by Title VII.

This more subtle hegemony in modern education may be the most effective method of social control of all those employed against American Indians under the guise of education policy. Indian education systems are still shaped by non-Indian social, cultural, and economic purposes that differ from those of traditional Indian people.

A majority of teachers in Indian schools are non-Indian and those who are Indian have been certified in teaching through teacher education programs that emphasize dominant cultural values. Not only the curriculum, but the form of most education programs for Indian children, ignores the values of various First Nations. For example, learning goals more in line with traditional American Indian philosophies relate to specific roles for men and women in society; to a strong experience of democratic ideals and freedom at an early age; to a concept of authority that does not recognize position but instead honors wisdom or ability; to a teaching style that is indirect; and to learning styles that are about the observation, imitation, and acceptance of responsibility. Aspects of American education that violate indigenous approaches to education are punishment, the concept of a delinquent child, the social stigma emphasizing incompetence, materialism, competition, irrelevant and fragmented curriculum, a deemphasis on creative expression, the absence of spirituality, and alienation from Nature.

A number of American Indian scholars are claiming that "anti-Indianism" is a major challenge to education in America and that it is rampant and largely unrecognized in television programming, in Hollywood films, in popular and academic literature, and in textbooks, radio talk shows, magazines, and newspapers. As the purpose of education for all Americans moves more and more toward the goals of global competition and less and less toward creating good people and a healthy world, the loss of and continual suppression of American Indian cultural assumptions for education continue to be a major concern.

*Four Arrows—Don Trent Jacobs*

*See also* Assimilation; Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Education; Indian Self-Determination and Educational Assistance Act; Meriam Report.





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## Environment and Pollution

When most American Indians were assigned reservations late in the nineteenth century, many of the lands given them were assumed to be relatively worthless for economic activities deemed valuable to Anglo-American settlers, whose main interest was agriculture. The reservations were assigned at the dawn of fossil-fueled industrialism, decades before the atomic age—ironically, as it turned out, because areas that appeared so barren to the untrained eye held, underground, a wealth of mineral and metal resources. In particular, Indian reservations in the United States possess a substantial proportion of the uranium and coal within U.S. borders. During the ensuing century and a quarter, the circumstances of industrialization and technical change have made many of these treaty-guaranteed lands very valuable.

According to a Federal Trade Commission (FTC) report distributed in October 1975, an estimated 16 percent of the U.S. uranium reserves that were recoverable at market prices were on reservation lands; this was about two-thirds of the uranium on land under the legal jurisdiction of the U.S. government. There were, at that time, almost four hundred uranium leases on these lands, according to the FTC, and between one million and two million tons of uranium ore a year—about 20 percent of the national total—were being mined from reservation land.

American Indians living within the borders of the United States have therefore developed an intimate relationship over the years with exploiters of resources. Products affecting reservation environments in the United States range from atom bombs to kitty litter. Even a brief summary of environmental issues facing indigenous peoples in the United States reveals a range of problems equal to those of any Third World nation. Native lands repeatedly have become targets for proposals whose sponsors seem to ignore the fact that these lands have human inhabitants. Witness the Inuit (Eskimos) of Point Hope, Alaska, whose land had once been proposed as the site of a new harbor to be created with



*Aerial view of the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Washington, on the banks of the Columbia River. (Roger Ressmeyer/Corbis)*

nuclear weapons. The harbor was never created, but the Point Hope Eskimos still found themselves hosting uninvited nuclear waste. Other Alaskan Eskimos have found their reindeer rendered inedible, polluted with a number of heavy metals. Similar problems afflicted the Yakamas, who found themselves unwilling neighbors of the Hanford Nuclear Reservation in Eastern Washington. Residents of geographically diverse communities, from the Akwesasne Mohawk in northern New York State to the Yaquis near the U.S.–Mexico border, suffer from the devastation wrought by dioxin, PCBs, and other pollutants.

### Akwesasne: The Land of Toxic Turtles

Within the living memory of a middle-aged person in the early twenty-first century, Akwesasne (the





Mohawk name for the St. Regis Mohawk reservation that straddles the U.S.–Canadian border in New York State) has become a toxic dumping ground riskier to human health than many urban areas. These environmental circumstances have, in two generations, descended on a people whose whole way of life once was enmeshed with the natural world, a place where the Iroquois origin story says the world took shape on a gigantic turtle's back. In our time, environmental pathologists have found turtles at Akwesasne that qualify as toxic waste.

The Akwesasne reservation was abruptly introduced to industrialism with the coming of the Saint Lawrence Seaway during the middle 1950s. Shortly thereafter, industry began to proliferate around the Mohawks' homeland. A General Motors foundry opened, followed by aluminum plants and steel mills that provided raw materials and parts for the foundry. When Ward Stone, a wildlife pathologist for the New York State Department of Environmental Conservation, began examining animals at Akwesasne in the 1980s, he found that the PCBs, insecticides, and other toxins were escaping from designated dumps. After years of use, the dump sites had leaked, and the toxins had spread into the food chain of human beings and nearly every other species of animal in the area. The Mohawks' traditional economy, based on hunting, fishing, and agriculture, had been literally poisoned out of existence.

While no federal standards exist for PCBs in turtles, the federal standard for edible poultry is three parts per million. The federal standard for edible fish is two parts per million. During the fall of 1987, Stone found a male snapping turtle that contained 3,067 parts per million in its body fat—a thousand times the concentration allowed in a domestic chicken and sixty times the minimum standard for hazardous waste. Contamination was lower in female turtles because they shed some of their own contamination by laying eggs, whereas the males store more of what they ingest. Two years earlier, working in close cooperation with the Mohawks, Stone had found a masked shrew that somehow had managed to survive in spite of a PCB level of 11,522 parts per million in its body, the highest concentration that Stone had ever seen in a living creature, and 250 times the minimum standard to qualify as hazardous waste. Based on these and other samples, Stone declared Akwesasne to be one of the worst PCB-polluted sites in North America. In 1986, pregnant women were advised not to eat fish from the Saint Lawrence, historically the

Mohawks' main source of protein. Until the 1950s, Akwesasne had been home to more than 100 commercial fishermen, and about 120 farmers. By 1990, fewer than ten commercial fishermen and twenty farmers remained.

In March 1990, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) released its Superfund cleanup plan for the General Motors foundry. The cleanup was estimated to cost \$138 million, making the General Motors dumps near Akwesasne number one on the EPA's "most-wanted" list and also the costliest Superfund cleanup job in the United States. In 1991 the cost was scaled down to \$78 million, but the General Motors dumps were still ranked as the country's most expensive toxic cleanup.

"We can't try to meet the challenges with the meager resources we have," said Henry Lickers, a Seneca employed by the Mohawk Council at Akwesasne. Lickers has been a mentor to today's younger environmentalists at Akwesasne. He also has been a leader in the fight against fluoride emissions from the Reynolds plant. "The next ten years will be a cleanup time for us, even without the money," said Lickers (Johansen, 1993, 19).

The destruction of Akwesasne's environment is credited by Lickers with being the catalyst that spawned the Mohawks' deadly battle over high-stakes gambling and smuggling. "A desperation sets in when, year after year, you see the decimation of the philosophical center of your society," he said (Johansen, 1993, 19).

The Mohawks are not alone. Increasingly, restrictive environmental regulations enacted by states and cities are bringing polluters to Native reservations. "Indian tribes across America are grappling with some of the worst of its pollution: uranium tailings, chemical lagoons and illegal dumps. Nowhere has it been more troublesome than at . . . Akwesasne," wrote Rupert Tomsho, a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal* (Tomsho, 1990, 1).

Some attempt has been made to replace contaminated soils in parts of Akwesasne and to dredge some of the Saint Lawrence River. Given the large area that has been polluted and the persistence of the pollutants in the food chain, in 2005 large areas of soil and water remained toxic enough to cause people to refrain from growing food or eating fish caught in local waters. Despite the cleanup efforts, pollution at Akwesasne remains a major health problem. Katsi Cook, a Mohawk midwife who has studied the degree to which mothers' breast milk has been laced with PCBs at Akwesasne, said,





"This means that there may be potential exposure to our future generations. The analysis of Mohawk mother's milk shows that our bodies are, in effect, part of the [General Motors] landfill" (LaDuke, 1994, 45).

### The Yaquis and Pesticide Contamination

The Yaquis are an indigenous, farming people who live and work in the environs of the Yaqui Valley in Sonora, Mexico, spanning the border between the United States and Mexico. Beginning after World War II, due to a lack of available water and financing, many Yaquis became unable to support their own farms. Faced with the prospect of starvation, these people were forced to lease their lands to outsiders, mainly corporate farmers, who were heavy users of pesticides, herbicides, and fungicides. The use of these chemicals, usually applied by aerial spraying, by tractor, and by hand, brought widespread contamination of the land, water, and people. As valley farm operations, including irrigation and transport systems, became mechanized, the resulting Green Revolution hastened the further consolidation and corporatization of farming in the region. Farmers in the valley reported planting two crops a year, with pesticides applied as many as forty-five times per crop. Pesticide compounds included multiple organophosphate and organochlorine mixtures, as well as pyrethroids. Between 1959 and 1990, thirty-three different compounds—including DDT, dieldrin, endosulfan, endrin, heptachlor, and parathion-methyl—were used for the control of cotton pests alone. As recently as 1986, 163 different pesticide formulations were sold in the southern region of the state of Sonora. Substances banned in the United States, such as lindane and endrin, were and are readily available to farmers living in the Mexican parts of the valley.

Moreover, pesticide use is widespread and continues throughout the year with little governmental control. Contamination of the resident human population has been documented, with women's breast milk containing concentrations of lindane, heptachlor, benzene hexachloride, aldrin, and endrin all above limits set by the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations for women after one month of lactation (Guillette, Meza, Aquilar, Soto, and Garcia, 1998). During 1990, high levels of multiple pesticides were found in the cord blood of newborns and in the breast milk of valley residents.

(Local children are usually breast-fed, then weaned onto household foods.)

Angel Valencia, a spiritual leader of the Yaqui tribe in the village of Potam, described the effects of these chemicals among valley residents. Valencia spoke as a representative of the Arizona-based Yoe-mem Tekia Foundation, an affiliate of the International Indian Treaty Council. "I have seen with my own eyes the effects of daily contact with these pesticides—it burns their skin, they lose their fingernails, develop rashes and in some cases they have died as a result of exposure to these poisons. . . . The tragedy of this situation makes me both sad and angry—to think of what has been done to the innocent children who are the future of the Yaqui people. They will not be able to grow and develop, as they deserve to" (Johansen, 2004, 369).

During the 1990s, Elizabeth Guillette, an anthropologist and research scientist at the University of Arizona, studied the impacts of pesticide exposure on Yaqui children. Guillette's studies confirmed the observations of Valencia. In her study, children of the agrarian region were compared to children living in the foothills, where pesticide use is generally avoided. The study selected two groups of four- and five-year-old Yaqui children who resided in the Yaqui Valley of northwestern Mexico. These children shared similar genetic backgrounds, diets, water-mineral contents, cultural patterns, and social behaviors. The major difference was the level of their exposure to pesticides. Guillette adapted a series of motor and cognitive tests into simple games the children could play, including hopping, ball catching, and picture drawing. The study was constructed in this manner to minimize variables that can affect the outcome of a pesticide study on child growth and development. The population had to meet the requirements of similar genetic origin, living conditions, and related cultural and social values and behaviors, all of which are necessary for comparable study and reference groups.

Guillette had assumed that any differences between the two groups would be subtle. Instead, she recalled, "I was shocked. I couldn't believe what was happening" (Luoma, 1999). According to an account by Jon R. Luoma in *Mother Jones*, "The lowland children had much greater difficulty catching a ball or dropping a raisin into a bottle cap—both tests of hand-eye coordination. They showed less physical stamina, too. But the most striking difference came when they were asked to draw pictures of a person. . . . Most of the pictures from the foothill chil-





dren looked like recognizable versions of a person. The pictures from most of the lowland children, on the other hand, were merely random lines, the kind of unintelligible scribbles a toddler might compose. . . . It appeared likely they had suffered some kind of brain damage" (Luoma, 1999).

During a follow-up trip in 1998, two years after her initial visit, Guillette found that both groups of children (who at that time were in primary school) had improved their drawing ability. While the lowland children's drawings looked more like people than before, the foothill children were drawing far more detailed images. The lowland youngsters were still evidencing some motor problems, particularly with balance. "Some of these changes might seem minute, but at the very least we're seeing reduced potential," Guillette said. "And I can't help wondering how much these kinds of chemicals are affecting us all" (Luoma, 1999).

No differences were found in the physical growth patterns of the two groups of children. Functionally, however, Guillette and her colleagues wrote, "The exposed children demonstrated decreases in stamina, gross and fine eye-hand coordination, 30-minute memory, and the ability to draw a person" (1998). Guillette gave children red balloons for the successful completion of tasks. "Well over half of the lesser-exposed children could remember the color in the object, and all remembered they were getting a balloon. Close to 18 percent of the exposed children could not remember anything," and only half could remember they were getting a balloon. "It was quite a contrast," she said (Mann, 2000, C-9).

"Valley children appeared less creative in their play. They roamed the area aimlessly or swam in irrigation canals with minimal group interaction. Some valley children were observed hitting their siblings when they passed by, and they became easily upset or angry with a minor corrective comment by a parent." These aggressive behaviors were not noted in the foothills. "Some valley mothers stressed their own frustration in trying to teach their child how to draw," said Guillette and colleagues (1998).

Guillette said she noticed that exposed Yaqui children would walk by other persons and strike them without apparent provocation. Otherwise, they tended to sit in groups and do nothing. Foothill children, by contrast, were always busy, engaged in group play. "I'd throw the ball to a group of kids. In the valley, one child would get the ball and just play

with it himself," she says. The foothills children played with the ball as a group (Mann, 2000, C-9). Yaqui mothers from the valley also reported more problems getting pregnant and higher rates of miscarriages, stillbirths, neonatal deaths, and premature births.

Concluding her study, Guillette raised a question that summarized the concerns of parents in the lowlands of the pesticide-ridden valley: "Environmental change has placed the children of the agricultural area of the Yaqui valley at a disadvantage for participating in normal childhood activities. Will they remain at risk for functioning as healthy adults?" (Guillette et al., 1998). As if in answer to this question, neurotoxicologist David O. Carpenter of the State University of New York at Albany has said, "I know of no other study that has looked at neurobehavioral impacts—cognition, memory, motor ability—in children exposed to pesticides. The implications here are quite horrendous," he said, "because the magnitude of observed changes is incredible—and may prove irreversible" (Raloff, 1998).

### **The Point Hope Eskimos: An Atomic Harbor and a Nuclear Dump**

On the far northwest coast of Alaska, Inuit (Eskimo) people have, since the 1950s, been resisting plans of the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) to demonstrate the "peaceful" uses of atomic energy by blowing open a new harbor at Point Hope with a series of underground atomic blasts. The government shelved the plan, which was called Operation Chariot, in 1962. After that, without telling the Inuit, the federal government turned parts of their homeland into a nuclear dump.

Unknown to local residents, the U.S. government conducted a nuclear experiment in their backyard. It stored forty-three pounds of radioactive soil near Point Hope that came from within a mile of ground zero of a nuclear blast in Nevada. The soil contained strontium 85 and cesium 137 (Badger, 1992, B-5). The strontium typically would have lost all its radioactivity years before its deposit at Point Hope, and the cesium would still have had about half its radioactivity after thirty years, according to government officials. The purpose of the experiment, according to the AEC, was to test the toxicity of radiation in an arctic environment. The dump experiment was carried out by the U.S. Geological Survey under license from the AEC.





The fact that the area was occupied by Native people seemed not to matter to the government. Point Hope, the closest settlement to the dump, is an Inuit village of about 700 people, most of whom make a living as whalers. It is one of the oldest continuously occupied town sites in North America. The Inuit did not learn of the nuclear dump until Dan O'Neill, a researcher at the University of Alaska, made public documents he had found as he researched a book on the aborted plan to create a harbor in the Alaskan coast with nuclear weapons. O'Neill, using the Freedom of Information Act, learned that the nuclear waste had been stored in the area as part of Project Chariot, which was declassified in 1981. According to O'Neill, the nuclear dump was clearly illegal and contained "a thousand times . . . the allowable standard for this kind of nuclear burial" (Grinde and Johansen, 1995, 238–239). The nuclear waste that was buried near Point Hope remained unmarked for thirty years, during which time hunters crossed it to pursue game and caribou migrated through it. Not until September 1992 did the U.S. government admit that it had buried 15,000 tons of radioactive soil at Cape Thompson, twenty-five miles from Point Hope, on the Chukchi Sea in northwestern Alaska. For many years, the Inuit in the area have suffered cancer rates that far exceeded national averages. The government acknowledged that soil in the area contained "trace amounts" of radiation, but denied that its experimental nuclear dump had caused the Inuits' elevated cancer rate. Until the dumps were disclosed during the late 1990s, the Inuit in Port Hope had no clue as to why the incidence of cancer in their village had jumped to 578 per 100,000 within two generations. Some doctors blamed the rise in cancer rates on smoking by the Inuit. In 1997, Dr. Bowerman, chief medical officer of the Borough of Barrow, Alaska, published findings linking the increase in cancer incidence to the burial of nuclear waste near Port Hope (Colomeda, 1998).

"I can't tell you how angry I am that they considered our home to be nothing but a big wasteland," said Jeslie Kaleak, mayor of the North Slope Borough, which governs eight Arctic villages, including Point Hope. "They didn't give a damn about the people who live up here." When Senator Frank Murkowski, Republican of Alaska, visited the village, an elderly woman threw herself at him and shouted, "You have poisoned our land!" (Egan, 1992, A-26). Energy Department spokesman Tom Gerusky

acknowledged that the Geological Survey erred in burying the waste but said a person standing on the mound for a year would be exposed to only a small fraction of radiation received in a single cross-country jet flight (Badger, 1992, B-5).

Radiation afflicting the Inuit of this area also may stem from dumping by the former Soviet Union. It is unclear how much radioactivity from above-ground nuclear blasts by the Soviet Union may have drifted into the Arctic, but some U.S. officials have said the amount could be considerable. There is also concern that the Bering and Chukchi Seas are contaminated by radioactivity: Russia has acknowledged that over the last three decades the Soviets dumped old submarines with damaged nuclear reactors and more than 10,000 containers of nuclear waste in the waters of the Far North (Egan, 1992, A-26).

The environmental devastation of remote areas in the Arctic is only one part of social disintegration that is afflicting the Inuit of the far north. In 1960, before widespread energy development on Alaska's North Slope, the suicide rate among Native people there was 13 per 100,000, comparable to averages in the United States as a whole. By 1970, the rate had risen to 25 per 100,000; by 1986, the rate had risen to 67.6 per 100,000. Homicide rates by the middle 1980s were three times the average in the United States as a whole, either 22.9 or 26.6 per 100,000 people, depending on which study was used. Death rates from homicide and suicide reflected rising rates of alcoholism. In the mid-1980s, 79 percent of Native suicide victims had some alcohol in their blood at the time of death. Slightly more than half (54 percent) of the people who committed suicide were legally intoxicated (Grinde and Johansen, 1995, 238–239).

### **The Yakamas: Hanford's Radioactive Legacy**

The Hanford Nuclear Reservation, in eastern Washington State, released very large amounts of irradiated water 30 miles upstream from the Yakama reservation between 1945 and 1989. Due to this decades-long bath of radiation dumped directly into the river system, seafood around the mouth of the Columbia River became poisoned. In the early 1960s, one Hanford employee ate local oysters and set off the plant's radiation alarm when he returned to work the following day (Weaver, 1996, 49). An investigation revealed that the day before he had eaten a





can of oyster stew contaminated with radioactive zinc. The oysters had been harvested in Willapa Bay, along the Pacific Coast in Washington State, 25 miles north of Astoria (Schneider, 1990, A-9).

The 560-square-mile Hanford Nuclear Reservation was established during 1943 on lands traditionally used for hunting, fishing, and gathering by the Yakamas and Umatillas. The same area is adjacent to the homeland of the Nez Percé. The Hanford facility produced the plutonium used in the atomic bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Thus, releases of radioactive materials have been contaminating these peoples, as well as the Coeur d'Alene, Spokane, Colville, Kootenai, and Warm Springs Tribes for many years. Unaware of the contamination for years, indigenous people collected berries near the Columbia, hunted for eels in its tributaries, and took salmon from its waters. In 1986, after disclosure that radiation was secretly released into the air and water from 1944 until January 1971 (when the last of the eight reactors was closed), Yakama leaders were among the first to call for a thorough study of the danger.

For nearly thirty years, ending in 1971, eight of the nine nuclear reactors at the Hanford complex were cooled by water from the Columbia River. Millions of gallons of water, pumped directly through the reactor cores, picked up large amounts of nuclear material, making the Columbia downstream the most radioactive river in the world, according to state and federal authorities (Schneider, 1990, A-9). In July 1990, a federal panel said some infants and children in the 1940s absorbed enough radioactive iodine in their thyroid glands to destroy the gland and cause an array of thyroid-related diseases. Although Hanford has stopped producing plutonium, recently released documents indicate that radioactive materials leaking from storage tanks there have continued to contaminate groundwater in the area. *New York Times* reporter Keith Schneider described the Columbia below the Hanford Reservation: "Dammed in the 1950's below Hanford and developed by industrial companies, the river's water is green and gray now. Salmon runs are much smaller than they were before World War II, and Johnny Jackson, a 59-year-old fisherman . . . , said some fish he catches were marred by deep, infected welts and growths. . . . Documents declassified beginning in 1986 noted that 'radiation spread to the river's bacteria, algae, mussels, fish, birds and the water used for both irrigation and drinking'" (Schneider, 1990, A-9).

In 1954, the radiation situation at Hanford was reviewed in secret meetings held at the Washington, DC headquarters of the Atomic Energy Commission, which operated the plant. Lewis L. Strauss, the commission's chairman, flew to Hanford that summer and was told that "levels of radioactivity in some fish in the Columbia River, particularly whitefish, were so high that officials were considering closing sport fishing downstream" (Schneider, 1990, A-9). Ducks, geese, and crops irrigated with Columbia River water also were said to pose a potential health threat.

The public was never alerted. In a memorandum prepared on August 19, 1954, Dr. Parker urged the government to keep the problem secret because the radiation levels were still within safety guidelines and closing sport fishing would compel the plant to discuss the issue publicly and compromise secrecy. "The public relations impact would be severe," he wrote (Schneider, 1990, A-9).

An effort to compensate victims of Hanford's radioactivity has largely stalled in the courts, as government committees debate the definition of toxicity and whether residents in the area were exposed to enough radioactivity (absent other factors) to provoke a large spectrum of debilitating ailments (including thyroid disease, cancers, miscarriages and other reproductive disorders) that many local people associate with releases of radioactivity from the Hanford Reservation. One study, the Hanford Environmental Dose Reconstruction (HEDR), produced results that were inconclusive enough to prevent any significant movement toward compensation for the Yakamas and other "downwinders." Many of the victims have complained that the study required them to remember after roughly fifty years the food they ate, its sources, and a variety of other detailed lifestyle factors. In the meantime, the Department of Energy under the George W. Bush administration has drastically cut cleanup funds for the Hanford site, slowing decontamination in the area.

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*See also* Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Hazardous Waste; Uranium Mining; Ward Valley, Hazardous Waste Controversy.

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## Gambling

Since Congress enacted the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) in 1988, Indian gaming has grown tremendously. By 2003, casinos and bingo halls owned by federally recognized Indian communities amassed \$17 billion in revenue (Light and Rand, 2005, 7). Indian communities with successful operations have used gaming revenues to fund community services such as police and fire protection, education, health and elder care, and even language revitalization programs as well as direct payments to community members. Gaming has offered sorely needed job opportunities to both Indians and non-Indians, and some communities have gained political leverage on the local, state, and even national levels.

However, not all Indian communities own casinos, and many gaming communities earn little or no profit from their operations. The relative success of Indian casinos depends heavily on location, and the population of a given community greatly affects the actual or potential impact of gaming revenue. Despite this reality, many Americans perceive Indian gaming as a windfall for all American Indians, and despite the fact that Indian gaming accounts for only less than one-quarter of national revenues from gambling (Light and Rand, 2005, 7), some Americans view Indian gaming as an unfair economic advantage given to Indians.

These misperceptions stem partially from a popular focus on a few very successful Indian casinos. In particular, the Mashantucket Pequots of Connecticut have garnered a great deal of negative attention. The Pequots, who earned federal recognition in 1983, own Foxwoods Resort Casino, the largest casino in the world. This unprecedented success by a newly recognized community has attracted vehement critics. Law student Jeff Benedict attacks the Mashantucket Pequot tribe in his book *Without Reservation*,





*The Foxwoods Resort Casino in Connecticut is the largest gaming facility in the world. Since Congress approved gaming on Indian grounds, casinos and bingo halls owned by federally recognized Indian communities earned \$17 billion in revenue by 2003. (Dave G. Houser/Corbis)*

contending that tribal members are imposters claiming Pequot identity only to take advantage of Indian gaming. Kim Isaac Eisler's *Revenge of the Pequots* makes similar claims. Although even though Pequot leaders and scholars do not take these accusations seriously, the books have sold well and have resonated with non-Indians who view Indian identity racially.

The media has often reinforced these negative perceptions. Popular television shows such as *Family Guy*, *King of the Hill*, *Malcolm in the Middle*, *The Simpsons*, *Sopranos*, and *South Park* all have broadcast episodes about Indian gaming, and many of these sitcoms have suggested that anyone claiming to be an American Indian can open a casino. Popular national newspapers and magazines, such as the *New York Times* and *Time*, have also featured articles about Indian gaming. *Time* featured a two-part exposé in 2002 that attacked Indian gaming in part for not providing economic uplift to all Indians, a common criticism. However, only federally recognized communities are eligible to open gaming facil-

ities, and profits from casinos go to the individual communities, which are separate and sovereign entities. This sovereignty forms the legal basis for Indian gaming.

Because Indian nations existed before the United States of America or even European colonization, they have inherent sovereignty that was reinforced by early treaties, which recognized them as foreign powers, but the courts began to redefine and limit this sovereignty in the nineteenth century. Three decisions decided by the Supreme Court under Chief Justice John Marshall, known as the Marshall Trilogy, set the boundaries between federal, state, and tribal government authority. First, in *Johnson v. McIntosh*, the court limited tribal sovereignty by deciding that the federal government owned tribal lands by virtue of discovery and that tribes themselves enjoyed only the rights of occupancy, meaning Indian communities could sell land only with the permission of the federal government. Second, in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, the court defined Indian nations as domestic dependent nations,





rather than foreign powers, and described Indian communities as wards of the federal government. Finally, in 1832, the court ruled in *Worcester v. Georgia* that states had no jurisdiction on reservations unless expressly granted by Congress. This decision effectively limited the role of states in the affairs of federally recognized Indian communities but also endorsed the supremacy of Congressional power in Indian Country.

Using this power, Congress delegated some power over reservations to states in 1953. During the 1950s, federal Indian policy returned to an emphasis on assimilation. This new emphasis, combined with deepened concern for fiscal responsibility under the Eisenhower administration, led Congress to work toward ending the federal government's responsibility to American Indians and abolishing the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This effort, known as termination, sought to bring Indian communities under state jurisdiction and make them subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges as other citizens. As part of this effort to end the trust relationship between Indian communities and the federal government, Congress passed Public Law 83-280, which allowed individual states to accept criminal jurisdiction over Indians within their borders without Indian consent. Although federal officials repudiated termination in the 1970s, the states that accepted criminal jurisdiction over Indians through PL280 retained this power even after the termination era ended. These states would play a key role in the evolution of Indian gaming.

Paralleling state efforts to use legalized gambling to raise revenues through state lotteries, a number of Indian communities turned to gaming to raise much-needed revenue in the 1970s. The federal government under Ronald Reagan further encouraged this development in the 1980s as it reduced funding for Indian programs and asked Indian leaders to focus on economic development on reservations. Indian gaming emerged as an issue when a number of communities opened bingo halls with payouts that exceeded the limits established by the states in which they were located.

In response, local officials threatened to raid these establishments, resulting in federal court cases to determine jurisdiction on the reservations. The most important decisions resulting from these cases originated in states with criminal jurisdiction on tribal lands granted by Congress through PL280. The Seminole tribe of Florida began offering high-stakes bingo in the 1970s, resulting in threats by the

Broward County Sheriff's Department to make arrests. The Seminoles received a court injunction, and a federal court case ensued. In *Seminole v. Butterfield*, the federal district court decided the Seminole operation was legal despite the state of Florida's criminal jurisdiction on the reservation. The court concluded that Florida law limited only gambling and was therefore regulatory rather than criminal. Consequently, even a PL280 state such as Florida could not interfere with an Indian gaming operation within its borders.

Despite this victory, state and county officials continued to challenge the legality of Indian gaming. In California, another PL280 state, several communities opened bingo parlors and card rooms with pots exceeding state limits in the early 1980s. The Barona Group of the Capitan Grande Band of Mission Indians opened their own bingo parlor on their reservation in San Diego County, encountering the same local reaction as the Seminoles. In the resulting *Barona [Barona v. Duffy]*, 694 F. 2d 1185 (1982) decision, the federal court upheld the earlier *Seminole* decision, reinforcing the legality of Indian gaming. In 1980, the Cabazon Band of Mission Indians opened a casino, and the city of Indio raided the establishment just three days after its opening. After a legal victory in 1981, the Cabazon opened the Bingo Palace in 1983, and, despite numerous court decisions allowing Indian gaming, the Riverside County Sheriff's Department raided the facility soon after the opening. In 1987, Cabazon litigation resulted in a Supreme Court decision upholding the right of federally recognized communities to offer gambling if state law allowed any form of gambling. Since only Utah and Hawaii allowed no form of legal gambling, the *Cabazon* decision effectively opened the door to gambling for most federally recognized Indian communities.

The decision also forced Congress to pass legislation to regulate Indian gaming. In response to earlier court decisions, Congressman Morris Udall proposed legislation to regulate Indian gaming in the early 1980s, but, until the *Cabazon* decision, the legislation had insufficient support. After the decision, Congress passed the IGRA. The law created a new federal agency, the National Indian Gaming Commission (NIGC), to regulate Indian gaming. It also established three categories of Indian gaming, each regulated differently. Congress defined traditional social gambling as Class I gaming and allowed Indian communities to regulate it. They labeled bingo, lotto, pull tabs, punch boards, tip jars, instant





bingo, and nonbanked card games as Class II gaming and tasked the newly created NIGC with its regulation. Finally, Congress designated all other games Class III. Class III gaming required a compact between the American Indian community and the state approved by the Department of Interior.

The compact process became the most contentious part of the IGRA because it extended state jurisdiction over all Indian communities with Class III gaming. Senator Harry Reid of Nevada, the architect of the compact provision, had opposed legislation to regulate Indian gaming before the *Cabazon* decision made the growth of these businesses inevitable, and, even after passage of the IGRA, Reid still opposed gambling as a means of economic development for indigenous people. Despite this opposition, Reid insisted that the compact provision for casino gambling balanced the interests of gaming communities and the states and honored tribal sovereignty. However, many critics of the IGRA viewed the compact requirement as an assault on tribal sovereignty since it extended the role of the states in Indian affairs even in states that had no previous role, effectively extending PL280 in the area of gambling.

Critics also have pointed to a number of problematic omissions in the IGRA. For example, the IGRA did not designate which state officials were responsible for negotiating compacts with Indian communities, contributing to confusion on the part of communities forced to deal with multiple branches of state government. Congress also failed to adequately address the possibility of off-reservation casinos. In 1987, the Bureau of Indian Affairs pursued a prohibition on Indian communities acquiring off-reservation land for gaming but retreated when faced with indigenous opposition; however, the IGRA did limit gaming on land acquired after October 17, 1988, providing for seven circumstances that would allow gaming on newly acquired trust lands. Of the seven circumstances, the provision allowing gaming on new trust lands with the governor of the state's consent proved the most controversial. Many Indian communities opposed this provision because it eroded tribal sovereignty, while state legislatures opposed it because it allowed the governor to act unilaterally. The Siletz tribe of Oregon challenged this provision, but it was upheld. However, the Louisiana legislature successfully blocked a compact for the Jena Band of Choctaw on newly acquired land unilaterally approved by the state's governor.

While these omissions in the IGRA proved problematic, one portion of the law ultimately proved unconstitutional. The provisions for tribal-state compacts required states to negotiate in good faith and granted Indian communities the right to sue states when they did not. Critics of the law argued immediately that this solution to stalled negotiations violated the states' Eleventh Amendment immunity from lawsuits. These critics proved correct when the Supreme Court heard arguments concerning this provision in 1996. In 1991, the Seminole tribe sued the state of Florida and its governor, alleging that the state refused to negotiate a compact for Class III gaming. The state called for a dismissal of the case based on their sovereign immunity. In *Seminole Tribe of Florida v. Florida*, the court broadly defined Eleventh Amendment sovereign immunity for states, deciding that Indian communities could bring federal suits against the states only if the state consented to being sued. This decision gave states an unfair advantage in compact negotiations not intended by Congress, further straining the notion that the required negotiations with the state were between two equal sovereigns.

Despite this decision limiting Indian gaming, many non-Indians believed it was growing uncontrollably, and some states have sought to limit this growth. In Connecticut, the state legislature proposed a number of bills aimed at curtailing casino gambling. One proposal suggested that all Indian communities without federal recognition be stripped of state recognition thereby destroying any hope for receiving federal recognition with its accompanying right to offer gaming. In Arkansas, a bill to grant state recognition to the Northern Cherokee included a few caveats. The recognition would only apply to arts and crafts and scholarships, not to smoke shops or gaming of any kind, and the recognition would grant no rights not enumerated in the state constitution. Certainly, the merit of claims for recognition was not the primary concern in these states. These specific measures reflect a new concern of both state governments and many non-Indians that potential gaming profits motivate many attempts to gain federal recognition. Unfortunately, this concern affects the way many people view all efforts to gain federal recognition, even when the community began seeking recognition before the IGRA.

Other states made even greater efforts to resist the expansion of Indian gaming. In Arizona, both United States Attorney Steve McNamee and State





Attorney General Bob Corbin initially voiced hopes that the IGRA could be used to stop the Fort McDowell tribe and other Arizona tribes from expanding multimillion-dollar gambling operations, and Arizona Governor Rose Mofford failed to reply to requests from six Indian communities to begin compact negotiations, leaving these communities in legal limbo. This refusal to negotiate led to a suit by the Yavapai-Prescott Indian tribe in 1991, but, before a decision in favor of American Indian interests the next year, U.S. marshals and agents of the FBI raided gaming operations in five separate Indian communities to end the use of gambling machines the federal government deemed illegal without a tribal-state compact. Agents executed all but one of these raids without resistance, but at Fort McDowell's Bája Entertainment Center, community members created a human chain and roadblock, preventing FBI agents from leaving with seized gambling machines. The standoff at Fort McDowell led Arizona Governor Fife Symington to go to the reservation and negotiate with community president Clinton Pattea. The two men agreed to a ten-day cooling-off period, and compact negotiations soon followed. Four communities negotiated compacts, but the White Mountain Apache, Tohono O'odham, and Pascua Yaqui demanded 2,500 gaming devices and twenty tables for banked card games, considerably more than the state offered.

Failure to reach an agreement forced negotiations into mediation, which former Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court Frank Gordon decided in favor of the tribes. Governor Symington responded by calling for a special legislative session on gaming a week after Gordon's decision, hoping to outlaw all casino gambling in the state, thereby freeing the state to shut down similar operations on Indian reservations. Trying to resolve this impasse without direct federal intervention, Secretary of the Interior Bruce Babbitt proposed a compromise, and eight Indian communities signed compacts with the state based on Babbitt's proposal.

Despite successful resolution of this issue, Governor Symington tried to block the expansion of Indian gaming again in 1995 when the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community sought a compact for Class III gaming. Encouraged by *Rumsey v. Wilson*, a Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals case that decided states need not negotiate with Indian communities for any form of gambling not legal in the state, Symington refused to negotiate a compact,

resulting in a suit by the Salt River Community against the state.

Ultimately, the court dismissed the Salt River claim when the Supreme Court ruled in *Seminole Tribe of Florida v. Florida* that Indian communities could not sue states without the state's consent. However, the Salt River Community simultaneously pushed a fairness initiative that compelled the governor to sign a standard compact with any federally recognized tribe requesting an agreement. Through community efforts, the initiative became Proposition 201, which Arizona voters approved in 1996, leading to a compact for the Salt River Community in 1998.

After 1998, compact negotiations ceased to be an issue in Arizona, but the Department of Gaming, the state agency charged with the regulation of Indian gaming, continued state hostility toward gaming communities. In 1996, Director Gary Husk reversed earlier decisions by ruling that the department would no longer count multistation gaming machines as one unit. The same year, Husk filed a suit to close the Tohono O'odham Desert Diamond Casino, and finally, despite IGRA restrictions against state regulation of nonbanked card games, Husk announced in 1997 that poker games run by compacted communities violated state law.

An arbitration panel decided the poker question in favor of Indian communities in 1999, and state and Indian leaders successfully negotiated compromises on all the other issues. With these issues behind them by the end of the century, both the state and Indian communities looked to renegotiate gaming compacts before the deadline of 2003. The Arizona Indian Gaming Association (AIGA), a seventeen-tribe organization, began television and direct-mail advertising as early as November 2001. These efforts paved the way for a successful initiative, which placed Proposition 202, the AIGA compact proposal, on the ballot for November 2002. This proposition defeated two competing proposals and became the model for the renegotiated compacts. This proposal allowed Indian communities to expand their casinos but also required larger payments to the state.

California followed a pattern similar to that of Arizona. In 1998, California Indian communities used the initiative process to force Governor Pete Wilson to allow slot machines at Indian casinos with Proposition 5. After a decision by the California Supreme Court invalidating the proposition because it violated the state's constitution, gaming





communities again used the initiative process. This time, they proposed an initiative amending the California constitution to allow Las Vegas-style casinos. Proposition 1A passed in 2000. By 2002, California faced a large budget shortfall, and Governor Gray Davis, who had supported earlier Indian initiatives, now pushed for larger contributions to the state from Indian communities in exchange for expanded casinos. Before achieving this goal, Davis faced a recall election in 2003. During the recall election, Republican candidate Arnold Schwarzenegger made Indian gaming a campaign issue, insisting that Indian communities needed to pay their fair share to reduce California's deficit. Schwarzenegger won the election.

The frustrations expressed by many state officials and average citizens are based on the misperception that Indian gaming does not benefit non-Indians, but Indian casinos and bingo halls created 460,000 jobs and generated \$5 billion in tax revenue for federal, state, and local governments in 2003 (Light and Rand, 2005, 85). Indian casinos, which are often in economically underdeveloped areas, help decrease unemployment, increase per capita income, and lessen local dependence on welfare programs in surrounding non-Indian communities. Furthermore, Indian communities often make annual payments to state and local governments based on compact agreements, create additional jobs as they expand their operations, invest in local businesses as they diversify their economies, and donate generously to local charities. Gaming also allows Indian communities more self-determination as their ability to fund tribal programs increases, and the money from successful casinos gives some communities increased access to local, state, and federal government officials. As some reservation economies improve through gaming, community members often return to the reservation to live and work, reversing earlier population trends.

However, not all of the results of Indian gaming are positive. The financial success of Indian gaming enterprises varies greatly. In 2003, the top 10 percent of Indian casinos earned two-thirds of gaming revenue, while 25 percent of gaming operations earned only enough revenue to maintain the facility and fund a few modest tribal programs (Light and Rand, 2005, 13). In communities with successful casinos, financial success has sometimes magnified internal divisions, even leading to challenges to the legitimacy of tribal leaders, and increased access to gov-

ernment officials has led to Indian entanglement in the lobbying scandal involving Republican Jack Abramoff. Despite these negatives, Indian gaming continues to grow and will remain a part of American reality for the foreseeable future. As Indian casino owners face an increasingly saturated market, many communities are improving their facilities, adding hotels, restaurants, golf courses, and other businesses to complement their casinos. At the same time, they are diversifying their holdings by investing in unrelated businesses to protect them should the casino business ever become unfeasible or unprofitable.

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*See also* Economic Development; Indian Gaming Regulatory Act; Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act; National Indian Gaming Commission; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Genocide

The Native nations of North America have endured relentless campaigns with intent on destroying them and all aspects of their cultures for more than 500 years. Indeed, with varying intensity, government policies, corporate enterprises, and religious missions directed against American Indians can be best described as implements of genocide.

### Definition

Although states have long sought to eradicate identifiably different groups, tribes, and peoples for thousands of years, the notion of genocide has a relatively recent origin, combining ancient root words, *genos* (people) and *cide* (killing). The term, coined by

Raphael Lemkin, came into common usage only after the Second World War, largely in response to the systematic destruction of Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals, and others deemed subhuman by the Nazi regime. In 1946, the United Nations codified the concept in the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide. Article II defined it as acts "intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group," including inflicting physical and/or psychological harm, fostering living conditions likely to lead to death and destruction, killing, the removal of children, and curtailing reproduction. Although not drafted to include the American Indian experience, activists and advocates began to reference genocide following the rise of Red Power amid the Vietnam War. More recently, the Columbian Quincentenary in 1992 sparked a wave of analytic inquiries and political applications of genocide to Native American history.

### Distinctiveness

In contrast to many genocides, which have been characterized by a single, systematic, state-sponsored program directed at annihilation during a specific period of time, the Native nations of North America have endured a more diffuse, extended, plural, and unrelenting onslaught. The number of tribes and nations, their geographic locations, and their unique histories of interaction with European-Americans make the discussion of genocide much more complicated, as does the range of colonial powers (principally Spain, France, and Great Britain), newly established states (specifically the United States and Canada), and nongovernmental actors (especially corporate entities and Christian missionaries). As a consequence, one might be tempted to speak of multiple genocides or overlapping genocidal impulses, rather than a single destructive policy or event. Particularity and diversity, however, should not distract from the shared experience of destruction and dispossession.

### Depopulation and Devastation

American Indian tribes experienced massive depopulation following (and in some cases in advance of) their exchanges with Europeans and European-Americans. Indigenous communities routinely lost at least 90 percent of their members, resulting in an overall drop from more (and perhaps much more)





than 5 million in the present-day United States to a low of 250,000 in 1890. To be sure, many (arguably most) of these deaths resulted from epidemic diseases; however, many others were caused by state violence, policies directed at removal, and efforts to assimilate Native Americans. In fact, guided by explicitly racist ideologies that rendered them as primitives, animals, hostiles, predators, and impediments to progress, the genocidal projects directed at American Indians exhibit two equally destructive features (biological and cultural) at once. On one hand, an array of policies and programs sought to eradicate individuals and their cultural, spiritual, and traditional beliefs and behaviors. On the other hand, more “enlightened” policies and programs intended to create new, non-Indian people through the replacement of native languages, institutions, and practice with the supposedly superior elements of Western civilization.

## Destruction

Ever since the arrival of Christopher Columbus, American Indians have endured the effects of ideologies and actions aimed at their destruction. Importantly, these effects meet the United Nations definition of genocide.

Organized violence is perhaps the clearest expression of efforts to exterminate American Indians. For more than five centuries, military campaigns and vigilante actions proved pivotal to strategies to address the “Indian problem.” George Washington compared indigenous peoples with wolves, deserving the same treatment, and Colonel John M. Chivington declared in 1864, “Kill them all boys, nits make lice” (Stannard, 1993, 131). The governor of California officially urged the extermination of all American Indians in his state during 1851; General William Sheridan affirmed nearly two decades later, “The only good Indians I ever saw were dead” (Drinnon, 1990, 539). The press also sometimes endorsed murderous actions, offering news coverage and editorials inciting settlers to take up arms against Native communities. Killing, often on a massive scale, followed from these provocations.

The soldiers with Columbus delighted in the torture and mutilation of men, women, and children. Author Barry Lopez, summarizing a report by the Spanish priest Bartolome de las Casas, wrote: “ ‘Such inhumanities and barbarisms were committed in my sight,’ he says, ‘as no age can parallel. . . .’ The Span-

ish cut off the legs of children who ran from them. They poured people full of boiling soap. They made bets as to who, with one sweep of his sword, could cut a person in half. They loosed dogs that ‘devoured an Indian like a hog, at first sight, in less than a moment.’ They used nursing infants for dog food” (Mass Crimes, 2003). Lopez writes, “One day, in front of Las Casas, the Spanish dismembered, beheaded or raped three thousand people.” Las Casas referred to the Spanish incursion as “a continuous recreational slaughter” (Lopez, 1990, 6–7).

Similarly, British colonists engaged in scorched-earth campaigns against indigenous peoples, burning villages and slaughtering their occupants, perhaps most notably during the Pequot War and King Philip’s War. American forces waged an unrelenting series of wars in the nineteenth century, each punctuated by massacres such as those at Sand Creek in 1864 and Wounded Knee in 1890. Moreover, during much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, bounties were awarded for American Indian scalps.

Organized violence was expressed in another form of destruction as well, namely removal, which resulted in many deaths and the loss of indigenous traditions. Eager to claim natural resources, secure labor, and seize land, the dispossession and displacement marked British colonial efforts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as well as federal and state government programs in the nineteenth century. The Trail of Tears clearly illustrates these undertakings and their implications. The Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole all faced involuntary removal, the usurpation of national sovereignty, internment in concentration camps, forced marches from areas in the southeastern United States to what is now Oklahoma, violence, and intimidation. Combined, these traumas resulted in mortality rates ranging between 25 and 50 percent. The Cherokee Nation, for instance, lost between 4,000 and 8,000 citizens during its trek westward. This pattern of ethnic cleansing would repeat itself for the next half century, as tribal groups were pushed out of their homelands and onto reservations.

Internment of formerly free indigenous peoples on reservations dramatically altered their lives and living conditions. Conventional means of dwelling and subsistence were irrevocably altered following relocation, and, with such alterations, entire ways of knowing, being, and relating to the world suffered





relentless assault. Corruption and government assistance programs brought with them malnourishment, worsening public health, and diminished life expectancy. At the same time, the traditional sources of physical and spiritual power were systematically eradicated. On one hand, white entrepreneurs and policy makers targeted the buffalo, for instance, hunting it to near extinction and with it the horse cultures of the plains dependent on it. On the other hand, lawmakers and missionaries undermined and in many cases outlawed indigenous cultural practices and traditions. Spiritual traditions, including the Sundance and the Potlatch, became criminal offenses.

Seemingly more benevolent programs like boarding schools, which were designed to educate and uplift Native Americans, often had equally disastrous intentions and consequences. In reality, such undertakings sought to transform American Indians, erasing them as they made them more “American.” The boarding school system stressed assimilation. American Indian children were removed from their home communities, often taken against their parents’ wishes, if not by outright force, and taken to distant residential schools. Here, their hair was cut, and they were made to dress in alien and awkward attire. Living a life of structure and discipline, they were forced to speak English exclusively and taught European-American history, customs, and rituals. Stripped of their cultures and isolated, children often experienced homesickness. They became vulnerable as well to physical and mental abuse and disease—which sometimes resulted in death. Boarding schools aimed, in the words of Colonel Richard Henry Pratt, founder of Carlisle Industrial School, to “[k]ill the Indian and save the man,” contributed in a very real way mightily to the genocide of Native Americans.

More recently, American Indian communities have suffered from a more subtle form of genocide: population control. For many decades, until at least the late 1970s, the Indian Health Service subjected Native American women to involuntary sterilization, medical interventions with no other intent than to reduce reproduction. Some estimates suggest that upward of one-third of American Indian women of childbearing age underwent the procedure during the short period of its execution.

Past genocidal policies and practices continue to reverberate in Indian Country today, manifesting themselves in a range of social problems, including

alcoholism and drug abuse, suicide and interpersonal violence, and the high number of high-school dropouts. Significantly, as they have done for more than five centuries, American Indians survive against the odds, fighting efforts to destroy Native cultures and communities, while struggling to defend the validity and vitality of indigenous traditions, languages, and rights.

C. Richard King

*See also* Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Buffalo; Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; California Indians, Genocide of; Camp Grant Massacre; Canada, Indian Policies of; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Forced Marches; Goschocking (Ohio) Massacre of 1782; Hazardous Waste; Jackson, Helen Hunt; Long March; Long Walk; Metacom, and King Philip’s War; Mission System, Spanish; Pequot War; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Sand Creek Massacre; Trail of Tears; Wounded Knee, South Dakota, Massacre at.

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## Hazardous Waste

### Introduction

Hazardous waste problems are pervasive in Indian Country. The following examples, selected from a range of locations, are only a few of many that could be discussed. In Alaska, toxic residues are imperiling the integrity of reindeer meat on the Seward Peninsula, and, on the Aleutian Islands, Native people have had to deal with wastes left behind by the U.S. military. The Penobscots in Maine have been contaminated by dioxins created as a by-product of the chlorine bleaching process in making paper in the mills that surround their homeland. In New Mexico, the Isleta Pueblo's water supply, downstream from Albuquerque along the Rio Grande, has been contaminated as well.

### The Seward Peninsula of Alaska: Don't Eat the Reindeer

The Seward Peninsula of Alaska has been extensively mined during the last hundred years for cadmium and various lead-bearing ores. These ores are easily absorbed by plants that provide the food eaten by ungulates; the ores then concentrate in the liver, kidney, and muscle tissues. In some cases, health officials have warned local Native peoples to avoid eating reindeer, once a dietary staple. In addition, contamination from weapons testing, accidental pollution, or illegal dumping may have found its way into the lichens of northwestern Alaska, thereby accumulating in reindeer and caribou tissue (University of Alaska at Fairbanks, 2000).

The Native people on the Seward Peninsula live a subsistence lifestyle in which a high percentage of their diet comes from local plants and animals. The incidence of cancer and other diseases appears to be rising among the indigenous people in this region who subsist on contaminated reindeer and other "country food." The people in local villages are particularly concerned that contamination from air pollution, mining operations, and dump sites are concentrating in the tissue of subsistence animals, posing a health risk (University of Alaska at Fairbanks, 2000). The University of Alaska's Reindeer Research Program has detected high levels of cadmium and lead in several species. If similar concentrations were to be found in meat, consumption of 40 to 60 grams of meat per week would exceed

the recommended intake rate (University of Alaska at Fairbanks, 2000).

### Bombs Away in the Aleutian Islands

Almost six decades after a military base was established to fend off possible Japanese attacks on the United States during World War II, the U.S. Navy in 2001 joined with the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) to remove unexploded bombs near an indigenous Aleut community on Adak Island, in the Aleutians, 1,200 miles west of Anchorage, Alaska. The removal of unexploded ordnance will allow the Aleuts to develop industry on the site. During World War II, the U.S. Army established a military presence on the island to counter Japanese forces that briefly occupied Attu and Kiska islands in the Aleutians.

The abandoned Army base was designated as a Superfund site in 1994 and closed in 1997. The cleanup is a combined effort by the Navy, the EPA, the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the Aleutian/



*Unexploded ordnance sign on Adak Island, Alaska, in 1965.  
(Jack Fields/Corbis)*





Pribilof Island Association, the Aleut Native Corporation, and the Adak community. It was a part of a 47,000-acre land exchange between the federal government and the Aleut Corporation that will allow the local Aleut community to develop a fish-processing industry, a fueling facility, and a regional hub for air cargo traffic.

"Addressing unexploded ordnance contamination has stymied cleanups at other sites in the U.S.," said Aleut Corporation commissioner Michele Brown. "We needed to put Adak back to good use, so endless delay was not an option. The project team devoted long hours and ingenuity to identify and remediate risks, resulting in a responsible, effective, environmentally protective decision that allows the Aleut Corporation to move a step closer to creating good jobs for [indigenous] Alaskans" (Navy, 2001).

### Organochlorine Contamination and the Penobscots

Rebecca Sockbeson, a Penobscot, described "the devastating impact of dioxins in my community," to international negotiators of a treaty to eliminate or ban the most widespread persistent organic pollutants (Sockbeson, 1999). She said that her nation of nearly 500 people live on an island in the river, close to seven pulp and paper mills.

Dioxins are created as a by-product of the chlorine bleaching process in making paper and are discharged from all seven of these mills. Dioxins, highly potent toxic chemicals that may cause cancer and other health problems, were being poured daily into an adjacent river. Sockbeson said that her people once survived on the fish from this river, but "now we are dying from it." She continued:

Neither dioxin nor cancer is indigenous to the Penobscot people, however they are both pervasive in my tribal community. My people face up to three times the state and national cancer rate, moreover, those that are dying of cancer are dying at younger and younger ages, our reproductive generation. This means that unless you take action to eliminate dioxin and other persistent organic pollutants, there will be no Penobscots living on the island by the end of the next century (Sockbeson, 1999).

The health and survival of Sockbeson's Penobscot band are also threatened by a choice mothers must make: Should they breast-feed their children

(imparting superior nutrition) and thus pass on to them their body burdens of PCBs and dioxins? "With this," she concluded, "I humbly, respectfully and desperately urge you to draft a treaty that insures the existence of the Penobscot and other indigenous peoples who are so disproportionately impacted by dioxin." Such a treaty is required, she said, so "that the breast and spoon we feed our babies with is not filled with cancer, diabetes, learning disabilities, and attention deficit [disorder]" (Sockbeson, 1999).

### The Isleta Pueblo Tastes Albuquerque's Effluent

By the late 1980s, people of the Isleta Pueblo, six miles downstream on the Rio Grande River from the Albuquerque metropolitan area, began to experience problems that were outside their historical experience. Their corn and bean crops were stunted and five grandmothers, all from the same neighborhood (and all about the same age) were diagnosed with stomach cancers that killed all of them within a few months.

Political authorities on the reservation pressured the state's Department of Environmental Quality for a toxicological evaluation. The results indicated that Isleta Pueblo's water supply was being contaminated by a number of sources upstream, including a slaughterhouse that was dumping ground-up animal carcasses into the river. The leakage of petroleum waste products also was detected from a wrecking yard, and the city of Albuquerque was found to be dumping raw sewage into the Rio Grande.

Soil tests at Isleta indicated dangerous levels of benzene (a lethal solvent) and nitrates. They soon discovered the cause: As the people of Isleta Pueblo had blessed the ground for spring planting in their annual Winter Dance, Albuquerque's main sewer line had ruptured. According to a report by Paul Vandevelder in *Native Americas*, "Millions of gallons of raw effluent poured into the river and flowed downstream to Isleta. City officials called to warn the tribe but said there was nothing they could do; it was too late . . . the Rio Grande was percolating with putrid green foam" (Vandevelder, 2001, 43).

The city of Albuquerque later told the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency that correcting the problems that were ruining Isleta's water would cost \$300 million and entail \$15 million a year annually in additional operating costs. Isleta's right to enforce water quality standards





through the Environmental Protection Agency was upheld by federal courts, a major legal victory for Native American peoples faced with the toll of off-reservation pollution. The case was presented in the context of religious freedom, with sacred ceremonies requiring clean water. In December 1997, the U.S. Supreme Court reviewed the Tenth Circuit's decision in favor of the Isleta Pueblo, requiring water cleanup by the city of Albuquerque.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Environment and Pollution; Genocide; James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement; Mining and Contemporary Environmental Problems; Radiation Exposure Compensation Act; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Uranium Mining; Ward Valley, Hazardous Waste Controversy.

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## Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights

Basic American Indian land law and limited tribal sovereignty were established very early in American history, through the Supreme Court decisions of Chief Justice John Marshall. The decisions of the Marshall court during the 1830s affecting the Cherokee and other southeastern tribes laid the foundation for tribal sovereignty over land. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), the court declared that the Cherokees constituted a "domestic dependent nation" whose members were to be considered

wards of the United States and whose rights were to be protected by the federal government.

The next year, in *Worcester v. Georgia*, the Marshall court explained the idea of tribal sovereignty in greater detail when it declared that "Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent political communities, retaining their original natural rights, as the undisputed possessors of the soil." Even though President Andrew Jackson ignored the Supreme Court's decision confirming Cherokee land rights and moved them over the Trail of Tears to Indian Territory in Oklahoma, the Marshall Court's opinions in these cases have been cited throughout American judicial history in a multitude of other suits as setting the precedent for confirming tribal land rights.

Land tenure rights for Native Americans were severely tested later in the nineteenth century through various federal actions aimed at forcing the assimilation of American Indian peoples. Federal policy, as set out in the General Allotment Act of 1887 (more popularly known as the Dawes Severalty Act), attempted to do away with Native peoples' land bases through the distribution of 80- or 160-acre parcels of reservation land to individual tribal members. Not only did this act break up tribal reservation land, challenging the widely held American Indian idea of communal land ownership and making even more land available for non-Indian settlement, but it also made the Indians who received their allotments U.S. citizens, causing them to be subject to the laws and taxes of the states.

The U.S. Supreme Court confirmed this change in American Indian land policy in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903). In this decision, the Supreme Court informed Native tribes and nations that the courts themselves were no longer the final recourse for Native attempts to protect their land rights against intrusion by the federal government through claims to sovereignty. Congress alone was deemed responsible for American Indian policy, and its decisions in these matters were held not to be open to judicial review.

The situation for the Pueblo nations was even more desperate during the opening decades of the twentieth century. Because their land holdings had been conferred by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and not by an act of Congress reserving the land for them, the Pueblos were excluded from the provisions that set out federal relationships with American Indians as outlined in the Trade and Intercourse Act of





1834. This status granted the Pueblos citizenship as landowners and thereby subjected them to taxation and to the laws of the state of New Mexico. Regarding land law, this made the Pueblo nations subject to the same statutes that governed all land holdings in the state. Any recourse taken to dispute non-Indians who squatted on Indian lands would have to be taken up with the New Mexico state courts, which, like many other state court systems, had a well-earned reputation of hostility toward the claims of Indian tribes, and not with the federal government or the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

The breakup of lands, the diminution of sovereignty, and the assimilation of Indian peoples formed the basis of American Indian policy until the 1930s. This negative view of Indian land rights and tribal sovereignty in general would not be challenged in any meaningful way until the rise to prominence of Red Progressive reformer John Collier during the 1920s, the publication of the 1928 Meriam Report, which outlined the deficiencies of the American Indian policy centered around the General Allotment Act, and, with Collier's appointment as Commissioner of Indian Affairs after Franklin D. Roosevelt's election in 1932, the passage of the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934 (popularly known as the Indian Reorganization Act). Upon his confirmation, Collier immediately began to dismantle the prior system of Indian management and create a new system that included more protection and self-determination for the tribes. Although he faced stiff opposition from assimilated Indians and local BIA officials who feared they might lose their jobs, Collier had his Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) introduced in Congress in 1934.

The centerpiece of Collier's efforts to reform Indian policy, the act stated that "hereafter no land of any Indian reservation, created or set apart by treaty or agreement with the Indians, Act of Congress, Executive order, purchase, or otherwise, shall be allotted in severalty to any Indian." Collier's plan envisioned each Indian nation submitting a charter that included its territorial limits and membership, but that reflected its own traditional governmental forms. Collier's bill also established its own charters as superseding former forms of government, a move that was sure to antagonize traditional elements and place the government in the hands of more assimilated elements. The commissioner was authorized to arrange and classify the functions and services the BIA administered, allowing tribes to choose which services they would like to assume.

Most importantly, the IRA reversed the policy of land allotment, authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to withdraw the remaining "surplus" lands after allotment. No more Indian land was to be sold away. The IRA specified powers that tribal councils could exercise without seeking the permission of the federal government, reversing the tendency of the federal government until that point to place more and more restrictions on Indians' self-determination. Debates regarding the efficacy of Collier's reforms and the extent of his commitment to Indian cultural forms have continued ever since he took office. Some Indians, especially those who had been educated in white institutions, who adopted Christianity, or who otherwise assimilated, did not support Collier's call for an end to individual land allotments. Moreover, many agents and other BIA officials disagreed wholeheartedly with his program of cultural preservation, tribal government, and land consolidation, and they refused to implement much of his program on the local level. However, there can be no doubt that the dim view of Indian tribal sovereignty and American Indian land rights that characterized federal Indian policy before had changed radically.

However, not long after Collier's resignation in 1945, Congress asked for a list of tribes that would be "ready to succeed on their own," initiating the policy of termination. In 1953, Public Law 83-280 (PL280) placed Indians in five western states under state law enforcement jurisdiction and allowed states wishing to assume jurisdiction to amend their state constitutions to make it possible. Senator Arthur Watkins became the leading advocate of termination, using some of the same tactics (counting silence as assent, mischaracterizing the tone of meetings) that Collier had used to claim that he spoke for Indian desires and interests.

The Klamaths, Menominees, and Utes found themselves trading one trustee (the federal government) for another (private banks that had no knowledge of or sympathy for their needs). In 1954, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) met to discuss how to fight termination, exerting pressure on Congress to vote against it. During the 1960s, the Democrats waffled on termination, not implementing it but not decrying it. The NCAI tried to keep its distance from the Civil Rights Movement in the late 1950s, but the poor conditions created by PL280 resulted in the need for the group to approach Congress for redress.





All of these acts, laws, and decisions have had varying degrees of influence on the self-determination over land that Indian tribes have been able to exercise. Although cuts in federal funding during the Reagan administration damaged the ability of the tribes to exercise their sovereignty, in sum, the amount of sovereignty has increased greatly over the course of the twentieth century. These changes in federal views toward Indian tribal sovereignty and land rights demonstrate that, during the 1920s and 1930s, a shift occurred in both government and public perception of Indian tribes. Those changes have only haltingly been implemented and have many times been reversed when the federal government found them inconvenient, but the early twentieth century did signal a fundamental change in how the government addressed the problem of Indian land rights.

Steven L. Danver

See also *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Collier, John; General Allotment Act (Dawes Act); *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*; Meriam Report; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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## Mining and Contemporary Environmental Problems

Mining, most notably of gold, has been one of the primary motors of invasion of the New World. Columbus had gold on his mind, as did Cortes and many other Spanish conquistadors. The discovery of gold deposits played a major role in the Cherokees' Trail of Tears, the invasion of the Black Hills, and the dispossession of Native peoples in California. The Lakota holy man Black Elk called gold the yellow metal that drives white men crazy.

Native peoples' problems with mining continue today. With the coming of an economy based on fossil fuels and other forms of industrial energy, coal

and uranium have joined gold as targets of opportunity (and sources of pollution) on many Indian reservations. What follows is a small but indicative sample of this issue as it plays out in Native America; more complete descriptions of mining pollution afflicting Native nations in the United States fill many books and articles.

### The Hopis and Navajos: Turning Black Mesa to Coal Slurry

Coal burning generates more than half of the electricity consumed in the United States, and a sizable percentage of that coal comes from strip-mines on American Indian reservations. One example is the large electricity-generating complex on the Navajo nation at the Four Corners, the conjunction of Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado, and Utah. Since 1974, the Mojave Generating Station and the Navajo Generating Station have been polluting the world's air. The Mojave Generating Station alone uses 18,240 tons of coal per day at full load. Combined, the two plants require 12 million tons of coal a year and are the largest polluters in the country. Astronauts saw the pollution cloud from these coal-fired plants from the moon (Giuliano, 2001). The six Four Corners coal-fired power plants, completed in the 1970s, emit pollution that on some days fills the local atmosphere with higher levels of sulfur and nitrogen oxides than the air of New York City or Los Angeles (Schneider, n.d.).

A significant proportion of the coal that powers the Four Corners power plants is strip-mined from Black Mesa, Arizona, home of the Hopi Indian Reservation (which is also home to several thousand Navajo) and the site of a Peabody coal mine. On Black Mesa, Peabody Western Coal Company (a subsidiary of the Peabody Group) uses more than 3 million gallons a day (1.4 billion gallons a year) of once pristine, potable groundwater that leaves the aquifer as coal slurry, a coal-and-water mixture.

The aquifers that once provided 60,000 people on Black Mesa with water were by the year 2000 being depleted much faster than nature could replenish them. Computer models run by hydrologist Ron Morgan indicate that by 2050, not even allowing for Peabody's coal-slurry needs, "virtually every spring on the Hopi homelands will be bone dry" (Vandevelder, 2000, 14). Morgan also estimates that by 2050 the aquifer will have been drawn down at ten times the rate that it is being recharged. "All





the computer models tell us that these depletions are right around the corner," according to Morgan (Vandevelder, 2000, 14).

The slurry pipeline, which was owned by Enron Corp. before its bankruptcy, transports its coal-water mix 273 miles to the Mojave Generating Station in Laughlin, Nevada, where it is converted into electricity for the use of consumers in Nevada, California, and parts of Utah and central Arizona. In the meantime, many of the Dine (traditional Navajo) who live at Black Mesa and in most other areas of the reservation have no electricity.

In the late 1990s, the Hopi Nation complained that Peabody Coal was underpaying for its coal. The resulting renegotiation increased the company's payments by 10 percent, or about \$1 million per year. The deal was sweetened by a \$1 million bonus paid at the signing of the agreement. By 1998, coal revenues accounted for nearly 40 percent of the Navajo Nation's governmental budget and 80 percent of the Hopi Nation's budget (Four Corners Clamor, 1998). One critic asked, "Will this increase help the 50 per cent unemployed Navajo out on the Rez, and will it raise the yearly average income of \$750? Since the wells under the Rez are almost dry, from whence will come the water needed to move this coal to Albuquerque and Nevada?" (Four Corners Clamor, 1998).

Many Navajo and Hopi moved from the path of the growing Peabody mine, accepting the company's offer of new homes with plumbing and solar power. Others, however, have decided to remain in their traditional homes. Maxine Kescoli is one of a number of elders who have refused to move to make way for expansion of the coal mine. Peabody has mining rights to the land under her traditional Navajo hogan, which is one mile from the Kayenta Mine. "My umbilical cord is buried here," Kescoli said (Four Corners Clamor, 1998).

To illustrate why she prefers to remain in her traditional home, Kescoli called on *hozho*, the Navajo foundation of belief, "To walk in beauty." This belief runs counter to the exploitation of coal and other resources. This clash is evident not only at Black Mesa, but in many areas of the Navajo Nation where coal is mined. Emma Yazzie, another elder, herded sheep and goats in the shadow of the Four Corners' strip mine draglines until she died, even as pollution fouled her home. She walked to the bottom of strip mines near her home and impeded the draglines—a one-woman, antimining protest movement (Johansen and Maestas, 1979, 143–146).

The clash of cultures is very sharp:

During the past 30 years, 10,000 Navajo sheepherders have been removed from land near Black Mesa, some at gunpoint. Four thousand graves and sacred places have been desecrated. Charges are that the Peabody Coal Company, U.S. agents, and Hopi police have impounded livestock illegally. . . . All of the wells may be dry within four years. Peabody Coal plants trees as "restoration." All of the trees are dead. This is not "walking in beauty" (Four Corners Clamor, 1998).

Before the mid-1970s, Black Mesa was home to several thousand Navajo and Hopi sheepherders, weavers, silversmiths, and farmers whose families had lived there for several hundred years. Over the years, many of these people were forced off Black Mesa by the encroaching strip mine. During the late 1980s, a United Nations report described the case of the forced relocation as one of the most flagrant violations of indigenous peoples' human rights in the western hemisphere (Black Mesa Indigenous Support, n.d.-a).

Coal-fired power plants emit more toxic pollution than any other form of electricity production. For every megawatt hour of electricity produced, coal, depending on its composition, generates an average of 2,000 pounds of carbon dioxide, 13.8 pounds of sulfur oxides, 4.8 pounds of nitrogen oxides, and 3.2 pounds of particulate matter. By comparison, natural gas emits an average of 1,205 pounds of carbon dioxide per megawatt hour, 0.008 pound of sulfur oxides, 4.3 pounds of nitrogen oxides, and negligible particulate matter (Giuliano, 2001).

The scope of Peabody's operation at Black Mesa can be sketched using statistics: During 1998, for example, Peabody Western Coal Company removed just under 11.8 million tons of coal from its Arizona mines. Since mining began on Black Mesa three decades ago, close to 40 billion gallons of groundwater have been pumped to feed Peabody's coal-slurry pipeline. With the pipeline conveying as much as 43,000 tons of slurried coal per day, the company pumps as much as 120,000 gallons of water per hour (Black Mesa Indigenous Support, n.d.-b). The coal slurry competes with local residents for the only source of water for the Hopi and Western Navajo. By the late 1990s, Peabody's strip mine at Black Mesa had expanded to 100 square miles, "the largest privately-owned coal mine in the world" (Black Mesa





Indigenous Support, n.d.-a). Into this pit have fallen burial and sacred sites, religious structures, and ancestral Puebloan ruins.

The U.S. government has relocated 9,000 Navajos to Sanders, Arizona, on land contaminated by the largest radioactive waste spill in North America, in and near the Rio Puerco. According to one source, "Some people living there have died from cancer or are dying from it now. The birth defect rate is outstanding. . . . The suicide rate is outstanding as well" (Black Mesa Indigenous Support, n.d.-a). A radiation meter outside a school on the relocation lands registers 700 rads. The relocation agents have resisted complaints that the "new lands" are contaminated, by saying that people will be unaffected if they do not drink the water (Schneider, n.d.). There is, however, no other water source in the area. People live in trailers, their traditional economy and way of life destroyed.

Other families of Navajo refugees from Black Mesa have drifted from place to place for many years. Some live in shacks, others live in vehicles, while the lucky ones squeeze in with other family members (Black Mesa Indigenous Support, n.d.-a).

Others [have] found themselves having to pay for water, heat, food, electricity, [and] taxes, things they never had to deal with before. Many of the elders speak little or no English—people who had no experience with a cash economy have been moved to border towns. These Navajos were warehoused in substandard housing. . . . While the relocation law required the federal government to provide community facilities and services and to minimize the adverse social, cultural, and economic effects of relocation, that promise remains unfulfilled almost two decades later. Many find it impossible to get jobs, and they are forced into homelessness. The genocide is complete (Black Mesa Indigenous Support, n.d.-a).

Iyawata Britten Schneider wrote in *Country Road News*: "In Arizona, the Department of Interior and the Bureau of Indian Affairs created a land dispute between the Hopi and Dine people by acquiring land and paying the Dine large sums and the Hopi next to nothing. This land dispute was then used to support the passage of the Relocation Act of 1974 that forced the move of 10,000 Dine to 'new lands.' This relocation brought with it increased health

risks, high suicide rates, and severe depression among the Dine. The movement of the Dine allowed for the leasing of more land for the coal mines" (Schneider, n.d.).

Coal mining is antithetical to traditional herding and agriculture in the region. According to Schneider:

Because the southwest is arid and has high winds, coal dust can be seen on the sheep herds, on the land, in the water supply and the air. Residents of the coal mining areas suffer from chronic lung disease and high cancer rates. Livestock drinking water from nearby ponds die within a few hours and traditional crops fail. In its reparation [sic] of land, Peabody does not separate the topsoil from the bottom, leaving the soil with high saline content. Vegetation has not survived in this soil (Schneider, n.d.).

The Black Mesa coal-slurry pipeline is also prone to occasional spills, such as one that occurred over two-and-a-half years between 1999 and 2001. Black Mesa Pipeline, Inc. agreed to pay penalties of \$128,000 for discharging almost 485,000 gallons of coal slurry in northern Arizona. The Arizona Department of Environmental Quality discovered the violations during a series of inspections of Black Mesa's facilities. "Had the pipeline been properly maintained, these spills would not have occurred," said Alexis Strauss, water division director for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency's Pacific Southwest Office. "Desert ecosystems are quite fragile, and filling arroyos with crushed coal is unnecessary and unacceptable" (Arizona Water Resource, 2001).

Increasing numbers of Hopis and Navajos have been protesting the fact that Peabody's use of local water is destroying their way of life. Former Hopi Chairman Ferrell Secakuku joined Navajos from Big Mountain in 2001 to protest the use of aquifer water for the Black Mesa coal slurry and to urge the creation of new, sustainable forms of energy. "We found out the water table is being depleted," Secakuku said, denying reports by the federal government and Peabody Western Coal Co. that have claimed otherwise (Norrell, 2001). Secakuku spoke to a crowd of American Indians and other environmentalists that included longtime opponents of Navajo relocation at Big Mountain. Secakuku and other protesters entered the offices of Black Mesa Pipeline, Inc. to urge officials to halt the slurry pipeline that annually depletes





1.3 billion gallons from the Navajo aquifer. He said using water to transport coal threatens to leave the Hopi village of Moenkopi without water by the year 2011. "Every time you breathe, Peabody is pumping 50 gallons," Secakuku told the crowd (Norrell, 2001). During the protest, Roberta Blackgoat held a sign proclaiming, "The Creator is the Only One who is Going to Relocate Me" (Norrell, 2001).

In defense of the mine, Peabody Coal's John Wasik, executive for southwestern operations, said: "Continued operation of the Black Mesa Mine is in the public interest and will provide long-term economic benefits to the Hopi Tribe and the Navajo Nation. It also provides an essential and secure energy supply for more than 1 million Southwest families who rely on [it for] electricity." Peabody further maintains that the mine "will inject about \$1.5 billion in direct economic benefits into reservation economies in royalties, taxes, wages, and vendor contracts over the proposed extension [of mine operations]" for fifteen years, from 2005 to 2020 (Wanamaker, 2001, C-1). The mine employed about 250 people in 2002; 96 percent of the mine's work force and 82 percent of its supervisory staff were Native American, according to the Peabody company (Wanamaker, 2002, C-1).

Having lost much of their precious water to coal mining and power generation, the Hopis by 2005 faced a new and paradoxical mine-related threat: unemployment. The mine is shutting down because the sole power plant it supplies, the Mohave Generating Station, is closing under a legal agreement with environmental groups that sued because of repeated pollution violations. The closures could force the lay-off of at least 150 of the Hopi Tribe's five hundred employees. In addition, 13 percent of the Navajo Nation government's nonmine labor force would lose jobs, along with 300 mine workers (Helms, 2005).

Having had trouble living with the mine, Hopi Tribal Chairman Wayne Taylor, Jr. said that they might face economic ruin without it. "I carry within me a very real fear that our way of life the Hopi Way will soon become a way of the past," he said. "Our culture, one of the oldest in North America, is dying. Our crisis is both immediate and long-term" (Helms, 2005). Taylor said coal royalties paid to the Hopi tribe by Peabody Energy, operators of the mine, generate more than one-third of Hopi tribal government revenue. "Try to imagine, if you will, a municipality, a county or a state losing one-third of its government revenues," Taylor said (Helms, 2005). More than half

of Hopi adults are already unemployed. "There is a desperate need for housing. Many of the traditional sandstone homes are crumbling and in disrepair. Forty percent of the houses lack adequate plumbing and kitchen facilities," Taylor said (Helms, 2005). "For the Navajo, the situation may be even worse," he said. "We understand that 13 percent of Navajo government's non-mine labor force would lose their jobs." Additionally, the 300 Navajos who work at Black Mesa would lose their average wages of \$60,000 to \$70,000, according to Taylor (Helms, 2005).

The closure of the mine and generating station were slated for December 31, 2005. Although the closing was "a certainty," according to Navajo Nation Attorney General Louis Denetsosie, negotiations continued in 2006, and Denetsosie said he still hopes the plant will reopen after being equipped with pollution-control equipment (Edwards, 2005, 1-D).

### **The Gros Ventres and Assiniboines: Gold Mining and Cyanide Poisoning in Montana**

The Little Rocky Mountains of Montana, which long have been regarded as sacred by the Assiniboiné and Gros Ventre people, are now laced with the effluent of open-pit gold mines that have produced toxic acid mine drainage. Andrew Schneider of the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer* described Gus Helgeson, the president of Island Mountain Protectors, a Native American environmental and cultural organization, standing atop Spirit Mountain as he scanned "the gashes, pits and piles of rock that once was his tribe's most sacred land. . . . The strong man weeps" (Schneider, 2001). Spirit Mountain is part of the Little Rockies, an island of mountains in the nearly flat prairie. To Native Americans, the mountains were valued for their deer, bighorn sheep, herbs, natural medicines, and pure water. Gold mining has destroyed all of that.

In 1884, Pike Landusky and Pete Zortman discovered gold on land traditionally held by the Assiniboiné and Gros Ventre. The following year, these tribes were moved to the Fort Belknap Reservation, which was named for a U.S. Secretary of War. The Assiniboiné and Gros Ventre gave up 40,000 acres of land in exchange for a government promise to feed, clothe, and care for them. At the time, federal Indian agents said nothing about the gold that was buried in Spirit Mountain, but they made it clear the tribes could either agree to their terms or starve. The





agreement called for the two tribes to sell portions of their gold-laced land to the federal government for livestock and other goods. Under the terms of the General Mining Law of 1872, however, the government turned around and sold the land to individuals and private companies for \$10 an acre.

Over several decades, according to Schneider's account, "scores of shafts were driven into the Little Rockies, and an estimated \$1 billion in gold and silver was taken out of the ground—more than \$300 million by the last owner of the mine, Pegasus Gold Corp. of Canada" (Schneider, 2001). Underground mining continued until the 1950s, after which open-pit strip-mining was initiated. In 1979, with gold prices rising rapidly, the Pegasus Gold Corp. and a subsidiary, Zortman Mining Inc., built mines that extracted gold from heaps of low-grade ore with cyanide solutions.

The Pegasus Gold Company, which owned several mines in the Little Rocky Mountains of Montana, went bankrupt when gold prices fell sharply after 1980, "leaving the state of Montana with a \$100 million cleanup liability and the tribes with the prospect of perpetually polluted water" (Huff, 2000). Cyanide-assisted gold mining continued until 1990, during which time the mine was expanded nine times without any substantial environmental review, despite cyanide spills into the water table used by the Indians (Abel, 1997).

By 1990, the Assiniboines and Gros Ventres began to challenge the environmental side-effects of cyanide-heap gold mining, forming a Native environmental advocacy group, Red Thunder, which joined with non-Indian environmental groups to resist federal permits for the Zortman-Landusky's mine's next requested expansion. The group's appeal was denied. In December 1992, Pegasus applied for another expansion of the mine, as Red Thunder joined with another Native environmental group, Island Mountain Protectors. Both prepared plans to challenge the expansion under the federal Clean Water Act, maintaining that the cyanide-leach method used in the mine was poisoning the reservation's water supply.

During July 1993, an intense thunderstorm brought a flood of acidified mine wastewater into the town of Zortman, after which the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) required the mine's owners to develop a new reclamation plan. At about the same time, an Environmental Protection Agency study found that the mine had been "leaking acids, cyanide, arsenic and lead from each of its seven

drainages" (Abel, 1997). The state of Montana soon joined the EPA in a suit based on the Clean Water Act, which was settled out of court in July 1996, with Pegasus and Zortman Mining pledging to pay \$4.7 million in fines to the tribes, the federal government, and the state. The mine's owners also pledged to follow a detailed pollution control plan in the future.

Shortly thereafter, a request to triple the mine's size (from 400 to 1,192 acres) was approved by the Montana Department of Environmental Quality and the BLM (Abel, 1997). In January 1997, The Fort Belknap Community Council, National Wildlife Information Center sued the Montana Department of Environmental Quality, alleging that the agency's decision to allow an expanded mine violated state law.

During September 1997, federal and state environmental agencies fined Pegasus and Zortman Mining \$25,300 for violating the clean water settlement by polluting a stream in the Little Rockies the previous summer. John Pearson, director of investor relations for Pegasus, asserted that discharges were the result of "acts of God" during "extraordinarily heavy rains" (Abel, 1997). By late 1997, with gold prices (and Pegasus's share price) declining rapidly, the company warned that its mine would close by January 1, 1998, if the expansion plan was not accepted. The state of Montana and local Native environmental activists wondered whether Pegasus would survive long enough as a corporate entity to complete promised reclamation of existing mines. In January 1998, Pegasus filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection.

In the meantime, Pegasus left behind open pits that were described by Schneider:

Pegasus dug pits the size of football fields and lined them with plastic or clay. Crushed ore was dumped in mounds as high as 15 feet and soaked with a mist of cyanide. It was the largest cyanide heap-leach operation in the world. . . . The heavily contaminated water trickled and flowed through fissures in the mountain, into the surface streams and underground aquifers that supply drinking water for 1,000 people who live in and around Lodge Pole and Hays, reservation towns north of the mountains (Schneider, 2001).

Streams flowing off the mountain, smelling of rotten eggs (the chemical signature of sulfide), were





cloudy and lifeless. "This is death," said John Allen, a tribal spiritual leader, as he filled his hands with putrid muck. "The mines take millions in gold from our land and leave us poisoned water. The miners and the government experts have argued for years about whether the water is bad. All they have to do is look, but they choose not to see" (Schneider, 2001). Allen, who was forty-six years of age in 2001, has thyroid problems, as do three of his siblings. His father has lymphatic cancer. Doctors who specialize in environmental medicine have told the Assiniboines and Gros Ventres that the diseases they suffer stem from contaminated water. Environmental advocates among the two tribes also report a high rate of stillbirths.

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See also Black Elk; Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute; Trail of Tears; Uranium Mining.

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## Pan-Indianism

Pan-Indianism has historically been a reaction to European arrival and westward expansion. In general, pan-Indianism may be defined as a conglomeration of intertribal Native American people who organize in an effort to accomplish a set of specific goals. Pan-Indian movements have had proponents and critics from all segments of modern-day society. It is simultaneously evidence of the adversity of Native American culture and proof that European cultural imperialism has successfully erased many tribes from existence.

The earliest examples of pan-Indianism are typically linked to Native American revolts. Native Americans pooled their intertribal resources to resist colonization, as exemplified by the several revolts between 1680 and 1700 including the Pueblo Revolt, the Great Southwest Revolt, and King Philip's War. Pan-Indian resistance continued in the United States with leaders such as Pontiac, Neolin the Prophet,





and Tecumseh creating pan-Indian alliances that crossed tribal lines. Their collective goal involved preserving Native autonomy over land by preventing European settlers from spreading westward.

The late 1800s saw the emergence of at least three pan-Indian movements. First came the movement to make modern-day Oklahoma an intertribal Indian state to be governed by a pan-Indian set of laws and cultural practices based in the traditions of several tribes. Second was the Ghost Dance movement that spread across the Great Plains, promising to return the land to its condition prior to European arrival. U.S. agents interpreted Ghost Dance activities as a revolt and killed Sitting Bull, leading up to the massacre at Wounded Knee. The Ghost Dance movement was stopped, and many former ghost dancers became active in the so-called peyote cult, forming the third pan-Indian movement. Peyote use is most commonly linked to the Native American Church, which merges intertribal groups with Christian and Native American spiritual practices.

As European colonial activity evolved, so did the reaction that Native Americans embarked on in terms of pan-Indian activity. Perhaps a product of European efforts to assimilate Native Americans via boarding schools, many graduates went on to form pan-Indian organizations based on the notion of a shared national Indian identity. The process of assimilation allowed for the emergence of middle-class, educated Natives who attempted to utilize U.S. laws to make improvements in the lives of reservation and urban Native Americans. These organizations tended to take practical approaches to promoting the needs of impoverished Native Americans by advancing integration into mainstream U.S. political and economic institutions.

An early example of a pan-Indian integration organization was the Society of American Indians (SAI) formed in 1911 to monitor U.S. policy and its effect on Native American communities. Although the SAI was concerned with improving the education and integration of Native Americans, the group could not agree on how best to accomplish these goals. Its drive for U.S. citizenship for all Native Americans was realized in 1924, the same year the SAI disbanded.

Another successful pan-Indian organization is the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). The NCAI initially focused on Native American education and legislation, much like the SAI, but expanded its efforts to job training and legal aid for Native people. Today the NCAI serves as a beacon

for federal policy and legislation impacting tribal government and individual Native Americans. Since its origin, the NCAI has expanded its focus to include environmental resource management, elder and youth health care, and the promotion of religious freedom for Native Americans.

Amid the tide of ethnic movements during the 1950s and 1960s for increased integration and self-determination, a pan-Indian civil rights movement emerged. These civil rights organizations followed a pattern similar to other ethnic groups. As the sixties went on, newer civil rights organizations emerged with more extreme ideologies and actions than the previous organizations.

In 1961 the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) emerged as a predominantly college student-based organization tasked with ensuring political visibility for Native American youth. The NIYC resorted to civil disobedience as a way of garnering exposure for the issues they deemed important. In 1967, a California-based group called the United Native Americans followed the path of NIYC but focused on reservation and urban pockets of Native populations. A year later, the most famous pan-Indian organization, the American Indian Movement (AIM), began patrolling the streets of Minneapolis and St. Paul to monitor the abuses police forces exerted in Native communities. AIM would emerge on the national scene because of their tactics and their involvement with many acts of disobedience against U.S. authority.

AIM is credited with bringing many issues to national visibility and, in the process, lost some members to prison and death. AIM worked with many other pan-Indian organizations to reclaim Alcatraz Island, the former site of an island prison in San Francisco Bay, on November 9, 1969. The resulting media attention was utilized to bring forward a long existing pan-Indian consciousness that rejected many of the principles of U.S. legitimacy. For the first time in U.S. history, notions of manifest destiny, U.S. nationalism, and the American Indian as conquered people were being challenged in front of a national mainstream audience.

Members of AIM took controversial stands on issues in Indian Country as well. By challenging the authority of tribal reservation governments, AIM risked alienating traditional Native Americans and the most powerful of Native Americans relative to all reservation residents. One of the most famous examples of such a challenge comes from the Pine Ridge Reservation in the midseventies when





Guardians of the Oglala Nation (GOONs), a private police force hired by the Lakota tribal government, were accused of overstepping their authority and killing reservation residents unjustifiably. AIM members began to patrol GOONs activity. After several altercations between AIM and GOONs, the FBI was brought in to control the situation. Although no one agrees on the details, the outcome was the arrest and conviction of AIM member Leonard Peltier for the murder of two FBI agents. Peltier remains incarcerated to this day for what many believe is a crime he did not commit.

As access to economic, educational, and political institutions increased, pan-Indianism took on a less militant approach. Today, many pan-Indian organizations represent groups of professional Native Americans in the private sector, in U.S. government, and on university campuses throughout the U.S. Some examples include the Native American Journalists Association, the American Indian Science and Engineering Society, the Association of American Indian Physicians, the Native American Law Students Association, and the American Political Science Association's Indigenous Studies network.

Also expanding in the university is the pan-Indian discipline of American Indian (or Native American) studies. Emerging in the late seventies, bachelor's, master's, and doctoral programs have proliferated. Several philosophies of education, community building, and integration with mainstream U.S. institutions have developed. The diversity of approaches to Native American issues has led to the appearance that the discipline lacks focus as a whole. One example of this inconsistency may be the very name for the discipline. Academic programs founded in the 1980s use the name American Indian studies, newer programs use the phrase Native American studies, Canadian programs call themselves First Nations' studies, and programs being formed today are tentatively called applied indigenous studies programs. Despite the label changes, all these programs share a common concern for the future of Native American people in terms of economic development, access to education, cultural sensitivity in research, and cultural revitalization.

Today, academics of political philosophy are emerging and promoting theories of pan-Indianism as an explanation of world power structures. Based on the premise that the world is composed of developed and developing nations, indigenous studies scholars argue that developing nations can never truly become developed nations. Rather, developed

nations are developed only because of their relationship with First Nations' resources. Members of the First Nations' culture generally saw themselves as part of their environment, whereas developed nations saw themselves as masters of their environment. Colonialism allowed developing nations from Europe to become developed at the expense of First Nations' resources. Only those capable of functioning in their environment in nonexploitative ways will emerge from the inevitable resource depletion. Academics in indigenous studies believe only a pan-Indian movement will be capable of leading the world once developed nations consume resources beyond the point of sustainability.

Often taken as a double-edged sword, pan-Indianism is interpreted in terms of positive and negative impacts. The danger of pan-Indianism is that it threatens the purity of tribal cultures that have survived into the modern era. Pan-Indianism contains no language and adheres to a "powwow culture" potentially in conflict with individual tribal cultures. On the other hand, without a pan-Indian movement, many Native Americans throughout the world who have lost their former tribal affiliations would be left without a connection to Native identity. The youth of many tribal and urban Native communities are often brought together in university environments and seek support from other Native youth in pan-Indian student organizations. This is a continuation of the phenomena once experienced by Native individuals subjected to relocation into urban Indian centers. Pan-Indian centers still exist in urban areas in many states, including California, Arizona, Minnesota, Illinois, and Ohio.

Michael Lerma

*See also* American Indian Movement; National Congress of American Indians; National Indian Youth Council; Native American Church of North America; Society of American Indians; Wovoka.

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## Reservation Economic and Social Conditions

On some Indian reservations, small businesses were booming in the early twenty-first century, and there were indications that the typically poor reservation infrastructure was improving. Economic improvement is notable, especially on reservations where gambling has incubated other business activities. Reservations close to urban areas with large gambling clienteles have benefited the most, while those in rural areas, for the most part, have experienced little improvement. Even in rural areas, however, business activity has improved where activities such as Native-owned banks have been initiated. An example is provided by the Montana Blackfeet, in and near Browning, with banking activity founded by Eloise Cobell (who also initiated a class action lawsuit seeking an accounting for the federal government's mishandling of Indian royalty accounts). In general, however, Native Americans living on reservations, especially in the Great Plains, continue to be among the poorest people in the United States.

### Poverty on the Plains

In the 2000 Census, Buffalo County, South Dakota, home of the Lower Brule Indian Reservation, had the lowest per capita income in the United States. The second-lowest ranking was Shannon County, South Dakota, home of the Pine Ridge Reservation. In Buffalo County, 61.8 percent of the children lived in poverty, the highest rate in the United States, followed by Zieback County (61.2 percent) and Shannon County (61 percent). These rates were much higher than those in any urban area.

The 2000 Census also indicated that South Dakota as a whole had the largest percentage increase in the United States for household median income between 1990 and 2000. At the same time, Buffalo County, home of the 3,500-member Crow Creek Sioux, and Shannon County remained as the two poorest counties in the United States. In Buffalo County, the largest and most successful business during the 1990s was the Lode Star

Casino. Shannon County has benefited somewhat from federal empowerment zone status that brought the county millions in federal dollars for economic development and a visit from President Bill Clinton.

### Crime Rates Rise

According to Jeffrey Wollock, writing in *Native Americas*, crime rates on reservations have been rising. Indians twelve to twenty years old are 58 percent more likely to be crime victims than whites and blacks. Indians under age fifteen are murdered at twice the rate of whites. Census figures for 2000 support this trend.

The contemporary murder rate on Indian reservations is five times the average in the United States as a whole: twenty-nine per 100,000 people, compared to 5.6. The average in U.S. urban areas is seven per 100,000 (Crime Rate, 2003, 11). An Indian Country Crime Report, compiled from 1,072 cases prosecuted in U.S. district courts, did not include felonies committed by non-Indians on reservations. Some small reservations have very high murder rates, according to this report. The Salt River Pima Maricopa community in Arizona, for example, had six murders among 6,405 people, a murder rate seventeen times the national average. The Gila River reservation, with 11,257 enrolled members, suffered eleven murders, for a similar rate (Crime Rate, 2003, 11). According to Mac Rominger, an FBI agent on the Hopi and Navajo reservations, chronic problems such as alcoholism and poverty were compounded by isolation. "Ninety-five per cent of the violent crime out there is directed towards family and friends," he said (Crime Rate, 2003, 11).

Youth suicide among Native Americans is twice the rate of non-Indians. The American Medical Association reports that one in five Indian girls attempt suicide before leaving high school. The alcoholism death rate is four times the national average (Wollock, 2003, 30). Additionally, about 40 percent of Native Americans in the United States live in substandard housing, compared with an average of 6 percent for the rest of the population. The crisis for Native American young people is closely tied to the loss of culture, with youth "stuck between two worlds" (Wollock, 2003, 30). Many more Native youth than in earlier times cannot speak their own languages and have little grasp of their traditional culture and history.





### Pikangikum's Continuing Desolation

Statistics can assume a terrifying profile when they are described in the context of one small village. Take, for example, the Ojibwa-Cree village of Pikangikum, about 200 miles northeast of Winnipeg. Pikangikum has the highest documented suicide rate in the world. It is a place where the main recreational pastime for young people is glue sniffing. The reserve's only school was closed for more than a year because of a fuel leak. Pikangikum's water treatment plant closed nearly as long, also because of an accidental fuel leak.

Eighty to 90 percent of the adults in Pikangikum were unemployed in 2003. The village is so overcrowded (with 400 homes for 2,100 people) that some people sleep in shifts to make beds available for others. All food is flown in, so prices are about five times the average for the rest of Canada.

Forty young people killed themselves in Pikangikum during the ten years ending in 2004. The same rate would have yielded 70,500 suicides in a city of 3 million people. Most of the suicides involved women who hung themselves (Elliott, 2001a, A-15). In 2000 alone, nine Ojibwa girls, aged five to thirteen, killed themselves in Pikangikum. Those suicides sent the year's suicide rate up to 470 deaths per 100,000, thirty-six times the Canadian national average. Three more young women killed themselves between mid-May and mid-June 2001. "When young women who are the bearers of life start to kill themselves, it's a real reflection on the health of the community," said Arnold Devlin of Dilico Child and Family Services in Thunder Bay (Elliott, 2000).

Since 1995, the Pikangikum Youth Patrol, a team of young volunteers, has scoured Pikangikum almost every night looking for huddles of gas sniffers, whose spine-chilling howls permeate the community at night, but the young addicts often scatter



*President Bill Clinton holds a prayer pipe, the one used to formalize an 1868 treaty between the Native Americans and the U.S. government on the Pine Ridge Sioux Indian Reservation, presented to him by Millie Horn Cloud. Clinton visited the poorest county in the United States on July 7, 1999. (Reuters/Kevin Lamarque/Archive Photos)*





into the darkness before patrollers can reach them. At peak suicide times like summer and fall, there's an attempt or two every night (Elliott, 2000).

### **Alcoholism: The Continuing Toll**

Second only to the ravages of smallpox and other diseases, alcoholism has been the major cause of early death and other forms of misery for Native Americans since the "discovery" of the Americas by Columbus. Scarrooyady, an Iroquois sachem, told Pennsylvania treaty commissioners in 1750: "Your traders now bring us scarce anything but rum and flour. The rum ruins us. Those wicked whiskey sellers, when they have got the Indians in liquor, make them sell the very clothes from their backs!" (Johansen, 1982, 68). In 1832, the sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians was made illegal, an act that was not repealed until the early 1950s, when it became evident that prohibition produced a bootlegging industry little different from that which flourished nationwide during the 1920s and early 1930s.

Alcoholism continues to be a major problem today. The disease of alcoholism is the single leading cause of death in many Native American communities. Today, the sharpest increases in alcoholism exist in remote places such as Alaska and the Canadian North, where Native peoples have only recently been deprived of their traditional ways of life. In Manitoba, for example, several hundred Native people whose lands were flooded have been moved to settlements where they are no longer allowed (or able) to wrest a living from the land. Alcoholism and other forms of social disorientation have followed suit.

Even today, among Plains Indians, a large majority of Native American men drink alcohol, as does a smaller majority of Native women. By age seventeen, a majority of Indian boys and a large minority of Indian girls are steady drinkers. Drinking among Indian young people has been related directly to the highest suicide rate in the United States for any age group. Alcohol abuse also correlates to low educational achievement, poor health, and high rates of unemployment and crime among Indian youth.

Nationwide, American Indians have, for several years, averaged twelve times the number of arrests, per capita, as the general population. Three-quarters of these arrests are alcohol-related, almost twice the national average. About half of the Indian Health Service's caseload has been directly or indirectly

attributed to alcohol use. Cirrhosis of the liver was a frequent cause of hospitalization and eventually death. According to the Indian Health Service (IHS), cirrhosis of the liver occurs in American Indians at five times the rate of the general population. The IHS also reports that many child-battering cases are alcohol related.

For a number of reasons, most of them cultural, traditional non-Indian treatments, from hospitalization to non-Indian chapters of Alcoholics Anonymous, have had very little success dealing with Indian alcoholism. Indian self-determination has prompted Native treatment programs with mixed results. Although the idea of Indians treating Indians was hailed as revolutionary in some quarters, it is not really new. Since at least the days of the Iroquois spiritual leader Handsome Lake in the early nineteenth century, Indian religious figures have opposed the use of alcohol and achieved moderate success.

### **Gambling: The New Buffalo?**

In the late twentieth century, commercial gambling became a major source of income on some Indian reservations across the United States. While many Native American cultures traditionally practiced forms of gambling as a form of sport (such as the Iroquois Peachstone game), no Native American historical precedent exists for large-scale experience with gambling as a commercial enterprise. The arrival of gaming has brought dividends to some Native American peoples and controversy culminating in firefights and death for others.

The history of reservation-based commercial gambling began in 1979, when the Seminoles became the first Native nation to enter the bingo industry. By early 1985, seventy-five to eighty of the 300 recognized Indian tribes in the United States were conducting some sort of commercial game of chance. By the fall of 1988, the Congressional Research Service estimated that about 100 Indian nations and tribes participated in some form of gambling, which grossed about \$255 million a year. By 1991, 150 of 278 Native reservations recognized by non-Indian governmental bodies had some form of gambling. According to the Interior Department, gross revenue from such operations passed \$1 billion that year.

American Indian gaming revenue grew to \$10.6 billion in 2000, representing 16 percent of the \$64.9 billion generated by gaming in the United States as a





whole (Wanamaker, 2002). By 2002, Indian gaming revenue had grown to \$14.5 billion, but, according to the National Indian Gaming Commission, 65 percent of the cash was flowing into only 7 percent of the gaming tribes (Fialka, 2004, A-4). Also according to the National Indian Gaming Association, Indian gaming by 2002 contributed approximately \$120 million in state and local tax receipts annually, and gaming patrons spent an estimated \$237 million in local communities around Indian casinos (Marquez, 2002). Of the 562 federally recognized Native American governmental entities in the United States at that time, 201 participated in Class II or Class III gaming. Class II makes such games as bingo, pull tabs, lotto, punchboards, and certain card games permissible under individual state laws. Class III includes everything else, such as casino-style table games, like roulette and craps, and card games such as poker and blackjack. Indian casinos operated in twenty-nine states under a total of 249 separate gaming compacts (Wanamaker, April 5, 2002).

Individual prizes in some reservation bingo games were reported to be as high as \$100,000, while bingo stakes in surrounding areas under state jurisdiction were sometimes limited to \$100. The reasons for growth in gambling on Indian land were readily apparent. Native governments sensed an opportunity for income that could make a substantial improvement in their economic conditions. A lack of state or federal regulation provided them with a competitive advantage over off-reservation gambling. These advantages included a lack of state-imposed limits on the size of pots or prizes, no restrictions by the states on days or hours of operations, no costs for licenses or compliance with state regulations, and (unless they were negotiated) no state taxes on gambling operations.

Gambling now provides a small galaxy of material benefits for some formerly impoverished Native peoples. A half hour's drive from the Twin Cities, for example, blackjack players crowd forty-one tables, while 450 other players stare into video slot machines inside the teepee-shaped Little Six Casino, operated by the 103 members of the Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux tribe. Each member of the tribe receives a monthly dividend check that can amount to several thousand dollars as a shareholder in the casino. In addition to dividends, members became eligible for homes (if they lacked them), guaranteed jobs (if they were unemployed), and full college scholarships. The tribal government took out health insurance policies for everyone on the reservation

and established day care for the children of working parents.

### **Gambling, Politics, and the New York Oneidas**

In 1970, the New York Oneidas' landholdings were down to thirty-two acres east of Syracuse. The tribe had almost no economic infrastructure. Three and a half decades later, the New York Oneidas own a large casino, the Turning Stone, which has incubated a number of other business ventures, making them one of the largest employers in the Syracuse area. Many of the roughly 1,000 Oneidas who reside in the area receive substantial material benefits.

By 2005, the Turning Stone was earning an estimated net profit of at least \$70 million a year on about \$250 million in gross income. Roughly 5 million visitors pass through the casino's doors per year (many of them repeat visitors). The casino's influence on the tax base of nearby small towns is enormous. James Chapell, mayor of the town of Oneida, for example, said that the Oneidas had taken so much land off the tax rolls that the town's tax revenues fell from \$700,000 to \$139,000 in one year (Randolph, 2003). The town of Oneida has resisted requesting financial help from the Oneida Indian Nation, but nearby Verona, which faced similar declines in tax revenue, negotiated funding for a water project as well as \$800,000 for local services (Randolph, 2003).

Meanwhile, a substantial dissident movement has grown among Oneidas who assert that Raymond Halbritter, the "nation representative" of the New York Oneidas, was never voted into such an office. This group is centered in the Shenandoah family, which includes the notable singer Joanne Shenandoah and her husband, activist Doug George-Kanentiio. They believe that the New York Oneidas under Halbritter established a business, called it a nation, and acquired the requisite approvals from New York State and the United States federal government to use this status to open the Turning Stone. The dissidents' benefits as Oneidas were discontinued after they took part, during 1995, in a march for democracy to make these points (Johansen, 2002, 25–43).

The New York Oneidas under Halbritter's aegis appointed a men's council (a body unheard of in traditional matrilineal Iroquois law or tradition), which issued a zoning code to beautify the Oneida Indian Nation. This code enabled Halbritter's fifty-four-





member police force (patrolling a thirty-two-acre reservation) to “legally” evict from their homes Oneidas who opposed his role as tribal leader. Halbritter’s control also was buttressed by the acquisition of a number of other businesses, a phalanx of public relations spin doctors, several lawyers, and ownership of *Indian Country Today*, a national Native American newspaper.

The story of the New York Oneidas is a particularly raw example of conflicts that beset many Native American nations that have attempted to address problems of persistent poverty and economic marginalization by opening casinos. Supporters of the casinos see them as the new buffalo, while opponents look at them as a form of internal colonization, an imposition of European-descended economic institutions and values on Native American peoples.

The recent experience of the Oneidas of New York raised several significant questions for Indian Country as a whole. Is the Oneida model of an economic powerhouse key to defining the future of Native American sovereignty in the opening years of the twenty-first century, as many of its supporters believe? Materially, the New York Oneidas have gained a great deal in a quarter century, including the repurchase of 14,000 acres of land. Have these gains been offset by an atmosphere of stifling totalitarianism and a devastating loss of traditional bearings, as many Oneida dissidents attest?

### The Foxwoods Money Machine

Mashantucket means “the much-wooded land.” The word “Foxwoods” is a combination of the notion of forest and the Pequots’ reputation as “the fox people.” Foxwoods started as a very small bingo parlor after roughly forty banks refused to loan money to the Pequots. The bingo parlor began operating in 1986 and became wildly successful, drawing its clientele mainly from the urban corridor that stretches from Boston to New York City. Having obtained backing from outside the United States, the Pequots opened their full-scale casino in 1992. At the time, Foxwoods was the only gaming establishment on the East Coast offering poker, which was banned at the time in Atlantic City.

The first day Foxwoods opened, February 14, 1992, its 1,700-car parking lot was full by 10:30 a.m. Roughly 75,000 people passed through the casino’s doors there during that first day, and 2,000 of them were still present at the casino’s 4 a.m. closing

time. During the ensuing decade, Foxwoods expanded, and became one of the most notable examples anywhere of Native American economic development.

By 2005, the Foxwoods complex was drawing an average of about 55,000 people most days. The Foxwoods Resort Casino complex includes five casinos housing 300,000 square feet of gaming space, 5,842 slot machines, 370 gaming tables, a 3,000-seat high-stakes bingo parlor with \$1 million jackpots, a 200-seat Sportsbook, and a keno lounge. Table games included baccarat, mini-baccarat, big six wheels, blackjack, Caribbean stud poker, craps, Pai Gow, Pai Gow tiles, red dog, roulette, and a number of other games. The Foxwoods complex also includes four hotels ranging in size from 280 to 800 rooms each. In addition to gaming space and its four hotels, Foxwoods also offered twenty-three shopping areas, twenty-four food and beverage outlets, and a movie theater complex, as well as the Mashantucket Pequot Museum and Research Center and a Fox Grand Theater featuring Las Vegas-style entertainment.

Foxwoods quickly became a very large financial success for its sponsors, as well as for the government of Connecticut, to which the casino’s management pledged a quarter of its profits. Foxwoods’ gross revenues on its slot and video machines alone total about \$9 billion a year. By 2004, the Foxwoods casino complex was paying the state of Connecticut \$220 million a year in taxes. Foxwoods and a second casino, Mohegan Sun, paid the state of Connecticut \$300 million to \$350 million most years after 2000. The Mashantucket Pequots have become the state of Connecticut’s largest single taxpayer and, with about 13,000 jobs, one of its larger employers. Foxwoods today is an integral pillar of Connecticut’s economy and a multimillion-dollar contributor to the state’s charities. The Pequots’ casino even put up cash one year to help the state balance its budget. The casino complex employs a staff of lawyers and maintains its own permanent lobbying office in Washington, DC.

At the same time, the Pequots also became a significant contributor (\$10 million) to the Smithsonian’s new National Museum of the American Indian. That amount was soon matched by the New York Oneidas, drawing from its own casino profits. The Mashantucket Pequots also gave \$2 million to the Special Olympics and \$500,000 to the Hartford Ballet, as well as \$5 million to the aquarium at Mystic, Connecticut. In June of 2001, the Mohegans, owners





of the neighboring Mohegan Sun Casino, made an equal pledge.

### Death at Akwesasne

While gambling has brought benefits to some Native American communities, it brought violence to the Akwesasne Mohawks of St. Regis in upstate New York. The violence erupted in part over the issue of gambling. After as many as seven casinos opened illegally along the reservation's main highway in the late 1900s, the area became a crossroads for the illicit smuggling of drugs, including cocaine, and tax-free liquor and cigarettes. Tensions escalated after early protests of gambling included the trashing of one casino and the burning of another and after gambling supporters attempted to repress this resistance with brutal force. When in April 1990 residents blockaded the reservation to keep the casino's customers out, gambling supporters responded by destroying the blockades. By then, violence had spiraled into brutal beatings of antigambling activists, drive-by shootings, and firefights. On May 1, 1990, two Mohawks were killed in related violence. The intervention of several police agencies from the United States and Canada followed the two deaths; outside police presence continued for years afterward (Johansen, 1993).

Everyone who is familiar with the Akwesasne Mohawk territory knows it has been the scene of considerable smuggling between the United States and Canada, but no one knew the extent of the traffic until its volume drew the attention of prosecutors and police in both countries. By 2000, with several convicted smugglers awaiting sentencing, the size of the smuggling industry outlined in court records astounded even veteran observers. The evidence presented by prosecutors outlined the largest smuggling operation since the U.S.–Canada border was established.

Akwesasne is the only Native American reservation that straddles the U.S.–Canadian border and, as such, has long provided a smuggling route for anything illegal that may be in demand across either border. This cargo has included cigarettes and hard liquor (which are taxed much more heavily in Canada than in the United States), several varieties of illegal narcotics, automatic weapons, and even human beings. Immigration authorities at one point broke a smuggling ring that was ferrying people (most of them illegal immigrants from Asia) across the border at a cost of \$45,000 to \$50,000 each. The

cigarette smuggling trade is called "bottlelegging," wordplay on bootlegging.

The right of Mohawks to cross the border unimpeded is recognized by the Jay Treaty (1794), which Canadian authorities have occasionally contested. Various enterprising Akwesasne residents have become adept at selling their connections as border middlemen, the central link in the smuggling chain. A few years ago, a story floated around the reservation that a local kingpin was negotiating to buy a small island in the Saint Lawrence River for about \$225,000 for use as a smuggling base. After the two parties agreed on the price, the new owner walked to a closet in his home, which was stacked floor to ceiling with cash in large denominations. He peeled an inch or two off the top of the stack to pay for the island.

The Canadian federal government has asserted that taxing authorities in that country lost \$750 million in potential revenue because of smuggling through Akwesasne between 1991 and 1997, when the big smuggling ring was busted. Nearly as much money was laundered through an armored-car business in Massena, New York. Prosecutors requested that U.S. District Court Judge Thomas McAvoy sentence John "Chick" Fountain of Massena to seven years in prison and forfeiture of an unspecified amount worth of personal property for his role in laundering \$557 million through his armored car and currency exchange business. Before starting this business, Fountain had previously lived much more modestly as a New York State trooper.

Fountain, convicted on November 3, 1998, was one of twenty-seven people who prosecutors alleged had important roles in a smuggling ring that at its height operated large warehouses and squads of motorboats, which were used to ferry goods and people across the Saint Lawrence River. When the river was frozen, smuggling often took place in automobiles. The smuggling ring drew some well-known names at Akwesasne into its ambit, including longtime gambling developer Tony Laughing and former St. Regis Tribal Chief Leo David Jacobs, who was convicted of taking \$32,000 in kickbacks paid to link Miller with a number of Akwesasne businessmen. One of these businessmen was Loran Thompson, owner of a marina, a restaurant, and what New York radio reporter Neil Drew of Malone, New York, called a very busy cigarette warehouse along the Saint Lawrence River, where millions of cartons were purchased for smuggling into Canada (Drew, 2001).





The alleged kingpin of the smuggling cartel was Larry Miller of Massena, who traveled the world in a Lear Jet and owned five houses in Las Vegas, as well as an estate not far from the source of his income: the porous international border through Akwesasne. According to court records, Miller made as much as \$35 million a year at the height of the operation. Prosecutors suggested that Judge McAvoy fine Miller \$160 million in cash and personal assets and sentence him to to seventeen to twenty-two years in prison. He was sentenced to 17.5 years in prison.

### Small Businesses Boom at Akwesasne

While the smuggling at Akwesasne continues, today the main cross-reservation arterial (State Highway 37) is lined with businesses that did not exist two decades ago—not just the usual cheap gas and cigarettes, but the everyday goods that sustain people who live there. Mohawk-owned businesses secured government-backed loans and grants, resulting in the building of a small strip mall and enterprises ranging from lacrosse stick manufacturing to large-scale construction companies.

The local newspaper, *Indian Time*, in 2005 was flush with advertising from Akwesasne businesses, including A First Americans Food Store, The Village Currency Exchange, EScentULee (manicures, pedicures, facials, and the like), Little Bear Design (embroidery and design), Burning Sky Office Products, Four Seasons Lawn Care & Snow Removal, Grace & Allan's Discount Tobacco Products, St. Regis Mohawk Senior Center, CKON Radio, Broken Arrow Truck Stop/Gift Shop, Physical Limits Fitness Club, Clyde N Performance Plus (boats and motors), Akwesasne Mohawk Casino, Trade Zone Gasoline Station, Oakes Heating and Cooling, and Bear's Den Restaurant and Motel.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Alcoholism and Substance Abuse; Economic Development; Gambling.

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## Squaw, Debates over Place Names

Controversy swirls around the use of the word "squaw" to name places in the United States. Many Americans defend the practice as means of acknowledging, if not honoring, indigenous peoples. In recent years, American Indians, energized by a cultural and political renaissance, have challenged these interpretations, asserting that "squaw" is a derogatory term and that its use as a place name harms Native peoples and communities.

### Language and Power

"Squaw" entered European languages by the middle of the sixteenth century. Two competing theories describe the origins of the word. The first explanation, preferred by many linguists, anthropologists, and etymologists, traces the term to an abbreviation of the Narraganset word, *eskwa*, meaning woman. It was not initially a derogatory or offensive term. In fact, several Native languages contain related words. A second interpretation, favored by activists and

political leaders, asserts that "squaw" actually has more vulgar roots and consequently always has carried negative connotations. This account has proposed that French trappers borrowed the Mohawk word for female genitals, *ge-squaw*, to refer to Native women and their sexuality.

Whatever its origins, a constellation of largely pejorative meanings has clustered around "squaw" in English. It has crystallized as a trope of extraordinary power and influence in American culture. The "squaw" of songs, stories, jokes, literature, and film, according to Rayna Green (1990), has been "the darker twin" of the Indian princess: "Squaws share the same vices attributed to Indian men—drunkenness, stupidity, thievery, venality of every kind." They have been sexualized, doing "what White men want for money and lust," not love. And at the same time, expressive culture has often portrayed the squaw as a drudge, an ugly, fat, overburdened, and dependent creature, passively completing chores while her "buck" idles. In popular usage the term has come to be used for a woman or, more generally, a wife. One might hear a man say, "This is my squaw . . ." or "How's the squaw?" Even more generally, it has been employed to describe an effeminate object or action as well as a weak person. More troubling, squaw has long carried sexual connotations. The term not only has often sexualized Native American women, glossing them as prostitutes, it has also described female sexuality more generally, as in World War II, when American soldiers used "squaw" to refer to an ugly prostitute. Today, according to Bea Medicine (quoted in King, 2003), squaw remains "a very derogatory term for Indian women. It equates them with sexuality and perpetuates the stereotype that Indian women are loose and promiscuous."

"Squaw" is not just a hurtful term; it has encouraged violence against American Indian women as well. The most disturbing instances include racist epithets shouted at indigenous women ("dirty squaw") or displayed on placards opposing the exercise of treaty rights ("Save a walleye, spear a pregnant squaw!"), sexual jokes told among friends about the supposed proclivities of indigenous women, and the use of the term in sexual and physical assaults.

### Naming and Claiming Places

Euro-American observers have long read landscape and nature more generally in gendered terms, interpreting the virginal, uncultivated, and supposedly





unoccupied land as feminine. Frequently, the accounts of Euro-American explorers, soldiers, administrators, settlers, and tourists extend this tradition to indigenous femininity through which they secured a unique metaphorical hold over, or purchase of, the land. The use of “squaw” in place names conforms to this pattern. And yet “squaw” inscribes more than femininity onto the landscape, projecting the inferiority read into the indigenous cultures as well as the presumed rights of the Euro-American colonizers. In naming the landscape, they set about claiming it, simultaneously foregrounding an element of American Indian life even as they erased indigenous histories and removed Native nations.

In this context, it is perhaps not surprising how popular “squaw” has proven to be as a place name. Nine hundred thirty-eight geographic features in thirty-eight states bear the name “squaw.” In contrast, only a handful of places bear the less exotic gender markers: only 179 features bear the name “lady” and sixteen the name “woman.”

Importantly, the pervasive presence of the place name veils significant variation. Despite its origins in the Native languages spoken in the northeastern United States, it is much more common in the American West. And while bays, buttes, canyons, flats, hills, hollows, lakes, ledges, passes, and peaks have been paired with squaw, to fashion place from space, more creeks are so named than any other geographic



*A Maine Department of Transportation worker places a Big Squaw Township sign into storage in Greenville, Maine, in 2001 after enactment of a state law in Maine to remove the word “squaw” in public places. The word “squaw” has long been considered offensive by American Indians. (AP Photo/Robert F. Bukaty)*





feature. In addition to these seemingly innocent names, more overtly disturbing place names include Squaw Humper Creek (South Dakota), Squaw Teats (Montana and Wyoming), and Squaw Tit (Arizona, California, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, and Nevada).

## The Controversy

The contemporary movement to change place names bearing “squaw” began in Minnesota in 1994. After learning of the historical origins of the word, two Ojibwa adolescents, Angela Losh and Dawn Litzau, sought to remove the word from geographic features in the state. They recognized the word as an embarrassing and painful insult, best replaced in official inscriptions with words from local indigenous languages like Ojibwa. After much public debate and legislative hearings, Losh and Litzau succeeded in passing a law banning the word.

Building on this momentum, in 1996, a grassroots movement began in Arizona to change place names in the state. To achieve this end, a group of adolescent indigenous women, led by Delena Waddle (then a sophomore at Mesa High School), founded the American Indian Movement Youth Organization. As in Minnesota, pain, humiliation, and terror inspired Waddle. Although the young women encouraged a local church to change its name and provoked intense public debate, they did not achieve their objectives.

An unwillingness or inability to recognize the equality, autonomy, and dignity of indigenous peoples frustrated their efforts as they have those of state representative Jack Jackson, a Navajo (Dine), who has labored for the better part of a decade to change place names in Arizona. More recently, both Montana and Maine have passed legislation to remove “squaw” from places and features. Whereas in Montana, House Bill 412 passed with little debate or opposition, greater controversy accompanied the ultimately successful efforts of Passamaquoddy Representative Donald Soctomah in Maine.

Not all American Indians have supported efforts to erase “squaw” from the map. In fact, some see in “squaw” a strong validation of themselves as indigenous peoples. On reservations across the country, one can find cars bearing bumper stickers proclaiming “Squaw Power.” More central to the controversy over the place name, some American Indians, especially in recent debates in Maine, have suggested that “squaw” or some variation of it is an

element of many Native languages. Moreover, the presence of “squaw” on the map reflects indigenous occupation of an area, while preserving the prominence of Native nations within local histories. To remove it is to remove American Indians once more, enacting a kind of symbolic violence against them and their heritage. A better strategy, they contend, is to keep “squaw” as a place name and to educate Americans about what it really means, challenging their stereotypes about indigenous women and their communities. In some areas, “squaw” has been replaced with Native names in indigenous languages for places that once bore the name “squaw.”

For their part, most Americans do not understand how seemingly innocent symbols have become controversial. They balk at the idea of changing names, because too often they fail to grasp the offensiveness of the term or appreciate its history. When American Indians object to the continued use of “squaw,” many Euro-Americans have reacted negatively, even hostilely. They are likely to see it as trivial or even pointless. Consequently, “squaw” has provoked a charged backlash that simultaneously questions indigenous critics and their motives, while strongly defending traditional American values and identity.

The controversy over the use of “squaw” to name places is emblematic of the political and cultural resurgence of Native America. It is a forceful reminder of a long history of mistreatment of American Indians, particularly indigenous women, in the United States. It gives powerful testimony to a refusal to be named in the language of the colonizer and an insistence to have Native nations recognized as important participants in American society. Despite much progress over the past half century, as long as Euro-Americans continue to misappropriate and misunderstand indigenous peoples, place names and other symbols will be contentious.

*C. Richard King*

*See also* Language and Language Renewal; Mascots.

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## Trade

Before European colonization, Native American peoples carried on extensive trading relationships across North America. Unusual items, such as turquoise from New Mexico, found their way to the East Coast via trade routes that covered the continent (and often presaged the routes of modern interstate highways). Copper from Lake Superior and pipestone from Minnesota were carried, in some cases, many hundreds of miles from their sources. Aztec artifacts have been found along the U.S. Gulf of Mexico coast.

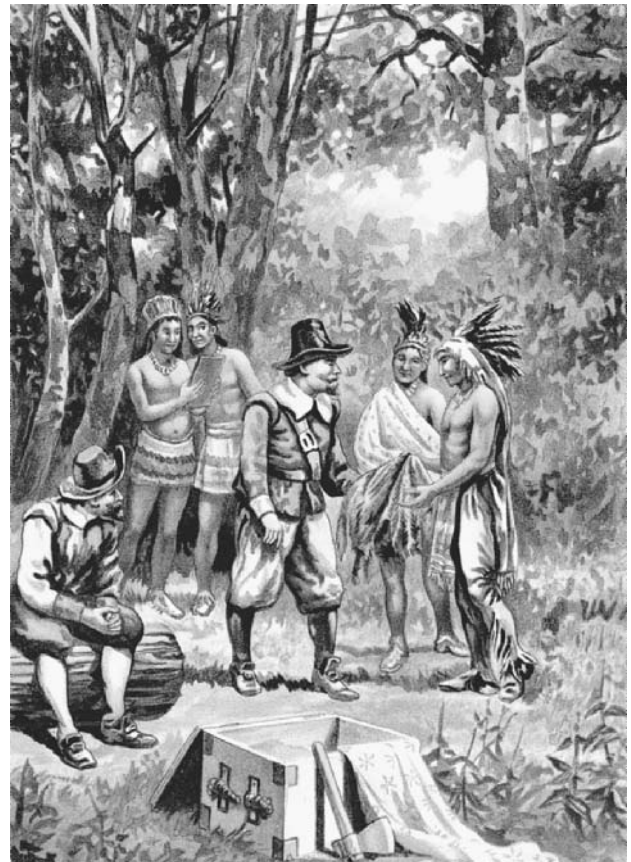
Trade patterns in North America seem to have been well formed as early as 2,300 years ago. The Adena and Hopewell cultures in what is now the U.S. Midwest traded for Lake Superior copper, Gulf of Mexico shells, and North Dakota flint. They used obsidian that originated in Wyoming's Yellowstone region, quartz from Arkansas, and silver from Canada. The following words by Bruce G. Trigger describing eastern North America, were true of the entire continent.

Eastern North America was . . . crisscrossed by exchange networks, many of which were of considerable antiquity. Trade across ecological boundaries sometimes involved staples, such as the surplus corn that the Hurons [Wyandots] traded with the Nipissings, and possibly with other Northern Algonquian peoples, in return for pelts and dried fish. Most trade, however, was in luxury items, including marine shells, copper, and fancy furs. Exotic cherts continued to be passed from one band to another throughout the boreal forests (1996, 329).

Following European contact, trade took on a more sinister cast, as vectors of disease often followed trade routes. The traders transported pathogens to their families along with trade goods. In a spiraling effect, Native people who had been

afflicted by disease often experienced a loss of income (for example, the fur trade in the Northeast, the deerskin trade in the Southeast), inhibiting their ability to purchase arms and ammunition and thus opening them to attack from others who had not suffered similarly. This dynamic, as well as the sheer population decline caused by trade-hastened disease, hugely impacted Native societies in North America.

As the European trade frontiers expanded, Native Americans in different regions both maintained precontact trade specializations and assumed new ones. Many groups in the Northeast specialized in guns and furs. Groups in what would later be called the U.S. Southwest specialized in the horse trade. Horses diffused northward mainly after Spanish settlement began in New Mexico after 1600, but some Native peoples, including the Pawnee, may have had access to them earlier than that. As early as the 1500s, some horses escaped Spanish



*Native Americans trade with the Dutch in New Netherland. Dutch colonial governor Peter Stuyvesant attempted to eliminate the unscrupulous trading practices of the Dutch colonists with the Native Americans. (Library of Congress)*





herds and bred wild in New Mexico and Texas. These were the "Indian ponies," averaging less than 1,000 pounds in weight and smaller than modern-day riding horses. These agile, fast horses were interbred with larger animals acquired from Spanish (and later Anglo-American) herds. The Pawnees especially became known as horse traders on the Plains.

At times, Native people who shared neighboring territories evolved symbiotic trade relationships. The Crows, for example, routinely produced a surplus of meat and other buffalo products that they traded to the Hidatsas for their surplus of agricultural products. Different segments of the same tribe or nation might also evolve symbiotic trade relationships. Certain bands of Cheyennes, for instance, specialized in various modes of economic production. For example, southern bands specialized in horse raiding, while central bands specialized in the making of buffalo robes. The northern bands usually had a surplus of trade goods, such as knives and kettles, from trade along the upper Missouri River. Whenever people from two different Cheyenne bands were married, ceremonies included substantial gift giving, which performed an economic function of redistributing goods for mutual benefit. (This was true for many North American Indian groups.)

While trade among Native peoples served the same material purposes as similar forms of exchange among non-Indians, trade was viewed by most Native Americans as something more than an economic exchange. Trade also cemented political alliances. In some Plains Native American cultures (the Hidatsa, for example), non-Indian traders were adopted ceremonially. Other links were created by traders' marriages to Native women. In trading relationships, bargaining often was not carried on directly in trade between Native people, who considered an argument over price as a breach of friendship. The consideration of a profit motive also was deemed uncouth in public. Trade was generally meant to be a mutually advantageous exchange of gifts.

Many Native peoples associated trade with the formation of a kinship bond. Among the Cheyennes, trade was accompanied by the "making of relatives." Influence accrued to the person with the largest network of "relatives" or "relations." Marriage was regarded as only one way of many that such a network could be built. European traders quickly learned Native customs of trade and

adapted them to their purposes. Because Indians valued reciprocity, Europeans found that generosity on their part often would be returned. The commercial traffic in furs often was carried on according to Native trading customs, just as early diplomacy in America often took place according to Native American protocols.

From a Native American point of view, much of the trade of the Plains was perceived to be reciprocal gift-giving in association with the calumet, or peace pipe. The calumet had been used for hundreds of years in rituals that enabled otherwise hostile peoples to meet and trade in peace. Lewis and Clark's journal explains the ritual: "The party delivering generally Confess their Errors and request a peace[;] the party receiving exult in their Suckcesses [sic] and receive the Sacred Stem" (Wishart, 1994, 32). Bows and arrows, skins, food, guns, and other "gifts" might then be exchanged.

The two most important European trade items during the first years of contact were probably guns (initially banned in most trading areas), horses, and manufactured goods that aided agriculture and hunting, such as metal hoes and knives. All of these items comprised the advance guard of the European-American cash economy. To purchase guns, ammunition, horses, and riding tack (among the many other trade items that came with time), Native American peoples needed a commodity to exchange, usually the skins of fur-bearing animals, such as beaver in the Northeast, deer in the South, and a variety of skins in the Southwest. Everywhere, food was an important commodity, largely because the colonists often were unwilling or unable to raise or hunt enough of it to sustain themselves.

Trade also brought metal kettles, linen shirts, blankets, spinning wheels, Italian glass beads, shoes, drills, and many other items to Native people. The fact that the Industrial Revolution began in England provided that country with the most extensive inventory of trade goods and had a major influence on swinging the balance of North American military power toward England, and away from France and Spain, by the mideighteenth century.

Native American people adopted European trade goods because they made life easier. Still, some treaty records indicate that many Native American leaders questioned whether trade goods should be accepted. For one thing, they made their people dependent on the immigrants and their cultures for manufactured goods that Native peoples





could not provide for themselves. As Indians adopted European manufactured goods, their own inventory of cultural and economic skills tended to decline. Another reason for the suspicion of non-Native trade goods was their association with misery. Not only did disease tend to follow trade routes, especially in the early years of contact and immediate precontact, but some of the imports, such as firearms, increased the level of violence in Native societies.

Nevertheless, because of trade, by the time of the American Revolution many Mohawks (in present-day upstate New York) had material living standards comparable to those of nearby European-Americans. Some of the Mohawks' Oneida neighbors, according to historian Colin Calloway, "lived in frame houses with chimneys and painted windows, ate with spoons from pewter plates, drank from teacups and punch bowls, combed their hair with ivory combs, used silk handkerchiefs, and wore white breeches" (1997, 46). The Cherokees, in a material sense, were living much like their non-Indian neighbors before they were expelled from their homelands on the Trail of Tears in the late 1830s, largely due to the influences of trade.

Human beings were an important trading commodity among Europeans and some Native peoples. Early Spanish explorers traveled in America planning to take slaves. When De Soto's expedition arrived in Florida, they brought leg irons and metal collars linked with chains for the express purpose of conveying Indian slaves along their line of march. After the Pequot War in 1675, Massachusetts colonists sold their prisoners into slavery in the West Indies. The Spanish at about the same time were shipping their prisoners of war to Cuba as slaves. The Apaches greatly enhanced their diets by raiding Spanish settlements and missions for cattle, mules, and horses. The Spanish retaliated by capturing Apaches and selling them as slaves, most of whom were compelled to work in Spanish mines. Any Apache was game for enslavement, even those who had come to trade or who had converted to Christianity.

In 1704, South Carolinians under Colonel James Moore united with Indian allies and invaded northern Florida, which was under Spanish control, razing fourteen missions and capturing about 1,000 people who were taken home as slaves. In 1708, about 1,400 slaves of Native American descent—a quarter of total slaves in the colony—were listed in a South Carolina census. In 1726,

French Louisiana listed 229 Indian slaves and 1,540 black slaves. Pawnees were captured so often that the word "Panis" became a synonym for "slave" in the language of the French colonies. Virtually all of those known as Panis were captured first by other Indians and then traded to the English or French.

The slave trade sometimes became entwined with trade in horses. Having acquired horses in the early nineteenth century, the Klamaths raided Shasta and Pit River Indian villages in northern California, acquiring slaves who were traded at The Dalles, in present-day Oregon, for more horses and trade goods. With the advent of the fur trade in that area, non-Indians also became involved in the regional slave trade, typically using Native people for barter along with other "commodities." Russians colonizing present-day Alaska were occasionally taken as slaves, as were a few Japanese fishermen whose boats drifted too near the coast.

The trading markets of The Dalles were part of a commercial system maintained by the Chinooks along the lower Columbia River. Native people from as far away as Hawaii sometimes changed hands at The Dalles slave markets, where canoes and blankets, as well as horses, were the favored items of exchange. Some of the treaties signed by Isaac Stevens in Washington territory contained legal prohibitions of slavery, an indication that the practice was economically significant at the time. The clauses in question specifically referenced Native American slavery. After the Civil War, agents of the U.S. government actively tried to suppress the Native American slave trade, causing slave prices to rise. In 1830, the going rate for a young, healthy, male slave in The Dalles market was about ten blankets. Within a few decades, the Haida were paying up to 200 blankets per slave.

Into the 1860s, Native Americans who had been picked up by the Los Angeles police were "sold" to local farmers and ranchers as day labor. In 1850 and 1860, the newly established state of California enacted laws that allowed for Indian "apprenticeship," a state-approved form of near-slavery by which property owners could obtain the labor of as many Native young people as they wished, on stipulation that they feed and clothe them, and treat them "humanely." The measure was promoted as a means of teaching the Indians "civilized" habits. A debate rose over the terms of the laws, which in effect made several thousand Indian young people indentured servants at the same time that California had been admitted to the United States as a "free"





state. In the 1850s, the “standard price for the Red-skin” was said to be about \$50. The indenture law was repealed in 1863 (as part of the nationwide Civil War debate over slavery), but illegal kidnappings and sales of Indians continued through at least the 1870s, although at a reduced rate. Travel literature sometimes drew the attention of potential immigrants to the advantages of free Indian labor, which was not available in other states.

While some Indian groups traded in slaves, most Native American nations traditionally did not hold slaves as part of their societies. An exception was the peoples of the Northwest Coast culture area, whose nobility held slaves. Slave labor became so important in Tlingit society that women did little or no work. At puberty, an upper-class Tlingit woman was sent into seclusion lasting from four months to a year. The longer the period of seclusion, the higher the person’s rank and the greater the necessity of having slaves to attend to one’s everyday needs. A woman in seclusion was not allowed to engage in any economically productive activity.

Slaves were important commodities in the social economy of the Tlingit. Slaves might be killed or freed to give family and clan “crests” ceremonial value. Slaves were more often freed than killed, however; freed slaves (often captives from other villages) could then assume important positions in Tlingit society, sometimes because of their talents as carvers, dancers, or sorcerers. A skilled slave had some leverage in Tlingit society, and several families might vie for his or her services. In the richest villages, slaves were said to make up a third of the population; the richest of chiefs might own fifty slaves of both sexes. Slaves had no rights and owned nothing except their ability to work.

Some male slaves among the Makah were initiated into the Klukwali (or Wolf) society; during its ceremonies, they participated as equals with nobles and commoners. Members of this secret society also could lodge complaints against each other and discuss grievances regardless of social rank or class, thus allowing some degree of accountability and equality in what was otherwise a very rigid class system.

Indians living around Puget Sound were prime targets of their slave-raiding neighbors to the north, with the Makahs (some of whom held slaves themselves) notable as middlemen in the coastal slave trade. Occasionally, the Puget Sound tribes struck back. In 1810, Chief Sea’t’h’l (Seattle) gained influ-

ence among his people, the Duwamish (who lived on the site of the present-day city of Seattle), by leading warriors against tribes in the foothills of the Cascades who had taken some of his people as slaves.

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*See also* Fur Trade; Hudson’s Bay Company; Paleo-Indians; Seattle; Slavery and Native Americans; Trade and Intercourse Acts.

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## Treaty Diplomacy, with Summary of Selected Treaties

According to Francisco de Vitoria's 1532 opinion that defined a doctrine of discovery for European nations, one of two ways in which European nations could legally gain title to land from Native American nations was by treaty, a consensual agreement of willing parties. The other was through "just" war. Native nations often signed treaties as an alternative to wars of attrition that could prove even more devastating than the cession of their land.

Provisions in the treaties negotiated between Indian bands and nations and the United States varied widely, but most of them contained similar elements: a guarantee that both sides would keep the peace, a marking of boundaries between Indian and non-Indian lands, a statement that the signatory Indians were placing themselves under the "protection" of the United States, and a definition of Indian fishing and hunting rights (often applied to ceded land). Many treaties also regulated travel by non-Indians on Indian land and contained provisions to punish non-Indians who committed crimes on Indian land and Indians who committed offenses against non-Indians.

The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Washington v. Washington State Commercial Passenger Fishing Vessel Association* (1979), characterized a treaty between the federal government and a Native American government as "essentially a contract between two sovereign nations." The treaties have been generally held to reserve to Native American governments powers not relinquished to the United States, just as the Tenth Amendment reserves to the states powers not delegated to the U.S. government by the Constitution. According to legal scholars Russel Barsh and James Henderson, these agreements between Native American governments and the federal government are "something more than 'treaties' as they are understood in international law. They are political compacts irrevocably annexing tribes to the federal system in a status parallel to, but not identical with, that of the states" (1980, 270–271). This is an Anglo-American point of view. A Native view probably would accentuate the value of treaties as alliances.

The U.S. Constitution (art. VI, cl. 2) holds that "all Treaties made . . . shall be the Supreme Law of the Land." On that basis, the United States, individual states, or corporations entered into more than 800 treaties with Native Americans between 1778

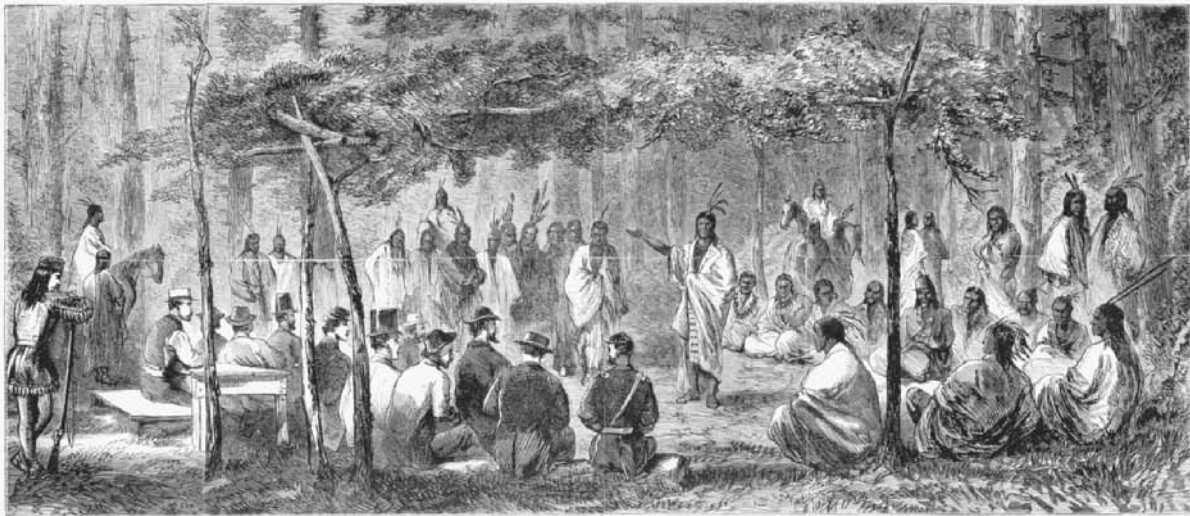
(with the Delawares) and 1871, when Congress halted any future formal treaty making. Only 371 of these treaties were ratified by the Senate. Even after 1871, executive branch commissions continued to sign treaties with Indian governments until 1914, when the last agreement of this type was signed with the Ute Mountain Utes. These instruments were called "agreements," not "treaties" when presented to Congress.

Treaties have been the most frequent sources of litigation in Indian law. According to legal scholar Charles F. Wilkinson, "These laws are unique in our jurisprudence, for they set aside territory within the United States for self-government, subject to federal supervision, by sovereigns that are both pre-constitutional and extra-constitutional."

Although the term "treaty" carries connotations of diplomatic solemnity and equality, many of the treaties were negotiated under less than agreeable conditions, especially after 1800, when, in the opinion of Vine Deloria, Jr., "The treaty process was allowed to deteriorate from a sacred pledge of faith between nations to a series of quasi-fraudulent real-estate transactions" (1985, 110). Before 1800, the balance of power between immigrant Europeans and Native Americans sometimes partially restrained abuses, although even during the early years of the British colonies and the United States, treaty records indicate that negotiations were liberally lubricated with liquor. Treaties were always written in English and presented to Indian people who did not understand that written language, much less Euro-American concepts of land ownership and centralized governmental regulation, even after the (often questionable) intercession of translators.

Even when Native Americans did have a fair understanding of what they were signing, the Senate sometimes unilaterally changed treaty provisions before ratification. Moreover, treaties were often concluded with Native "leaders" who had been recruited by treaty commissioners who failed to realize that the leaders and the treaties had little or no support among the people of the nation being represented as the contracting party. During negotiations for the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty (sometimes called the Horse Creek Treaty), for instance, the U.S. representatives insisted that the Sioux designate one leader to speak for all of them. This not being their custom, the Sioux refused, after which the U.S. negotiators designated Conquering Bear as the Sioux leader without the consent of the people he was sup-





*U.S. peace commissioners meet with Kiowa and Comanche at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1867. The Indian Peace Commission Act of 1867 had established a delegation of peace commissioners to confer with Native Americans who were waging war against the United States. (Library of Congress)*

posed to be leading. The problem was compounded three years later when Conquering Bear was killed by U.S. Army troops during the Grattan fight near Fort Laramie. The Sioux had a great deal of trouble comprehending why the United States had killed the chief whom it had earlier handpicked as the supposed “leader.”

In some cases, errors of large magnitude were made during treaty negotiations. In 1868, for example, the Treaty of Fort Laramie granted the Sioux land in northern present-day Nebraska that had long been occupied by the Poncas. The Sioux, traditional enemies of the Poncas, fully approved of the U.S. Army’s intervention to force the Poncas off their land and into exile in Indian Territory, later called Oklahoma. This mistake in treaty negotiation gave rise to a long march homeward by Standing Bear and other Poncas, which in turn created the conditions that caused a landmark case to be brought in Omaha during 1879 under which Stand-

ing Bear and his party were held to be “human beings” under U.S. law, able to legally return to their homeland. After several decades of bureaucratic battling, the Poncas finally reacquired some of the land taken from them by the error in the Treaty of Fort Laramie.

Judge George Boldt, in *U.S. v. Washington* (1974), pointed out that treaty negotiations in the Pacific Northwest often were carried out in three languages—English, Chinook (a trade jargon with limited vocabulary), and a Native language. The use of Chinook severely limited both parties’ ability to communicate complex concepts. Because of the disadvantages at which treaty making often placed Indians, the Supreme Court has held that treaties should be construed as the Indians would have understood them (*Tulee v. Washington*, 315 U.S. 681, 684–85 [1942]). Treaties, according to Supreme Court rules of construction, are also to be interpreted to accomplish their protective purposes, according to





legal scholar William S. Canby, Jr., with ambiguities to be resolved in favor of the Indians (*Carpenter v. Shaw*, 280 U.S. 363 [1930]).

### The Iroquois Influence on Treaty Diplomacy

Between the midseventeenth century and the end of the nineteenth century, the Haudenosaunee negotiated more than 100 treaties with English (later United States) representatives. Until about 1800, most of these treaties were negotiated according to Haudenosaunee protocol. By the mideighteenth century, this protocol was well established as the *lingua franca* of diplomacy in Northeastern North America. As such, an alliance was adopted and maintained using certain rituals.

Initial contacts between negotiating parties usually were made “at the edge of the forest,” on neutral ground, where an agenda and a meeting place and time could be agreed on. Following the “approach to the council fire” (the place of negotiation), a Condolence Ceremony was recited to remember those who had died on both sides since the last meeting. A designated party kindled the council fire at the beginning of negotiations and extinguished it at the end. A council was called for a specific purpose (such as the making of peace) that could not be changed once the council was convened. Representatives from both sides spoke in a specified order. No important actions were taken until at least one night had elapsed since the matter’s introduction before the council. The passage of time was said to allow the various members of the council to attain unanimity—“one mind”—necessary for the consensual solution of a problem.

Wampum belts or strings were exchanged when an important point was made or an agreement reached. Acceptance of a belt was taken to mean agreement on an issue. A belt also might be refused or thrown aside to indicate rejection of a proposal. Another metaphor that was used throughout many of the councils was that of the Covenant Chain, a symbol of alliance. If proceedings were going well and consensus was being reached on major issues, the chain (which was often characterized as being made of silver) was described as being “polished” or “shined.” If agreement was not being reached, the chain was said to be “rusting.”

During treaty negotiations, a speaker was generally allowed to complete a statement without interruption, according to Haudenosaunee protocol, which differs markedly with the cacophony of

debate in European forums such as the British House of Commons. Often European representatives expressed consternation when carefully planned schedules were cast aside so that everyone (warriors as well as their leaders) could express an opinion on an important issue. Many treaties were attended by large parties of Iroquois, each of whom could, in theory, claim a right to speak.

The host of a treaty council was expected to supply tobacco for the common pipe, as well as refreshments (usually alcoholic in nature) to extinguish the sour taste of tobacco smoking. Gifts often were exchanged and great feasts held during the proceedings, which sometimes were attended by entire Haudenosaunee families. A treaty council could last several days even under the most agreeable of circumstances. If major obstacles were encountered in negotiations, a council could extend for two weeks or longer, sometimes for as long as a month. A main treaty council was often accompanied by several smaller ones, during which delegates with common interests met to discuss problems that concerned them. Usually, historical accounts record only the proceedings of the main body, leaving out the many important side conferences, which, in the diplomatic language of the time, were often said to have been held “in the bushes.”

Treaty councils were conducted in a ritualistic manner to provide common points of understanding between representatives who otherwise were separated by barriers of language and cultural interpretation. The abilities of a good interpreter who was trusted by both sides (an example was Conrad Weiser in the mideighteenth century) could greatly influence the course of negotiations. Whether they knew the Iroquois and Algonquian languages or not, Anglo-American negotiators had to be on speaking terms with the metaphors of Iroquois protocol, such as the council fire, condolence, the tree of peace, and many others.

Haudenosaunee treaty relations, including trading relationships, were characterized in terms of kinship, hospitality, and reciprocity, over and above commercial or diplomatic interests. Non-Natives could find this protocol irksome. The Dutch, in particular, seemed easily annoyed when they were forced to deal with trade relationships based on anything other than commerce. They, as well as other Europeans, seemed not to understand that, to the Iroquois, trade was conceived as part of a broader social relationship. The Mohawks in their turn seemed to resent the attitude of the Dutch negotia-





tors. In September 1659, a party of Mohawks complained that “The Dutch, indeed, say we are brothers and are joined together with chains, but that lasts only as long as we have beavers. After that, we are no longer thought of, but much will depend on it [the alliance] when we shall need each other” (Dennis, 1993, 171).

From the first sustained contact with Europeans, shortly after 1600, until the end of the French and Indian War (1763), the Haudenosaunee Confederacy utilized diplomacy to maintain a balance of power in Northeastern North America between the colonizing British and French. This use of diplomacy and alliances to play one side off against the other reached its height shortly after 1700, during the period that Richard Aquila called the Iroquois Restoration (Aquila, 1983, 16–17). This period was followed by an “alliance” of most Haudenosaunee with the British and the eventual defeat of the French. (However, the word “alliance” is only the non-Native term. The Onondaga fire was covered in 1777, an act that allowed each individual to make a decision independent of national intent. Thus the traditionals maintain that the confederacy’s nations remained out of the war.)

By this time, alcohol was playing an increasingly devastating role in Iroquois society, a fact emphasized by the many requests for restrictions on the liquor trade by Haudenosaunee leaders at treaty councils and other meetings. Aquila wrote: “Sachems complained that alcohol deprived the Iroquois people of their senses, was ruining their lives, and was used by traders to cheat them out of their furs and lands. The Iroquois were not exaggerating. The French priest Lafitau reported in 1718 that when the Iroquois and other Indians became intoxicated they went completely berserk, screaming like madmen and smashing everything in their homes” (Aquila, 1983, 115). After 1763, the Haudenosaunee were no longer able to play the French and the English against each other. Instead, the Iroquois faced pressure to ally with Native peoples to their west against the English. Many Senecas sided with Pontiac against the English in 1763 and 1764.

Today, some members of the Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Grand Council travel the world on their own national passports. The passport states that it has been issued by the Grand Council of the League of the Haudenosaunee and that the Haudenosaunee continue as a sovereign people on the soil they have occu-

pied on Turtle Island since time immemorial and extend friendship to all who recognize their constitutional government and who desire peaceful relations. The passports were first issued in 1977 to Haudenosaunee delegates who attended a meeting of the United Nations in Switzerland. Since then, the United States, Holland, Canada, Switzerland, Holland, France, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Italy, Libya, Turkey, Australia, Great Britain, New Zealand, Iran, and Colombia have been among the nations that have recognized the Haudenosaunee documents. Even so, it takes a talented travel agent to get a visa on an Iroquois passport, because formal diplomatic relations often do not exist between the country recognizing the document and the Haudenosaunee Grand Council.

### **Treaties, Specific Agreements and Provisions**

The following is a brief, annotated tour of some of the major Indian–American treaties. Each treaty is a story in and of itself.

#### ***Lancaster (Pennsylvania) Treaty (1744)***

This important treaty attempted to set boundaries between Indian and non-Indian settlements, and required permission for non-Indians to visit Indian Country or vice versa. Both parties were granted the right to punish intruders under their own laws. The Iroquois negotiated this treaty with Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia; it concerned lands within the present-day boundaries of West Virginia. At the Lancaster Treaty, Canassatego, the tadadaho (speaker) of the Iroquois Confederacy, advised the colonists to unite on a federal model resembling the Iroquois system.

#### ***Treaty with the Delaware Tribe (1778) (7 Stat. 13–15)***

The first treaty signed by the United States as a national entity guaranteed the territory of the Delaware Nation, and opened the possibility that it might join the Union as a state.

Article IV of this treaty directed that neither party may punish citizens of the other party until “a fair and impartial trial can be had by judges and juries of both parties, as near as can be to the laws, customs, and usages of the contracting parties and natural justice.” This idea of joint justice was terminated early in the nineteenth century by the Major Crimes Act.





***Treaty with the Wyandots, et al. (1785)*  
(7 Stat. 16–18)**

This treaty contained a clause that forbade illegal non-Indian settlement on reserved lands and said that any person establishing such settlement “shall forfeit the protection of the United States, and the Indians may punish him as they please.” The treaty also contained a clause saying that any Indian who “shall commit a robbery or murder on any citizen of the United States” would be delivered to the nearest U.S. Army post and dealt with under U.S. law.

***Treaty of Hopewell (1785) (7 Stat. 18–21)***

After the Cherokees sided with the British during the Revolutionary War, that nation demanded a separate treaty with the United States. The Cherokees refused to recognize the British surrender at Yorktown or the Treaty of Paris. Mutual demobilization was included in the Treaty of Hopewell (1785).

The Hopewell treaty also provided that illegal non-Indian squatters on Cherokee lands must move out within six months or “such person will forfeit the protection of the United States and the Indians may punish him or not as they please.” A year later, however, the Shawnee Treaty of 1786 (7 Stat. 26) required that Indians accused of crimes against non-Indians be delivered to the nearest Army post. The same rule was applied to European-Americans accused of wronging Indians.

The Cherokee treaty, like the one negotiated with the Delawares seven years earlier, opened the possibility of their admission to the United States: “That the Indians may have full confidence in the justice of the United States, respecting their interests, they shall have the right to send a deputy of their choice, whenever they think fit, to Congress.

***Treaty of Holston (1791) (7 Stat. 39–42)***

Negotiated with the Cherokees after the Treaty of Hopewell (1785) was violated, the terms of the Holston Treaty forced them to relinquish much of the subsequently formed states of Kentucky and Tennessee, in exchange for \$1,500 worth of goods per year, or a fraction of a penny per acre.

***Jay Treaty (1794) (7 Stat. 47–48[?])***

Among other provisions, this treaty allowed for the free passage by Iroquois across the United States–Canadian border. This was not an agreement between Indians and whites, but between the United

States and Great Britain. In 1968, Mohawks at Akwesasne, which straddles the border, protested the denial of free passage by Canadian officials. Mohawks blockaded the Cornwall International Bridge, and several were arrested, after which they pressed their treaty claims in Canadian courts until charges were dropped.

***Treaty of Canandaigua:*  
*See Canandaigua (Pickering) Treaty.***

***Treaty of Greenville (Ohio, 1795) (7 Stat. 49–54)***

The Greenville Treaty involved the Miami Confederacy, Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandots, Chippewas, Potawatomis, and Ottawas, and ceded much of present-day Ohio to the United States following the Indians’ defeat by “Mad Anthony” Wayne at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Prior to that defeat, the Indian alliance had inflicted more than 800 fatalities on Army units commanded by Major General Anthony St. Clair, the largest battlefield defeat (in terms of deaths) in the history of westward expansion.

***Treaty of Mount Dexter (1805) (7 Stat. 98–100)***

This treaty, negotiated with the Choctaws, was notable for the penny-pinching amounts paid by the United States for 4.1 million acres of land in southern Mississippi and southwestern Alabama. The Choctaws were paid \$3,000 for the land, or less than a penny an acre.

***Treaty Between the Cherokee Nation and the United States (1817) (7 Stat. 156–160)***

Provisions for the “removal”—the relocation of entire Indian nations from areas about to be settled by non-Indians—were first laid down in this 1817 treaty between the United States and the Cherokee Nation. By 1830, the federal government had passed general removal legislation.

***Treaty of Indian Springs (1825) (7 Stat. 237–40)***

The Creeks had become concerned about non-Indian usurpation of their lands by 1818, when the Muscogee (Creek) nation passed a law against the sale of any Creek land without council approval, under penalty of death. In 1825, federal treaty commissioners bribed William McIntosh, leader of the Creek Lower Towns, along with a few of his close associates, to sign a land cession treaty, the Treaty of Indian Springs. The Creek National Council





declared McIntosh to be a traitor and on May 1, 1825, sent a delegation to torch his house. When McIntosh appeared at the door of his burning home, his body was riddled with bullets. The fraudulent treaty was annulled by the United States, but the Creeks were coerced into signing two other treaties (both commonly referred to as the Treaty of Washington), by which they were forced, in the 1830s, to cede their homelands and move, under the provisions of the Removal Act of 1830, to Indian Territory, later called Oklahoma.

***Treaty at Prairie du Chien (1825)***  
**(7 Stat. 272–277)**

This treaty was negotiated between the United States and the Menominees, Sioux, Sac and Fox, Ottawas, and Chippewas, as well as the Ioways and Winnebagoes. A major object of the treaty was cease of inter-tribal warfare.

***Treaty with the Choctaws (1830)***  
**(7 Stat. 333–342)**

This treaty, negotiated at Dancing Rabbit Creek, was the first negotiated under the Removal Act of 1830. As in most of the removal treaties, the government assured the Indians that they would have wide-ranging control over territory and resources in their new homes. For example, the treaty pledged that: “. . . jurisdiction and government of all persons and property that may be within their limits west, so that no Territory or State shall ever have the right to pass laws for the government of the Choctaw nation . . . and that no part of the land granted to them shall ever be embraced in any Territory or State.”

***Treaty of New Echota (1835) (7 Stat. 478–488)***

This treaty implemented the Removal Act of 1830 for the Cherokees.

***Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848)***  
**(9 Stat. 922–930)**

This is not an Indian treaty per se, but it did affect many people who were either Indian or of Indian descent.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ended a three-month war between the United States and Mexico in 1846, after which Mexico was forced to cede almost half its land area, including all or part of the subsequently established states of California, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, and

Wyoming. Under this treaty, the United States acquired 334.4 million acres, or 552,568 square miles of land area.

Article XIII of this treaty extended American citizenship to all residents of the area, including American Indians, a provision that conflicted with U.S. policy in the rest of the country at the time, as well as with court cases such as *Elk v. Wilkins*, which denied Indians citizenship, including voting rights.

***Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851) (11 Stat. 749n)***

More than 10,000 Plains Indians—among them Lakotas, Araphahos, Crows, Cheyennes, Arikaras, Assiniboines, Hidastas, and Mandans—took part in the largest treaty-related gathering in American history near Fort Laramie, Wyoming. In a conference lasting eighteen days, U.S. treaty commissioners and Native leaders agreed to exchange \$50,000 (\$1 per year per person represented by the treaty) for fifty years to allow the United States to construct military posts and roads through the upper Midwest. When the Senate ratified the treaty, it unilaterally reduced the payment to \$15,000 a year. The peace wrought by this treaty was short-lived; by 1854 friction between Indians and European-American immigrants sparked the Plains Indian wars.

***Treaty of Fort Atkinson (1853) (10 Stat. 1013–17)***

The Yamparika band of Comanches, the Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches signed the Treaty of Fort Atkinson, which allowed the United States to build roads through their hunting grounds. The United States also was permitted under this treaty to build forts along the Santa Fe Trail and to protect non-Indians traveling the route. The Indians agreed to make restitution for injuries to U.S. citizens. The United States also promised to compensate injuries by its citizens to Indians who were party to the treaty.

***Treaty with the Oto and Missouri Indians (1854) (10 Stat. 1130–31; 11 Stat. 605–6)***

This was one of several treaties negotiated with Native peoples in the Kansas and Nebraska territories by Commissioner of Indian Affairs George W. Manypenny. These treaties were probably the first to contain clauses for the allotment of land to individual Indians, a measure that was enacted nationwide in the General Allotment Act of 1887.





***Treaty of Medicine Creek (1854) (10 Stat. 1132–37)***

This treaty ceded large parts of present-day western Washington. In exchange for relinquishing the land, Native people in the area retained “the right of taking fish, at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations . . . in common with all citizens of the Territory. . . .” This treaty was the basis of Judge George Boldt’s opinion in *United States v. Washington* (1974) that Indians of the area were entitled to a fair share of the catch, an amount later defined judicially as up to 50 percent.

The Treaty of Medicine Creek was one of many negotiated by territorial governor Isaac Stevens by which the United States acquired most of the Pacific Northwest. Most of the negotiations were exceptionally heavy-handed and hurried. On one occasion, in a treaty signed June 11, 1855, Stevens promised Indian signatories that lands guaranteed to them would not be invaded by non-Indians and then announced them open for settlement only twelve days later. Stevens’s diplomatic indiscretions sparked the Yakima War, which reached across the Cascades westward to Seattle.

***The Treaty of Hell Gate (1855) (12 Stat. 975–79)***

This treaty reserved 1.25 million acres in northwestern Montana for the Salish and Kootenai. Over the years, the reservation drew considerable numbers of non-Indians because of its rich farmland and scenic mountains. The reservation was allotted in the late nineteenth century. By the time the land claim case was adjudicated, non-Natives owned more than half the land and later comprised 81 percent of the area’s residents.

***The Treaty with the Creeks and Seminoles (1856) (11 Stat. 699–707)***

The 1856 Treaty with the Creeks and Seminoles pledged “secure and unrestricted self-government and full jurisdiction over persons and property, within their respective limits.”

***Treaty of Little Arkansas (1865) (14 Stat. 699–711)***

Signed by the United States with the southern Cheyennes and Arapahos, this treaty contained an apology for the Sand Creek Massacre against the two Indian nations on November 29, 1864: “The United States, being desirous to express its condemnation of, and as far as may be, repudiate the

gross and wanton outrages perpetuated against certain bands of Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians . . . while the said Indians were at peace by lawful authority. . . .”

***Treaty with the Creeks (1866) (14 Stat. 785–92)***

Following the onset of the Civil War in 1861, the Creeks signed a treaty with the Confederate States of America. In 1866, following the end of that war, this treaty was negotiated with the Creeks by the Seneca Ely S. Parker, who had been General U. S. Grant’s secretary and who wrote the articles of surrender ending the Civil War. The treaty of 1866 reestablished relations between the Creeks and the United States.

***Treaty of Medicine Lodge (1867) (15 Stat. 581–87)***

This treaty with the Cheyennes and Arapahos contained among its provisions a pledge of compensation for victims of the Sand Creek massacre. The payments were never made because the Department of the Army considered the attack a battle (e.g., an act of war by the Cheyennes). At the same time, a House of Representatives investigating committee called the killings at Sand Creek a massacre.

***Fort Laramie Treaty (1868) (15 Stat., 619–27; 635–47)***

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 ended the Powder River War, during which Red Cloud and other Sioux leaders forced the United States to abandon its forts along the Bozeman Trail. In this treaty, the United States recognized the Great Sioux Nation as including most of the western half of present-day South Dakota. The treaty guaranteed that no unauthorized person “shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in [this] country.”

The Black Hills, called *paha sapa* (“hills that are black”) by the Sioux, were included as reservation land under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. An expedition led by George Armstrong Custer found rich deposits of gold and other minerals in the Black Hills during 1874, and the discovery sparked a rush of non-Indian settlement there.

The Treaty of Fort Laramie validated land transfers only if approved by three-fourths of the adult men of the Sioux nation. U.S. treaty commissioners attempting to acquire the Black Hills were able to get only 10 percent of the Sioux men to agree. Nonetheless, Congress seized the Black Hills unilaterally in 1877.





In 1920, the Sioux brought a complaint before the U.S. Court of Claims, which upheld the 1877 seizure. After the Indian Claims Commission was founded in 1946, the Sioux sought to reintroduce the claim, but it was barred because of the earlier review as a matter of *res judicata*. In 1978, the Sioux obtained the passage of a special act of Congress that allowed them to bring the case to the Court of Claims again, to be argued on its merits despite the earlier judgment of *res judicata*. In this case, the Supreme Court held that the United States had acted in bad faith in the matter, vindicating the Sioux's decades of legal perseverance.

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 also mistakenly awarded the Sioux land that was occupied by the Poncas, their traditional enemies. To enforce the treaty, the U.S. Army forced the Poncas to march to Oklahoma from their homelands along the Niobrara River in northern Nebraska during 1877. Following the death of his son, Ponca Chief Standing Bear decided to march back to his homeland for the burial; a number of Poncas joined him. This march gave rise to a suit heard in Omaha during 1879 in which District Court Judge Elmer S. Dundy held that Indians were subject to the English common law practice of *habeas corpus*. Therefore, the Army could not compel their return to Oklahoma.

### ***Treaty with the Nez Percé (1871)*** **(15 Stat. 693–95)**

This was the last Indian treaty ratified by the Senate.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Canandaigua (Pickering) Treaty; *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Fishing Rights; Fort Laramie Treaty (of 1868); Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Treaty Councils; *Standing Bear v. Crook*; Trade; Trade and Intercourse Acts; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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## **Tribal Sovereignty**

To understand the concept of tribal sovereignty, one needs to couple a basic understanding of sovereignty with a recognition that tribal sovereignty is not a static concept, but one that varies over time at the whim of Congress and the Supreme Court. Basically, sovereignty is the authority under which any group of people is ruled. Throughout history, sovereignty has ranged from vast empires with sovereignty vested in the emperor, monarch, or religious leader, to republics with sovereignty vested in the people and to independent tribal groups with sovereignty vested in unique social organizations. Although the traditional Euro-American legal concept of sovereignty is rooted in Western philosophy emerging from the Middle Ages, the very concept of sovereignty is universally associated with the human need to organize social groups, including governments.

Upon arrival in the Americas, Europeans encountered a wide variety of social groups organized into self-governing sovereign states and empires. The scale of social and political organization rivaled that of Europe, as did the population. However, within 200 years of European arrival, disease and war would eliminate approximately 95 percent of the Native population in North and South America. Such massive destruction severely strained the social and political fabric of cultural groups throughout both continents. In North America, the remnants of many different peoples coalesced into the modern tribes that we know today—peoples exercising the basic human drive to reform sovereign governments under which to rule themselves.

Native American sovereignty derives from the legal concepts applied by European colonizing powers to the Native peoples who were thousands of years old when Europeans first arrived in the Americas. Rooted deep in canon law, the concepts sought





to justify the extension of Christian authority over non-Christian peoples during the Crusades. Under these original concepts, only a ruler who received his power directly from the “true Christian God” through the sovereignty of the Pope possessed a legitimate claim to rule. European rulers therefore sought papal authorization for the conquest of “discovered” peoples under the premise that conquest would bring those “discovered” under the legitimate authority of a government recognized and sanctioned by the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, tribal sovereignty was inherently viewed by Europeans as something less than European sovereignty and subject to the doctrine of discovery.

In 1433, the king of Portugal gained exclusive rights to colonize the Canary Islands and all of Africa. The papal edict, binding on the other Christian monarchs of the time, justified the European expansion in the name of bringing salvation to non-believers. With a Portuguese monopoly in Africa,

Spain looked westward for a shorter route to the Indies. In contracting with Christopher Columbus, the Spanish crown empowered Columbus with royal authority to discover and conquer non-Christian lands. Upon word of the “discovery” of the lands now known as the Americas occupied by non-Christian peoples, the pope issued a series of edicts investing Spain with title to the “discovered” lands. Until the Reformation, few Christian European monarchs would risk excommunication by interfering with such title.

Under original Spanish legal theory, Native peoples were provided the opportunity to accept the power of the Church through the pope and the legitimacy of the Spanish crown or face conquest. However, within forty years of Spanish arrival in the Americas, Spanish legal theorist Franciscus de Victoria developed the basic legal principles for the treatment of indigenous populations that serve even today as the foundations of modern international



*After the first transatlantic crossing, Christopher Columbus lands in the Caribbean. In contracting with Christopher Columbus, the Spanish crown authorized Columbus with royal authority to discover and conquer non-Christian lands. (National Archives)*





law. Victoria espoused three important concepts: (1) Native Americans were rational creatures and therefore possessed the same rights as Christians; (2) Spanish title under a papal grant was illegitimate and therefore could not terminate Native American land rights; and (3) Christian nations could justify conquest based on transgressions against the Law of Nations.

Under Victoria's theories, Native peoples possessed the title to their lands. This title was subject, however, to certain duties such as safe passage for the Spanish through their lands under the concept of "natural society and fellowship." Victoria also advanced that, since Native Americans might not fully comprehend the requirements of the European Law of Nations, that they be placed under the guardianship of a "civilized nation." Further, the interference by Native American sovereigns with the spread of Christianity could justify the conquest of new territory.

Early British legal theory in North America closely followed that of Spain, citing religion as a justification for the European colonization. In fact, Puritan theory even cited divine intervention as the reason that Native American populations plummeted, leaving large areas open for European occupancy. Regardless of this theory of religious rights to Native American lands, the European colonizers found purchases of land through treaties with Native Americans more efficient than conquest in terms of money, effort, and human lives. Such purchases were based on three underlying assumptions: (1) Both parties possessed the sovereign authority to enter into the treaty; (2) the Native American sovereign possessed legal title transferable to the European sovereign; and (3) land acquisition was solely a sovereign-to-sovereign matter—individuals could not enter into such arrangements.

Land acquisition for European powers, and later for the newly formed United States, played a major role in the development and acknowledgment of tribal sovereignty. In fact, land acquisition restrictions on Indian land by the British crown even played a role in the creation of the new American sovereign. Upon securing independence, Indian land issues helped shape the powers of the centralized federal government and resulted in the Indian Commerce Clause of the United States Constitution.

Indian land issues formed the underlying question that first formalized the concept of tribal sovereignty in American legal thought. The U.S. Supreme Court first addressed tribal sovereignty in

the 1823 case of *Johnson v. M'Intosh*. Chief Justice John Marshall confronted the task of determining the validity of tribal land sales to individuals rather than to the U.S. government or its sovereign predecessor, Britain. Further complicating this issue, the sale by the tribal government occurred before passage of the Trade and Non-Intercourse Act of 1790, which statutorily confined any land transfer by an Indian tribe to only the federal government. The creation of the entire national public domain and consistency in land titles depended on the analysis in this case.

To establish such title consistency, Chief Justice Marshall needed to establish both the legitimacy of Indian land title and the centralized federal power to negotiate and accomplish the transfer of title. Marshall used the medieval doctrine of discovery to justify both concepts. Marshall reasoned that "discovery" by European powers diminished the full tribal sovereignty present before the arrival of European powers. As full sovereigns, the "discovering" European nations held ultimate land ownership while the tribes with their diminished sovereignty held only a "right of occupancy" that could be extinguished by purchase or conquest. Finally, Marshall established that Great Britain's rights as a "discovering" European sovereign transferred to the United States as its successor in sovereignty upon American independence.

*Johnson v. M'Intosh* represents the first analysis of the status of the sovereignty of the new republic's neighboring nations. The case reduces the extent of tribal sovereignty through judicial action. Although eroding tribal sovereignty, it did recognize that sovereignty existed for the Indian tribes and that those tribal sovereigns remained in control of its land resources.

By 1828, federal policy called for the forced removal of all tribes to lands west of the Mississippi River. Encouraged by this federal policy, the state of Georgia extended its laws over Cherokee territory and claimed to nullify Cherokee law in that territory. In 1831, Chief Justice Marshall carefully avoided the issue of the validity of the Georgian laws by defining the status of Indian tribes within the U.S. constitutional scheme. In *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, Marshall analyzed whether the tribes were classified as "foreign nations" and as such would possess standing before the Supreme Court. Marshall clearly recognized the tribal sovereignty embodied in the Cherokee Nation because the Cherokee met the Anglo-American definition of a distinct government





in control of its own internal affairs. Although a “nation,” Marshall decided that the Cherokee Nation was not a “foreign nation,” but instead Marshall created the new concept of “domestic dependent nations” in an effort to comport the reality of tribal government with the U.S. Constitution and yet avoid the question of the validity of Georgia’s laws over Cherokee territory.

With Georgia still asserting the invalidity of Cherokee law, the state arrested two U.S. citizens living as missionaries in the Cherokee Nation for violating Georgia laws designed to control interaction with the Cherokee. As American citizens, these two men possessed the standing lacked by the Cherokee Nation a year earlier to bring the issue of Georgia versus Cherokee sovereignty back to the U.S. Supreme Court in *Worcester v. Georgia*.

Marshall reviewed the limited references made to Indian tribes in the U.S. Constitution to analyze Cherokee sovereignty. He identified three specific references to tribes in the constitution: (1) war powers, (2) treaty powers, and (3) the regulation of commerce with foreign nations, among the states, and with the Indian tribes. In recognizing the Indian tribes as “nations,” Marshall reasoned that, since before European arrival, these groups exercised exclusive sovereign authority within their territories.

The *Worcester* decision established important aspects of tribal sovereignty and excluded state interference with that sovereignty. In recognizing tribal sovereignty, Marshall diminished such sovereignty by placing it under the exclusive control of the federal government and by terminating the tribes’ ability to deal with foreign (specifically European) powers as inconsistent with their status under the doctrine of discovery.

Although the Marshall trilogy recognized and established the concept of tribal sovereignty in American legal thought, the Supreme Court in other decisions also established Congress’s absolute (or plenary) power to determine the survival of all or a portion of a tribe’s sovereignty. Thus, tribes’ sovereignty was subjected to the political whims of a body in which Indians had no representation.

By the late 1800s, with organized military resistance in Indian Country ended, the tribes retained little leverage in dealing with the federal government. In this situation, Congress began to extract a toll on tribal sovereignty. In 1871, Congress passed an act ending the practice of negotiating treaties with the Indian tribes. By the 1880s, federal policy embraced forced assimilation designed to suppress

and destroy tribal culture, language, and history. Over time, the program was to result in the final disintegration of the tribes as sovereign entities. In 1885, Congress passed the Major Crimes Act, creating federal jurisdiction for certain crimes and thus impinging on tribal sovereignty. Beginning with the General Allotment Act of 1887, Congress exercised its plenary power over the next twenty years to break up the large tribal communal landholdings by allotting acreage to tribal members and selling “surplus” lands to non-Indians.

During this grim time for Native American sovereignty, the Supreme Court continued to protect the principles of sovereignty while recognizing Congress’s complete control of Indian affairs. The Court in *Talton v. Mayes* reaffirmed that tribal sovereignty was independent of the U.S. Constitution and did not emanate from federal powers. Within two years of the *Talton* decision, Congress used its plenary power to abolish the very tribal court systems recognized in the case.

By the late 1920s, the U.S. government recognized that assimilation programs had resulted in an extreme human rights disaster. At the urging of New Deal reformers led by John Collier, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). Collier and his associates designed the IRA to assist tribes in organizing their governments and developing their economies. The Act completely shifted federal policy toward the tribes. It focused on reviving traditional tribal institutions, rehabilitating tribal economies and securing the remnants of tribal land bases by immediately repealing the allotment laws and restoring “surplus” reservation lands to tribal ownership.

In an effort to solidify tribal governmental structures, the IRA funded the organization of governments and tribal corporations for select tribes. Successive acts brought the same benefits to many Oklahoma tribes and Alaskan Native groups that were originally excluded from the Act. During a short eleven years beginning in 1934, IRA-era reformers made great efforts to respect and reinforce tribal sovereignty.

By 1940, however, critics of the IRA gained control of Congress. Further exacerbating the problem, American entry into World War II drained talent, attention, and resources from IRA programs as well as the tribes. By 1953, congressional policy radically shifted once again to one of termination of tribal sovereignty. In that year, Congress passed Public Law 83-280, which required certain states to assume crim-





inal and civil jurisdiction over Indian lands and granted the option to other states, thus diminishing tribal sovereignty. In June of the next year, Congress began the termination of over one hundred sovereign bands and tribes, starting with the Menominee tribe.

Ironically, the termination policy helped galvanize the various Indian interests and tribes that had begun organizing during the reforms of the 1940s. Indian and non-Indian protests over the next ten years, combined with the states' reluctance to bear the costs associated with assuming authority over Indian Country, killed the momentum of the termination policy. By the mid-1960s, federal policy concerning Indian Country had begun to shift again. In the midst of the Civil Rights Movement, Congress passed bills addressing economic and civil rights issues in Indian Country. By the early 1970s, congressional reports indicated that termination had resulted in yet another example of economic and cultural disaster in Indian Country.

The executive branch announced the beginning of modern executive policy in 1968 when President Lyndon B. Johnson delivered a special address to Congress entitled the "Forgotten Americans." This was the first time a president had devoted a special address to Congress exclusively on Indian affairs. Two years later, President Richard M. Nixon announced a policy of "self-determination" for tribes. Basically, Nixon's recommendations to Congress were to (1) reject termination, (2) grant the right to control and operate federal programs to the tribes, (3) restore specific sacred lands, (4) grant the right to control federal education funds and Indian schools to the tribes, and (5) pass legislation to encourage economic development. In a series of acts passed in the 1970s, Congress began reversing the termination process and instituting the policy of self-determination. Each act reinvigorated a battered tribal sovereignty. The trend has continued with Congress passing legislation that aids tribes in rebuilding their land bases and exercising greater control of natural resources, recognizes inherent sovereign powers, and amends the major environmental statutes to recognize "tribes as states."

At a time when the legislative and executive branches (the traditional enemies of tribal sovereignty) embraced tribal self-determination and sovereignty, the U.S. Supreme Court began expanding judicially imposed limitations. In 1978, two U.S. Supreme Court cases signaled the modern trend of the judicial termination of tribal sovereign powers in

*Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe* and *United States v. Wheeler*. The Court reinforced an idea that, although the ultimate source of tribal sovereign power resides outside the U.S. Constitution, Congress's plenary power may completely prescribe the extent of tribal sovereign powers.

The Court also found that Indian tribes lacked criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians within tribal territory unless granted the power by Congress. Most importantly, the Court's analysis relied heavily on the concept that tribes have lost those sovereign powers inconsistent with their status as domestic dependent nations. The Court then provided a list of implicit divestitures imposed by the Court to date: (1) Tribes are no longer free to alienate land to non-Indians; (2) tribes can no longer enter into direct commercial or governmental relations with foreign nations; and (3) tribes can no longer try nonmembers for offenses in tribal courts.

Three years later, in *Montana v. United States*, the U.S. Supreme Court expanded judicial limitations on tribal sovereignty by limiting tribal sovereign power to only that required for protecting tribal self-government or controlling internal relations. Any sovereign powers beyond these require express congressional delegation to survive. In application, the case meant that the tribe could not apply its sovereign powers to nonmembers of the tribe on fee lands. The Court provided two exceptions to this general rule. A tribe might retain inherent power to exercise civil authority over the conduct of non-Indians (1) when a consensual relationship between the nonmember and the tribe or a tribal member exists and/or (2) when the conduct of non-Indians on fee lands within its reservation "threatens or has some direct effect on the political integrity, the economic security, or the health or welfare of the tribe."

The most recent Court decisions have continued to erode inherent tribal sovereignty. In 1997, the Court limited the second *Montana* exception to only what is necessary to protect tribal self-government or to control internal relations. However, the Court did recognize that the "tribes retain considerable control over nonmember conduct on tribal land." In 2001, this concept was undermined in *Nevada v. Hicks*.

In a splintered decision with four opinions, but with all justices concurring, the *Hicks* Court explicitly applied the *Oliphant* and *Montana* restrictions on tribal sovereignty to Indian lands, but with differing approaches. Considering there was no true majority of opinion, all provide an idea of the potential





direction of the Supreme Court in terms of tribal sovereignty.

Justices Antonin Gregory Scalia and William Rehnquist held that tribal land ownership does not alone support regulatory jurisdiction by the tribe over nonmembers. Justice Scalia also continued to limit explicitly that part of the Marshall trilogy prohibiting the application of state laws within Indian Country by concluding the presence of Indian Country only reduces a state's regulatory authority. Therefore, Justices Scalia and Rehnquist determined that it was appropriate to balance the federal and tribal interests with the interest of the state.

Justice David Souter (with Justices Anthony M. Kennedy and Clarence Thomas) articulated the opinion that a tribe's civil jurisdiction does not include nonmember defendants. Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg carefully limited her concurrence to not allowing tribal jurisdiction over state officials engaged in enforcing a state law. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor (with Justices John Paul Stevens and Stephen Breyer concurring in part) concluded that tribal sovereign powers did not extend tribal civil jurisdiction over nonmembers regardless of whether or not the tribe owned the land. However, Justice O'Connor continued to explain that land ownership should now be considered in the application of the *Montana* exceptions.

Although the Supreme Court appears fragmented in its analysis of tribal sovereignty, these diverse opinions all indicate a trend to continue the erosion of tribal sovereign powers announced in *Oliphant*. In *United States v. Lara*, the Supreme Court's latest decision concerning tribal sovereign powers, the majority preserved its past analysis and restrictions on tribal authority. The Court did, however, recognize Congress's authority to relax those restrictions, though it noted that such Congressional authority may face constitutional challenges if relaxing the restriction interferes with a state's authority or creates due process or equal protection issues.

Since the self-determination era was initiated by President Nixon in 1970, Congressional plenary power has attempted to recognize and restore the inherent sovereignty of the tribes in many areas. A series of congressional acts recognized and stressed tribal sovereignty. Using terms such as "government-to-government relationships," "inherent tribal sovereignty," and "tribes as states," Congress has made more clear than ever its intent that tribes should be treated as sovereign entities. In fact, Congress has expressly declared that the United States

has an obligation to guard and preserve the sovereignty of Indian tribes in order to foster strong tribal governments.

Congress clearly supports tribal sovereignty in the realm of economic development. By the early 1980s, Congress committed to fund the development of tribal energy resource laws and regulations. In the 1990s, Congress approved legislation to assist in the development of tribal judicial systems, thus reinvigorating the judicial aspect of tribal sovereignty. A more recent example is the Native American Business Development, Trade Promotion, and Tourism Act of 2000, which explicitly stated congressional findings that "consistent with the principles of *inherent tribal sovereignty* and the special relationship between Indian tribes and the United States, Indian tribes retain the right to enter into contracts and agreements to trade freely, and seek enforcement of treaty and trade rights. . . ."

The most explicit example of Congress's intent to protect, promote, and restore tribal sovereignty rests in Congress's "Duro fix" to the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Duro v. Reina*. The Court, in the *Duro* case, found that the tribes had implicitly lost the power to criminally prosecute an Indian nonmember of the tribe. To address the real world practicalities of law enforcement in Indian Country, Congress addressed the Court's finding by amending the Indian Civil Rights Act to recognize that tribes possess the sovereign power to exercise criminal jurisdiction over all Indians within their territory.

The tribal sovereign power associated with the self-rule of tribal members appears to be respected by the federal judiciary, executive, and legislative branches. However, beyond those sovereign powers, tribal sovereignty becomes a confusing world of implicit judicial divestiture of tribal sovereign rights and congressional reinstatement. This situation means that tribal sovereignty must be discerned more and more from Supreme Court cases that implicitly limit tribal sovereignty, coupled with federal statutes that recognize and/or restore tribal sovereign powers. Without a blanket recognition of all inherent rights, the tribes still face the practicalities of trying to restore their sovereign authority in a piecemeal fashion.

John L. Williams

*See also* *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Indian Civil Rights Act (1968); Indian Reorganization Act; *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe*; Ross, John; Termination; Trail of Tears; *Worcester v. Georgia*.





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## Uranium Mining

When Native Americans in the western United States were assigned reservations in the late nineteenth century, many were sent to land thought nearly worthless for mining or agriculture. The year 1871, when treaty making stopped, was a time before sophisticated irrigation and before dryland farming techniques had been developed. Industrialization was only beginning to transform the cities of the eastern

seaboard, and the demand for oil, gas, and even coal was trivial by present-day standards. In 1871, Madame Curie had not yet isolated radium. Before 1900, there was little interest in locating or mining uranium, which later became the driving energy force of the nuclear age.

In a century and a quarter, the circumstances of industrialization and technological change have made a good deal of these treaty-guaranteed lands very valuable, not least because under their often barren surface lies a significant share of North America's remaining fossil fuel and uranium resources. Nationwide, the Indians' greatest mineral wealth is probably in uranium. According to a Federal Trade Commission (FTC) Report of October 1975, approximately the time when the government and private industry became especially interested in such things, an estimated 16 percent of the U.S. uranium reserves that were recoverable at market prices were on reservation lands; this was about two-thirds of the uranium on land under the legal jurisdiction of the U.S. government. There were almost four hundred uranium leases on these lands by the mid-1970s, according to the FTC, and between 1 million and 2 million tons of uranium ore a year—about 20 percent of the national total—was being mined on reservation land.

Moreover, if the uranium reserves on reservation land are added to those estimated on land guaranteed to Indian nations by treaty, the Indians' share of uranium reserves within the United States rises to nearly 60 percent; the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT) places the figure at 75 percent to 80 percent. About two-thirds of the 150 million acres guaranteed to Indians by treaty have been alienated from them—by allotment, by other means of sale, or by seizure without compensation. Some of these areas, notably the Black Hills of South Dakota, underwent a uranium mining boom during the 1970s, even though legal title to the land is still clouded. Sioux leaders have refused to settle with the United States for the land, despite a price tag that currently exceeds \$600 million, including principal and interest.

## Uranium Mining in Navajoland

About half the recoverable uranium in the United States lies within New Mexico—and about half of that is beneath the Navajo Nation. As in South Dakota, many Navajos have come to oppose the mining, joining forces with non-Indians who regard





*Marvin Sarracino stands at the edge of a reclaimed uranium mine holding pots made by Laguna Pueblos from clay taken from the mine. Many Native Americans worked in or lived near uranium mines in New Mexico but were kept ignorant of the dangers. (Bob Krist/Corbis)*

nuclear power plants and arms proliferation as a twofold menace.

Uranium has been mined on Navajo land since the late 1940s; the Indians dug the ore that started the U.S. stockpile of nuclear weapons. For thirty years after the first atomic explosions in New Mexico, uranium was mined much like any other mineral. More than 99 percent of the product of the mines was waste, cast aside as tailings near mine sites after the uranium had been extracted. One of the mesa-like waste piles grew to be a mile long and seventy feet high. On windy days, dust from the tailings blew into local communities, filling the air and settling on the water supplies. The Atomic Energy Commission assured worried local residents that the dust was harmless.

In February 1978, however, the Department of Energy released a Nuclear Waste Management Task Force report stating that people living near the tailings ran twice the risk of lung cancer as the general population. The *Navajo Times* carried reports of a Public Health Service study asserting that one in six

uranium miners had died, or would die prematurely, of lung cancer. For some, the news came too late. Esther Keeswood, from Shiprock, New Mexico, a reservation city near tailings piles, and a member of the Coalition for Navajo Liberation (CNL), said in 1978 that the CNL had documented the deaths of at least fifty residents (including uranium miners) from lung cancer and related diseases.

The Kerr-McGee Company, the first corporation to mine uranium on Navajo Nation lands (beginning in 1948), found the reservation location extremely lucrative. There were no taxes at the time, no health, safety, or pollution regulations, and few other jobs for the many Navajos recently home from service in World War II. Labor was cheap. The first uranium miners in the area, almost all of them Navajos, remember being sent into shallow tunnels within minutes after blasting. They loaded the radioactive ore into wheelbarrows and emerged from the mines spitting black mucus from the dust and coughing so hard it gave many of them headaches, according to Tom Barry, energy writer





for the *Navajo Times*, who interviewed the miners. Such mining practices exposed the Navajos who worked for Kerr-McGee to between 100 and 1,000 times the limit later considered safe for exposure to radon gas. Officials for the Public Health Service have estimated these levels of exposure; no one was monitoring the Navajo miners' health in the late 1940s.

Thirty years after mining began, an increasing number of deaths from lung cancer made evident the fact that Kerr-McGee had held miners' lives as cheaply as their labor. As Navajo miners continued to die, children who played in water that had flowed over or through abandoned mines and tailings piles came home with burning sores.

Even if the tailings were to be buried—a staggering task—radioactive pollution could leak into the surrounding water table. A 1976 Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) report found radioactive contamination of the drinking water on the Navajo reservation in the Grants, New Mexico, area, near a uranium mining and milling facility. Doris Bunting of Citizens Against Nuclear Threats, a predominantly white group that joined with CNL and the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) to oppose uranium mining, supplied data indicating that radium-bearing sediments had spread into the Colorado River basin, from which water is drawn for much of the Southwest. Through the opposition to uranium mining in the area, among Indians and non-Indians alike, runs a deep concern for the long-term poisoning of land, air, and water by low-level radiation. It has produced demands from Indian and non-Native groups for a moratorium on all uranium mining, exploration, and milling until the issues of untreated radioactive tailings and other waste disposal problems are faced and solved.

By late 1978, more than 700,000 acres of Indian land were under lease for uranium exploration and development in an area centering on Shiprock and Crownpoint, both on the Navajo Nation. Atlantic Richfield, Continental Oil, Exxon, Humble Oil, Homestake, Kerr-McGee, Mobil Oil, Pioneer Nuclear, and United Nuclear were among the companies exploring for, planning to mine, or already extracting ore. During the 1980s the mining frenzy subsided somewhat, as recession and a slowing of the nuclear arms race reduced demand. Some ore was still being mined, but most of it lay in the ground, waiting for the next upward spike in the market.

Since 1950, when a Navajo shepherd named Paddy Martinez brought a strange-looking yellow rock into Grants, New Mexico, from nearby Haystack Butte, the area boomed with uranium mining. Grants styled itself the "Uranium Capital of the World," as new pickup trucks appeared on the streets and mobile-home parks grew around town, filling with non-Indian workers. For several years before the boom abruptly ended in the early 1980s, many workers in the uranium industry made \$60,000 or more a year.

As a result of mining for uranium and other materials, however, the U.S. Geological Survey predicted that the water table at Crownpoint would drop 1,000 feet and that it would return to present levels thirty to fifty years after the mining ceased. Much of what water remained could be polluted by uranium residue, the report indicated. Local residents rose in anger, only to find that they owned only the surface rights; the mineral rights in the area are owned by private companies.

### **The Largest Nuclear Accident in the United States**

The biggest expulsion of radioactive material in the United States occurred July 16, 1979, at 5 a.m. on the Navajo Nation, less than twelve hours after President Jimmy Carter had proposed plans to use more nuclear power and fossil fuels. On that morning, more than 1,100 tons of uranium mining wastes—tailings—gushed through a packed-mud dam near Church Rock, New Mexico. With the tailings, 100 million gallons of radioactive water gushed through the dam before the crack was repaired.

By 8 a.m., radioactivity was monitored in Gallup, New Mexico, nearly fifty miles away. The contaminated river, the Rio Puerco, showed 7,000 times the allowable standard of radioactivity for drinking water below the broken dam shortly after the breach was repaired, according to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. The few newspaper stories about the spill outside of the immediate area noted that the area was sparsely populated and that the spill posed no immediate health hazard.

The area is high desert, however, and the Rio Puerco is a major source of water. Workers used pails and shovels to clear the contaminated ground because heavy machinery could not negotiate the steep terrain around the river. The cleanup was limited and frustrating. Where were cleanup crews going to put 1,100 tons of radioactive mud, when the





next substantial rain would leach it back into the river course?

More problems began to appear. A waste pile at the United Nuclear mill that had produced the wastes that gushed down the Rio Puerco in 1979 detected leaking radioactive thorium into local groundwater. On May 23, 1983, the state of New Mexico issued a cease-and-desist order to United Nuclear to halt the radioactive leakage. The company refused to act, stating that its leak did not violate state regulations. Allendale and Appalachian, two insurance companies that were liable for about \$35 million in payment to United Nuclear because of losses related to the accident, sued the company on the belief that it knew the dam that burst was defective before the spill. The dam was only two years old at the time of the accident.

### Death in the Mines

For thirty years after the first atomic explosions in New Mexico, uranium was mined much like any other mineral. "We used to play in [the mining dust]," said Terry Yazzie of an enormous tailings pile behind his house. "We would dig holes and bury ourselves in it" (Eichstaedt, 1995, 140). The neighbors of this particular tailings pile were not told it was dangerous until 1990, twenty-two years after the mill that produced the tailings pile closed, and twelve years after Congress authorized the cleanup of uranium mill tailings in Navajo country. Abandoned mines also were used as shelter by livestock, which inhaled radon and drank contaminated water. Local people milked the animals and ate their contaminated meat.

During the late 1940s and 1950s, Navajo uranium miners hauled radioactive ore out of the earth as if it were coal. Some of the miners ate their lunches in the mine and slaked their thirst with radioactive water. Some of their hogans were built of radioactive earth. Many sheep watered in small ponds that formed at the mouths of abandoned uranium mines that were called "dog holes" because of their small size. On dry, windy days, the gritty dust from uranium waste tailings piles covered everything in sight. The Navajo language has no word for "radioactivity," and no one told the miners that, within a few decades, many of them would die.

In their rush to profit from uranium mining, very few companies provided ventilation in the early years. Some miners worked as many as twenty hours a day, entering their "dog holes" just after

blasting of local sandstone had filled the mines with silica dust. The dust produced silicosis in the miners' lungs, in addition to lung cancer and other problems associated with exposure to radioactivity. As early as 1950, government workers were monitoring radiation levels in the mines that were as much as 750 times the limits deemed acceptable at that time, according to Peter Eichstaedt's account in *If You Poison Us: Uranium and American Indians* (1995). By 1970, nearly 200 of the miners had already died of uranium-related causes. Roughly one in four of the miners had died, most of them from lung cancer, in an area where the disease had been nearly unknown before uranium mining began.

Some miners were put to work packing thousand-pound barrels of "yellowcake," ore rich in uranium. These workers carried radioactive dust home on their clothes. Some of the miners ingested so much of the dust that it was "making the workers radioactive from the inside out" (Eichstaedt, 1995, 62). Downwind of uranium processing mills, the dust from yellowcake sometimes was so thick that it stained the landscape a half-mile away.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Economic Development; Mining and Contemporary Environmental Problems; Radiation Exposure Compensation Act.

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## Water Rights

With the passage and implementation of the General Allotment (or Dawes) Act in 1887, federal Indian land policy became the main point of contention and conflict between American Indians and the federal government during the late nineteenth century. However, the even more confusing and ambiguous area of federal Indian water policy was the main point of contention during much of the twentieth century, and it continues to be a vital area of conflict.

In the eastern United States, the states have regulated the use of water by a system of riparian rights, which came down from English law, in which





*A water technician bores a hole to monitor moisture depths for the Navajo Irrigation Project in 1978. The 1950 Navajo-Hopi Rehabilitation Act reinstated federal services to the Navajo and Hopi tribes and provided funds for improvements on the reservations, including irrigation projects. (Ted Spiegel/Corbis)*

all who own land along a water source have the right to the use of the water of that source. However, this system has worked well only in places with average to heavy rainfall, where the utilization of water by upstream users does not have a detrimental effect on downstream users.

In the arid lands of the American West, where most American Indians reside, water rights are governed by state laws founded on the principle of prior appropriation. Prior appropriation can be best summed up in the phrase “first in time, first in right.” In practical terms, this means that the oldest water right is satisfied in full before later users can have any access to the water supply. In other words, the first to make beneficial use of the water has the right to all of the water they originally used. What-

ever remains after the first claimant’s use of the water is the property of the second claimant and so on down the line. This worked well in the nineteenth-century West, because the institutions necessary to govern and determine rights in a riparian system were lacking. In a system of prior appropriation, the users themselves were able to determine the first in right, at least initially. The Supreme Court, however, has long recognized that both federal and Indian water rights exist outside the state-regulated water rights systems and must be satisfied as well, creating a competing system of water allotment.

Water policy, for the majority of American Indians in the West, has been determined by the implementation of two apparently contradictory methods of water allocation: (1) the prior appropriation system and (2) the “reserved rights” (or “Winters”) doctrine. Put succinctly, in signing treaties with the federal government that resulted in the creation of their reservations, Indians agreed to vast land cessions in return for guarantees that their reservation lands would be permanently reserved for Indian use and occupation. The Supreme Court ruled that, when the Indians did this, they reserved to themselves every right not specified in the treaty. Ownership of the land and implicitly its resources and all sovereignty not expressly relinquished to the federal government were rights “reserved” to the Indian nation. The downside to this system, in terms of prior appropriation, is that the “priority date” assigned to the Indians was the date of the congressional act that created the reservation, rather than a date of “time immemorial,” which would seem more appropriate given the lengthy tenure of Indians on their lands.

This system of reserving rights based on reservation status has created anomalies in Indian Country. Land ownership has been the key to New Mexico Pueblo Indian water rights. The Pueblo nations have early priority dates derived from Spanish land grants and the U.S. Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo with Mexico (1848). Because of this, the Pueblos have “aboriginal” water rights. Unlike many other nations, the Pueblos reside on lands that they have never left or been forced off of by the United States. While the United States, in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, recognized those prior holdings, thereby giving Pueblo rights to federal protection of their land and water, these rights do not depend on any federal action for their existence.

However, most Indian nations during the twentieth century have had to base their hopes for justice in water rights on federal court decisions





because Congress had not passed any definitive, all-encompassing water rights bills supporting or even defining their rights. The court decision that formed the most generous basis for Indian water rights, the reserved rights doctrine and thus the most contention with non-Indian water claimants, is the Supreme Court opinion in the case of *Winters v. United States*, in which the Supreme Court held that, when Indian reservations were established, the Indian nations and the United States implicitly reserved, along with the land, sufficient water to fulfill the purposes of the reservations, which in most cases was farming.

Therefore, according to the so-called Winters doctrine that was derived from the decision, Indian water rights are defined and governed by a body of federal law recognizing that Indian nations have sovereignty over the water on their reservations. The Supreme Court held that Indian governments have jurisdiction over both their members and activities on the Indian reservations, and this has affected the ways that Indians can use the water that flows through or adjacent to their reservations. However, by handing down a decision while not providing any way of reconciling it with the prior appropriation system already in use, the court's shortsightedness did more to provoke further conflicts over water between Indian and non-Indian populations than it did to settle them. *Winters* did nothing at all to determine either the scope of its application or the parameters for determining the amount of water Indian nations could claim. Almost from the time the decision was handed down in 1908, and especially during the 1980s and 1990s, many nations have gone to the courts in an effort to quantify their federal water rights, even though it has often meant possibly a serious diminution of the extent of those rights.

Involvement of the federal government in protecting Indian water rights, as well as other Indian-held natural resources, raises two issues. First, the ownership of land and water rights is antithetical to many American Indian cultural and religious systems. The fact that these questions are being discussed at all illustrates the fact that Indian views on these topics have undergone some accommodation to Euro-American culture. Secondly, federal involvement raises the issue as to what the difference is between the dependency of Indian nations on the federal government and self-determination with government protection. This has long been a difficult distinction to draw. Speaking in purely economic terms, by not promoting and protecting the right of

Indian nations to develop their resources, the government perpetuates dependency and poverty. On the other hand, if it protects Indian interests and their rights to develop their resources, the federal government may be guilty of affecting Indian culture, but it can certainly not be said to be perpetuating dependency. Rather, the federal government would be acting to promote the health of Indian economies necessary for true self-determination.

The main reason for the continued difficulty in securing water rights under the Winters doctrine is that it has constantly come up against the prevailing method of allocating water claims in the western United States: prior appropriation. When the doctrine of prior appropriation is taken to include Indian use, the courts necessarily enter the picture to allocate the amounts allocated by right to a given Indian nation as determined by its use of a particular water source. Because Indian reservations were established before most water uses began in the west, Indians often hold the oldest and thus most valuable water rights. Many Indian groups have occupied land since time immemorial (from the European perspective) and thus also have strong ancient priority claims to water for Indian uses. State water laws in the West often place a priority on the idea of "beneficial use," which more often than not has to do with agriculture. Although many Southwestern groups, such as the Pueblos, have a long agricultural tradition predating European contact, and others, such as the Jicarilla Apaches, have a mixed subsistence tradition, the factors of modern reservation life do not always mean that the Indian nations will use the water as the state or federal laws would prefer them to.

Because Indian nations are theoretically not held to state laws in these matters, conflicts have continually arisen over which water rights doctrine is applicable to the adjudication of rivers that flow over both Indian and non-Indian lands. The Winters doctrine would seem to support the view that Indians have a right to enough water to irrigate reservation agricultural lands; yet the doctrine of prior appropriation supports the idea that, if the Indians did not historically irrigate their lands, then non-Indian water claimants would be substantiated. The courts then have to examine what water was reserved for use on the Indian reservations, how Indian water rights are quantified and used, and how these water rights are regulated and enforced. Because of the potential extent and great value of the water that could be claimed by Indian nations under





the Winters doctrine, especially in the American West where water has become increasingly scarce, Indian water rights have constantly been under attack both in the federal and state courts and in other political arenas as well.

As clearly contradictory as the two dominant systems of allocation (Winters and prior appropriation) may appear, the actual situation in practice has been both less contradictory and more confusing than the various federal decisions would make it seem. Daniel McCool pointed out that these two contradictory theories of water allotment created a conflict of interest within the Justice Department. The Justice Department was to be the legal representative for all federal interests, so its official position in favor of prior appropriation in the West was in conflict with the reserved rights, or Winters, doctrine that was supposed to determine Indian water rights. The Winters doctrine theoretically makes the prior appropriation doctrine irrelevant. In practice, however, federal irrigation and reclamation programs were rarely undertaken in the interests of Indian peoples, even when they were constructed adjacent to Indian lands.

The Bureau of Reclamation, dedicated to the doctrine of prior appropriation and the promotion of non-Indian irrigated agriculture in the West, exercised great power and acted decisively in the interests of its constituents when allocating the waters made useful by their construction projects. Even though the Winters doctrine might have given the Indians a theoretically large claim to the waters of the West, battles over access to those waters occupied Indian nations, the federal and state courts, the Department of the Interior (as both the promoter of non-Indian development through the Bureau of Reclamation and as the defender of Indian rights through the Bureau of Indian Affairs), and the Congress throughout the twentieth century.

Even when the rights seem plain, the capriciousness of the court system toward Indian nations has meant that they have had to enter into lengthy and expensive litigation with no guarantee of success. Since the 1980s the federal government has promoted negotiated settlements as the best way in which all parties can work to resolve their water claims. Concluded and implemented at both state and federal levels, these settlements have, in many cases, concluded the endless decades of litigation and carry with them the promise of delivering real, "wet" water to the Indian nations. Settlement negotiations have usually been started after an Indian

nation or the United States has already become involved in a case involving water rights claimed by a state and other non-Indian water users. The negotiation necessary to achieve a water settlement involves the process of alternative dispute resolution, which allows for all of the interested parties to participate. This type of resolution is most effective when there are factual disagreements on technical data between the parties; therefore, they sometimes rely on court decisions to decide basic legal questions such as the priority date of the reservation. Rather than seeking final adjudications in the courts, the parties use the court-determined data to achieve a solution that will satisfy some of the desires of all sides rather than all of the desires of one side. Indian water needs are addressed without eliminating non-Indian water uses, although neither side is usually able to achieve all of its goals.

Negotiations in a land of limited water, such as the American West, mean that the Indian nations usually do not receive the full share of water determined by the Winters doctrine, but in return, they often get money to enable them to construct facilities or projects to utilize their allotted water. Such federal funding has not only allowed Indians to secure water rights, but has also delivered water that can be put to beneficial use. At the same time, non-Indians gained the assurance that they will be able to continue using water without the constant threat of an assertion of Winters rights on the part of the Indian nations.

Steven L. Danver

*See also* Agriculture; General Allotment Act (Dawes Act); Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; *Winters v. United States*.

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## Women in Native Woodlands Societies

Throughout the eastern woodlands, Native American women enjoyed extensive powers and rights through their official roles in the spiritual, political, economic, and social structures of their cultures. Until quite recently, those roles were ignored and even falsified by Western historians whose own male-dominated, hierarchical systems left them ill prepared to view, let alone comprehend, communal systems functioning in a mutually respectful, female–male balance. Because of the deep skew in Western primary sources created by this cultural blind spot, early chronicles must be tested for accuracy rather than simply quoted for content as most scholars now recognize.

To understand any structure of woodlands economics, politics, or society, readers must first grasp Eastern cosmology, for all human infrastructure in the East coalesces around it. Unfortunately, spirituality in the woodlands has been egregiously misrepresented in even recent Western literature and must be clearly untangled before comprehension can set in. The distortions arise from three causes.

First, the core concepts of Eastern spirituality were completely misconstrued by early European chroniclers, who “naturally” imposed their own worldviews on what they were being told. They thereby missed the central motif of the woodlands, the balanced interaction of Sky and Earth, the natural halves of the cosmos. When woodlanders explained the multiple Spirits of Sky to the Europeans, chroniclers would record their presentations in terms of monotheism’s own, solitary Sky Spirit, “God.” By the same token, when woodlanders explained the Spirits of Earth, Europeans blithely recorded those discussions as relating to their own “Devil” and his presumed minions. As a result, even the most careful Native descriptions of Sky–Earth

logic are hodgepoded together nonsensically in the old chronicles.

Second, missionaries, who comprehended a bit more, promptly interpreted Native spirituality as the Devil’s work, deliberately misshaping traditions to cooperate with their Christian ideological agenda. This had the devastating effect of importing cosmic conflict into Native thought, whereas true Native ideation is utterly “conflict-phobic” (Allen, 1985, 98). The Christian God and Devil may be locked in mortal, eternal combat over the fate of humanity, but the point of woodlands spirituality is to harmonize Spirits of Sky and Spirits of Earth, *both* of which are good, respected, and necessary. In woodlands thought, creation is ongoing, with human beings no more important than rocks, trees, fish, fowl, or anything else in existence.

Third, modern pan-Indianism—which is unrelated to actual traditional beliefs—typically accepts and perpetuates the old missionary distortions, particularly “Great Spirit” or “Creator” monotheism. Because traditional beliefs are closely held in medicine societies and not freely shared with outsiders, pan-Indianism (which also accepts the Christian eagerness to lay bare one’s beliefs) is the system that is most likely to greet any researcher. Whatever its merits in the present, pan-Indianism cannot provide a window into the woodlands’ past. As a result, anyone working today, in the wake of these three skews, needs to clear a path around the debris of colonialism to unlock the original woodlands conceptualization of the cosmos, the true key to understanding women’s position in ancient societies.

The cosmology of Earth and Sky holds that there cannot be one until there are first two. Those two must be equal, reciprocating, and balanced—Sacred Twins, in the Iroquoian presentation—a matched pair that constantly interacts under ever changing circumstances to maintain the harmony of the whole. Neither half outweighs, controls, or directs the other. Independent yet interdependent, the two halves of Sky and Earth come together to form the perfect cosmos, in an act of spiritual consensus. This structure is replicated in the twinned clan halves, one of which (often turtle) references Earth, and the other of which (often wolf) references Sky. (Numerous lineage clans exist under each clan half.)

This cosmology has far-reaching implications for human culture, expressed in terms of the naturally occurring pairs noted by woodlanders. For example, humanity falls into the matched pairs of





Elders and Youngers and of Women and Men. These pairs are construed as replications of the cosmic principle of the sacred two making one whole. They constitute the basis of all cultural organization.

In specific terms of women, they result in the major institution of Gendering, which is, intrinsically, Earth/Women and Sky/Men. Under this rubric, women are in charge of everything that is culturally construed as female, notably, dwellings and food supplies, family and human relationships, and Earth medicine. Some cultures carried Gendering to the extent of having separate linguistic expressions, mutually intelligible, but particular to the female or the male sex. Gendering had long fingers, which reached into all spheres of human existence.

Spiritually, women are in charge of Earth medicine (as men are in charge of Sky medicine). Western stereotypes of medicine *men* aside, women were fully half of the spiritual workers in earlier times, for the Sky medicine of the men must be balanced by the Earth medicine of the women. Working only in Sky medicine (as often occurs under pan-Indianism) actually unbalances the cosmos.

Earth medicine deals heavily with water, caves, plants, and blood. (Sky medicine deals heavily with fire, heights, feathers, and breath.) Women's particular medicine skills include dream reading (often telling the future), combing out the hair (straightening out tangled thoughts through counseling), and herbal (allopathic) remedies. (Men use breath medicine.) Both genders use sacred tobacco for sacred purposes; women use it in conjunction with water, whereas men burn it. In addition, both genders practice visionary methods; women achieve vision using water, whereas men achieve it using fire. Having been born pure (life-giving), women need not sweat. On the other hand, because they wreak death in the hunt and war, men must sweat.

Sky and Earth organized political entities. On the level of Gendering, it established female and male councils. On the level of age, it defined the councils as belonging to Elders or Youngers. Thus, each council had twinned identities: Female and Elder; Female and Younger; Male and Elder; or Male and Younger. These entities considered matters independently, yet communicated with one another through their Speakers, specially trained individuals who carried exact messages between political bodies. Women's councils sent male Speakers to the men's councils, and men's councils sent female Speakers to the women's councils. Since Gendering (Earth-Sky balance) was the basis for the

political halves, rather than the literal, sexual identity of individuals, women could be "made" men and men could be "made" women. "Made" individuals cross-dressed.

Specific tasks were gendered. Rendering judgments was, for example, an Earth act, so that judging was necessarily a female job. All judges were "women," whether or not they were born physically female. In the instance of the Lenapes, the entire nation was "made" female by the Iroquois League, because, as the "Grandfather," or Eldest nation in the east, the Lenapes were considered so wise as to be trusted to act as the judiciary for all. On the other hand, warfare was considered a male activity. This did not mean that only men could apply to be a Young Man (usually mistranslated as "warrior"). Women trained in woodlands martial arts and went to war as well, but, because of their occupation, they were "Men." (Cross-gendered work is not to be confused with homosexuality, which was considered an intrinsic form of boundary crossing. Gay and lesbian people were revered as natural medicine workers, not political officials.)

In woodland conceptions, women were obviously the first actors in any event, because they gave birth. Nothing existed until women created it (accounting for women as first actors in all traditional creation stories). Consequently, women's councils considered all issues first, passing along their consensus decisions to the men's councils. Men could not consider a matter until the women did, because it did not exist until the women gave birth to it.

All woodlanders had matrilineal clans, but these were not, as is generally supposed in Western literature, simply social institutions. The clans were emphatically political institutions. Clan Mothers owned all the names, which included all titles of office. Various clan lineages fielded candidates for any open offices, with clan candidates vying for them and Clan Mothers deciding who was best qualified. Titles (i.e., political positions) were then bestowed on successful female and male candidates by the women's councils.

By the same token, should officeholders prove unequal to or unworthy of the job, the women's councils could, after issuing three warnings detailing the infraction, take back their names—i.e., impeach incumbents who refused to mend their ways—replacing them with new officials. (Three was the number of disorder and discord.) Public office was held for life, so that, at the death of an incumbent,





the women's councils took back the title to bestow on a successor. The "petticoat government" (Adair, 1930, 232) that resulted was the moaning bane of European officials, who loathed being forced to deal with women as equals.

Women were instrumental in times of war. They had the right (and, before European meddling, the exclusive right) to declare war. Prior to such a declaration, it was their job to make three good faith attempts to negotiate a mutually acceptable resolution. It was only after three attempts had failed that the women could, at their discretion, give the matter over to the men to do with as they pleased, which usually meant to make war. Even then, women had the responsibility to notify the enemy of the intended attack, in time for that enemy to evacuate, mount a defense, or cave in to demands.

Even in warfare, an absolute law governed the woodlands: the Law of Innocents. This dictated that no one was authorized to make war on noncombatants—i.e., women, children, elders, and nonsoldiering men. Part of women's jobs during warfare was to have a representative sitting at the crossroads of literal warpaths, offering food and clothing to the passing war parties of either side. Rape was absolutely forbidden, a war crime punishable by death. Emissaries of Peace on errands among the warring sides were also granted absolute freedom of passage. Killing an Emissary of Peace was also a capital crime.

When prisoners were taken during war, it was the exclusive right of women to decide their fate, normally adoption, i.e., the granting of citizenship. An adoptee was given the identity of someone deceased in the lineage. Thereafter, that adoptee was loved and treated as if she or he were literally that person. Women and children were automatically adopted into any lineage that was short of numbers. Contrary to settler propaganda, most men were also adopted, although adult, combatant men had to "run the gauntlet." This consisted of a course between two lines of women, children, and a few men, who beat the runner with clubs or slashed at him with knives as he passed. Any runner making it through to the end of the line was lauded as strong and immediately adopted. In fact, a dispute might well erupt over which clan had the honor of taking him in.

At times, however, an enemy male might be put on trial for war crimes and sentenced to death. (Many of the Europeans mourned in settler accounts as tortured to death by the "savages" had actually

been convicted of the war crimes of rape, murder of innocents, or injury to Emissaries of Peace.) During these trials, the verdict was not a foregone conclusion. The women gave the defendant a Speaker, who might be able to secure his release through clever argument. Even at the point of execution, any woman who disagreed with the verdict might interpose herself on the criminal's behalf, securing his adoption, instead of his death, as may have happened with John Smith and Pocahontas. Should the execution be carried out, the women were largely in charge of starting and supervising the torture that led to death.

Whole nations might be adopted by other entities, as happened in the 1660s, when the women of the Iroquois League adopted the Lenapes. Indeed, League women were famous for incorporating other nations into the confederacy, although no nation was considered a state unless every single person in it agreed to the adoption. Only the Tuscaroras came in as an entire nation, with no dissenters, which is why the Five Nations became the Six Nations in 1722.

Economically, Gendering granted women ownership of the land, for Mother Earth is a women. Under their Corn Women and Plant Chiefs, they kept vast tracts of the woodlands under cultivation, regularly producing crop yields, astonishing to Western settlers. Women's staple crops were corn, beans, and squash, grown intertwined, but women also grew melons, onions, sweet potatoes, and berries. All but berries were sown in mounded hills, envisioned as breasts of Mother Earth, whose corn milk suckled her children. The mounds prevented soil erosion.

Women knew the medicine of seeds and plants, soaking seeds in medicine water, supplying such things as alkaloids or pest repellents prior to planting. In addition, the women knew the exact depth at which to bury each type of seed for best results, as well as the best distance between plants to ensure them the proper sunlight and moisture. In the case of berries, women allowed them to grow wherever Mother Earth had originally sown them, locating and tending them as carefully as their mound farms.

Women also kept close track of the productivity of the land, knowing which areas produced the best crops and making sure to parcel them out on a revolving basis so that each clan had a crack at the best land. Likewise aware of soil depletion, women used fertilizers (often fish heads) and were careful not to overstay their welcome on any set of fields.





Instead of rotating fields, they rotated their towns. Most clans had enough land to support themselves in various locales, so that no plot was used for more than fifteen or twenty years at a stretch, before the town shifted to the next site along its regular rotation schedule. Typically, land was allowed to lie fallow for eighty to a hundred years, before being cultivated anew.

Not only did women own all the land, but they also owned all of its produce, whether garnered from their own fields or from the men's hunt. It was the Clan Mothers' right, alone, to parcel out the fruits of farming, hunting, and fishing, and it was their duty to ensure that the bounty was equally spread. No one feasted while another famished. To help maintain equal access to the goods and services necessary to life, women held frequent festivals featuring food and gift exchanges, supplied out of what amounted to the public treasury, or town surplus. Gifting festivals (which always included Eat-Alls) also worked on the international level to cement alliances with distant groups by sharing the wealth generally.

Socially, women were the heads of their lineages and households, making (and breaking) marriages, retaining custody of all children until puberty, and acting as counselors and judges of the public weal through their right to judge matters. Upon marriage, men moved to their mother-in-laws' residences and remained under the watchful eye of their new Clan Mothers. Husbands hunted for their wives' families. Because matrilineage ruled, the children followed the clan of their mother. The Sister-Brother bond was the strongest Earth-Sky exemplar in society, so that maternal uncles were normally preferred to biological fathers as male role models for clan boys. Brothers supported their sisters at all costs.

At puberty, girls and boys became sexually active and were encouraged to experiment. Most had multiple partners. Homosexuality was as accepted as heterosexuality; the only rule was that partners had to come from the opposite clan half, as in-clan dating amounted to incest, something carefully monitored and disallowed. After hormones began settling down and emotional maturity began settling in, young girls were asked who their favorites were among their partners. When Clan Mothers desisted preferences, they arranged marriages by talking to the contraparty Clan Mothers. The young people involved had a say in the matter, but Clan Mothers also carefully considered the titles of office involved, how they would be spread

due to the new alliance, and whether the marriage increased their own clan's status.

Clan Mothers had the special obligation to keep the peace in the home, which, far from translating into whimpering submission to men, entailed the ability to render final judgment in all home matters. Should a husband offend his mother-in-law, she could dissolve the marriage instantly, sending him home in disgrace. Divorce was easily granted and readily sought, by either side, if a domestic relation did not pan out. All children of divorce remained with their mothers.

Sexual continence and/or monogamy was neither desired nor considered part of the marriage contract, although serial marriages were preferred to promiscuity within a marriage. Among some nations, the Seneca, for instance, polyandry was countenanced, but men did not have more than one wife at a time.

The often misinterpreted institution of Hunting Wife was a female, not a male, institution. One obligation of a wife was to aid her husband on a hunt. Among young, recently married people, the wife of record usually went; her labor was not hard, and the trip was usually viewed as an exciting excursion. However, in later years, as a woman aged, acquiring large responsibilities and public office, she was not in a position to abandon her home duties to accompany her husband on a hunting trip, which might last a year. In such instances, she was responsible for rounding up a proxy—the Hunting Wife—to go out with her husband. Hunting Wives came from the ranks of clanswomen who were either unmarried or who had no desire to marry. They reported back to the Clan Mother who sent them out. Whether Hunting Wives had sex with their proxy mates was entirely up to the consenting adults involved, but it was no necessary part of the bargain. Upon her return, the Hunting Wife handed over all proceeds and goods of the hunt to her head Mother.

Women had exclusive control of their own bodies, which meant that they chose with whom they would, or would not, have sex, marry, or reproduce. A woman was not obligated to name the father of her child, fatherhood being a privilege a woman granted the man. Neither did being sexually active necessarily imply motherhood, for women had, and openly used, abortifacents and contraceptives, bearing children only when they chose. No man had any right to interfere with female reproduction, although mothers might urge it on daughters they considered too immature to nurture a child.





Women alone attended childbirth. The birthing hut included a catch basin, for children were birthed from the sitting position. During labor, medicine women provided painkillers, massages, and midwifery. Outside, female guardians kept at bay any predators attracted by the smell of blood. They also kindly warned men off from the area, since female medicine, particularly as it involves blood, is so powerful that it can kill unwary men. This, and not Western notions of “uncleanliness,” is why menstruating women live separately during their “moon times.” They are not shunned, but revered as powerful at these times. Hence, pan-Indian “cleansing” sweats during “moon times” are entirely untraditional.

Women carefully spaced their children apart, because each child was to be the sole focus of a family until preferably its fourth year. Children were breast-fed, sometimes into the fourth year. In addition, everyone in the matrilineage was grandmother, mother, aunt, uncle, or sibling to the child, so that child care did not devolve on the shoulders of just one, often young, woman. She had relief and help. Having more children than one could support, physically or emotionally, or having them on too slimly spaced a schedule—say, annually—was frowned upon as socially irresponsible. Other women might be appointed by the Clan Mother to take on the extra children, so that those children had their fair share of attention. Orphans were also carefully placed with attentive mothers to ensure their well-being.

One consequence of women’s control of their own bodies was that all children were wanted and cherished. Woman-run child rearing included none of the authoritarian rod so dear to European custom; indeed, striking a child was strictly prohibited. Children were allowed to learn through experimentation, under the subtle supervision of their elders. As they approached adolescence, children Gendered into the boys’ and girls’ collectives that were later copied as the American Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts. In these units, they practiced adult forms of civic interchange, such as decision making and reliance on and respect for elders. (The oldest child of a unit was its “elder.”) At puberty, children took on tasks in the grown-up world, under the Eldership of true adults.

Each woodlands culture, from the Abenaki to the Iroquois, and the Algonkin to the Muscogee, featured strong, powerful women in all of these roles. Each worked out the details of its social, economic, political, or spiritual structure somewhat differently, but the basic balance of Earth and Sky required the

complementary roles of female and male to exist in balance.

Barbara Alice Mann

See also Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Missionaries, French Jesuit.

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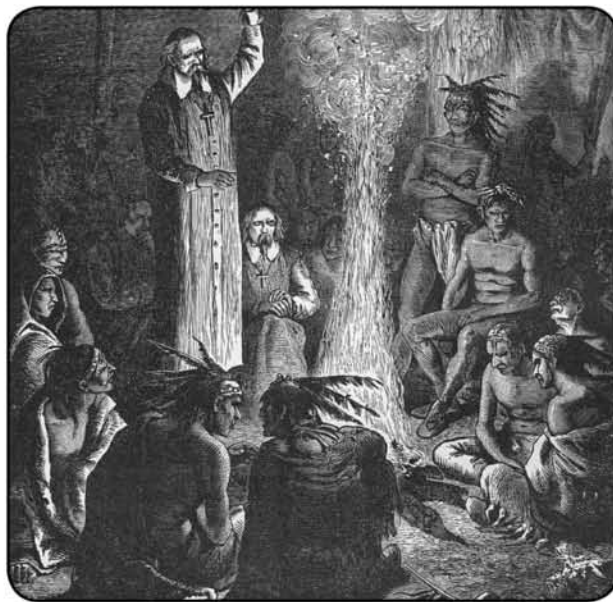
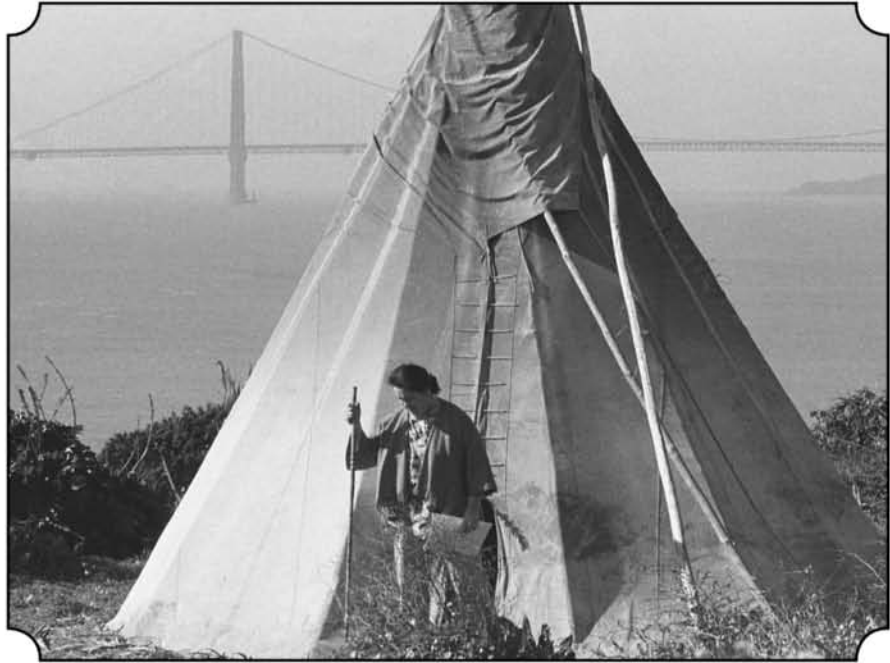
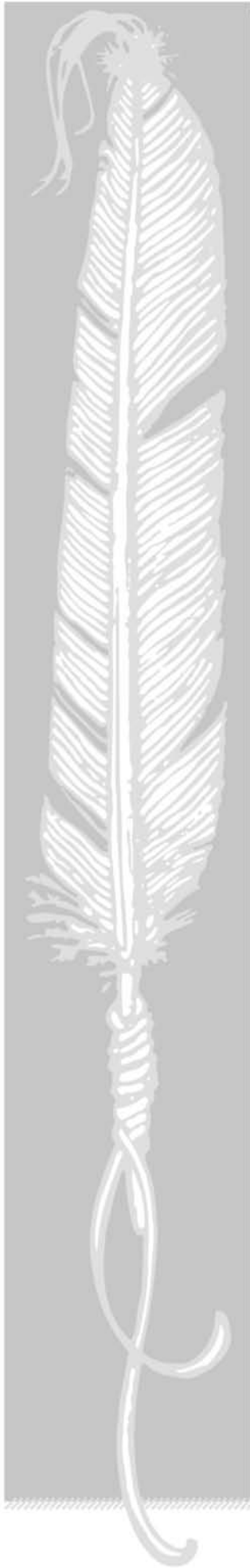


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# *Events in American Indian History*



## **Bering Strait Theory**

Two obvious possibilities existed for the origins of aboriginal peoples in North America. One possible explanation is a passage by boat from somewhere humans had resided before the Americas were peopled. The other possibility is a passage by land. The most obvious location for a land passage is across the Bering Strait between Siberia and Alaska, where scientists know that at one point there was a land bridge (which they call Beringia) between Asia and North America. The notion of a Siberian origin for aboriginal Americans gained credence from a variety of corroborative evidence, such as similarities of blood types and dental structure between American aboriginals and northern Siberians. Linguistic evidence also pointed to a similar pattern. Gradually a theory emerged, which gained strength by its seeming ability to explain all that a host of scientists—chiefly geologists, archaeologists, and climatologists—had discovered and were discovering about both the land and its people.



It is an axiom of science that the simplest explanation fitting the known facts is usually the most accurate one, and this theory was elegant in its relative simplicity, which was one of the greatest arguments in its favor. The theory was that sometime around fifteen thousand years ago, when Beringia provided a land connection between Asia and North America, human sojourners crossed into North America in search of food. The passage was not an easy one, and it probably took a long time for any individual or party to complete. Although the environment of the land bridge was relatively favorable to human life, the glaciers that then covered the northwestern part of the American continent were not. Some of the new arrivals headed north into the Arctic regions. Others straggled southward along a gap between the glacial ice sheets, making their way into the southwestern part of the continent (which was not covered with glaciers), where the earliest evidence of human presence has been detected. As the ice retreated and the climate changed in the northern part of the continent, more and more people were able to move into the southern regions and





began to travel eastward across the continent, following the game animals.

The land bridge theory seemed appropriate for dealing with virtually all of the existing evidence. To explain relatively similar dates for surviving artifacts from one coast to the other, the theory had to postulate an extremely rapid extension of humankind across the continent in the postglacial period. Gradually the theory hardened into conventional wisdom. Although there were many skeptics and people who preferred other explanations, their arguments were hampered by the absence of any hard evidence that contradicted the standard view, particularly by the lack of indisputable evidence of an earlier occupation of the continent or of an alternate time sequence. Most mainstream scientists insisted that all hard evidence of human habitation from this period (as opposed to such "soft" evidence as linguistic theory or literary legends) comes in the form of stone artifacts that cannot be dated earlier than 12,000 years. These scientists refused to entertain alternate theories so long as the "12,000-year barrier" remained intact. The mainstreamers were particularly scathing in their criticism of those who advocated acceptance of one or more of the alternate theories of peopling, whether by refugees from the continent of Atlantis or by ancient space travelers.

Despite its elegance, the Beringian theory has in recent years come under increasing attack. Much of the critique has come from those who find it unlikely that the Americas could have remained free of any human habitation until only 12,000 years ago, especially given the increasingly great antiquity being uncovered for human/humanoid development elsewhere in the world (Stengel, 2000). There are also other arguments against the standard view of human arrival. One is that very few early human remains have been found in the northwestern part of the continent, where the first immigrants supposedly entered from Siberia, while many more remains, which are extremely old, have been uncovered on Canada's east coast, more than 4,000 miles from Beringia. Moreover, the few examples of early humans found in the northwest are not Mongoloid in appearance, as people from Siberia would have been at that time. This was notably the case for Kennewick Man, found in Washington State in 1996. Another problem comes in terms of the development of languages, chiefly an insistence that twelve thousand years is simply not sufficient to produce the levels of linguistic diversity found in the Americas (Greenberg, 1987). (Language complexities do not

necessarily coincide with social complexities and can exist independently of them.) Recent studies of blood types and teeth across the Americas also suggest that a simple explanation of origin in Siberia will not work. The notion has recently gained ground that travel along the coasts by boat makes more sense than inland movement alongside glaciers (Gruhn, 1988).

There have long been alternative stories for the peopling of America (Sorensen and Raish, 1996). Perhaps more importantly, over the past few years there have been a number of archaeological finds that simply do not fit the standard pattern. Some finds in Chile, for example, have produced artifacts that date older than the Clovis find, an obvious conundrum for those who support the Beringia theory (Dillehay, 2001). A recent find in South Carolina has been uncovered that archaeologists say predates the most recent Ice Age, which ended about ten thousand years ago. What are we to make of the mounting evidence of scattered early human activity in the Americas? At this stage, it is unlikely that the Beringia theory will be totally overturned. There is simply too much genetic and linguistic evidence to support the view that America's "Indians" are mainly descended from Asian peoples. But there are clearly anomalies. It may be possible that this main wave of Siberians traveling swiftly across the Americas was entering a place previously settled by people who had reached their habitations from different places via different routes or who had perhaps come from Siberia in a far earlier period than the present model allows. And it is also possible that new discoveries will force a paradigm shift for the archaeologists. Like most academic disciplines, archaeology is riddled with feuds and petty grievances that have been elevated over time into hardened ideologies.

More than academic reputations are at stake in the Beringia controversy. Because of the huge sums of money involved in litigation over compensation for tribal lands taken by European nation-states, the ancient human history of the continent before European arrival is of new interest and takes on a high political significance. A North American continent on which aboriginal groups migrated constantly and took over the lands of neighbors, often by force, or on which the Native inhabitants hunted birds and mammals to extinction, was hardly an Eden-like paradise of peace and respect for the environment. If it could be established that people of European origin had arrived on the continent long before 1492 and were displaced or absorbed by later cultures, this





would add further weight to the notion that the European intrusion after 1500 was simply a continuation of developments occurring in all parts of the world—and certainly in America—since the world’s human beginnings. At least one Canadian newspaper has already used recent academic revisionism as a basis to editorialize in opposition to any moral claim of Native groups to “massive transfer payments and expensive government programs” (*National Post*, 2001, A19).

The sources for information about the early history of humans on the northern part of the North American continent (now the Dominion of Canada) are simultaneously extensive and limited. Material evidence consists chiefly of human artifacts—mainly of stone, which survives better than leather or wood—usually dug out of the ground by archaeologists. Dating these materials typically involves associating the artifacts with the geological remains in which they are found, a process that often does a better job of outlining a sequence of events than it does of providing precise dates for them. Scientific analysis such as radiocarbon dating can provide a rough notion of the date of an artifact. Given the absence of written records kept by any of the early inhabitants of northern North America, virtually the only way modern scientists can make human memory contribute to the record is by using the oral traditions and the languages of the various peoples. For many years, these oral traditions and linguistic remains were treated with considerable suspicion. They are now regarded as quite useful, but they extend only so far back in time.

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*See also* Archaeology and the First Americans; Bering Strait Theory.

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## Dalles Trading Area

Among the most important Native trading centers of western North America was a place called The Dalles, situated about 80 miles (129 kilometers) east of Portland, Oregon, within the Columbia River Gorge National Scenic Area and just east of the present city of The Dalles. A series of narrows and rapids on the Columbia River, The Dalles was for millennia a major gathering place for many Indian groups and is recognized as one of the oldest inhabited places on the continent. The name “dalles” (Canadian French for “trough, flume”) originates with French Canadian voyagers who ventured along the river in the early nineteenth century.

Archaeological research at The Dalles has determined this area to be one of the longest continuously occupied sites in the American West. The earliest radiocarbon date for human activity is about 7850 BCE (9800 BP). Excavations near The Dalles disclose huge quantities of salmon bones by 7700 BP, suggesting that a major fishing complex characteristic of Chinookan culture had developed by this time (Cressman, 1977; Pettigrew, 1998).

The Wascos, Wishrams, and Teninos were among tribal groups that controlled this section of the river and its bounty of fish. The Wascos on the Oregon side of the Columbia and the closely related Wishrams on the Washington side were the easternmost people of the Upper Chinook speakers. The Shahaptian-speaking Teninos lived immediately upstream. They all lived in permanent villages along the stretch of the Columbia River from the foot of the Long Narrows east to Celilo Falls, known as *Wyam* by the Wishram and called the Great Falls of the Columbia by the early white explorers (Woody, 1999).

Virtually unlimited fish was the key to the trading role of The Dalles. The river between The Dalles and Celilo was the greatest fishery on the entire Columbia, offering chinook and coho salmon, steelhead, sturgeon, and eels. Salmon were caught in dip nets and by gaffing or spearing from wooden platforms erected from the perpendicular rocks along the channel. From April through mid-October, salmon made their upstream journey toward their spawning grounds, providing the main food source





of Native peoples in the area and visitors who came to trade. Pounded salmon flesh (salmon pemmican) was often stored away for winter use; the surplus also formed an important article of trade with neighboring and distant tribes. Perhaps the most advantageous site for salmon fishing was at Celilo Falls, a drop of twenty feet across the Columbia twelve miles upstream from the City of The Dalles. Several thousand people congregated at The Dalles and Celilo during the peak times of salmon and steelhead migration.

An extensive economic network centered on The Dalles (Stern, 1998, 641–652). The Wascos and Wishrams were intermediate between the Northwest Coast and Plateau cultural groups with whom they maintained trading partnerships. From the coast peoples they obtained European fabrics, firearms, beads, metal goods, sea otter pelts, wapato (Indian potatoes), and a wide variety of marine foods and products including whale blubber, sea salt, and dentalium shells. Products from a great distance were funneled into the Chinook territory of the lower Columbia. From the interior tribes they received animal skins, buffalo robes and meat, horses, Plains-style clothing, pipestone, roots and seeds, and native tobacco. The Nez Percé were the main outlet from The Dalles to the northern Plains via their associations with the Crow and the Flathead. Horses spread northward from Mexico and reached The Dalles area around 1730 through trade with the Cayuse. The Paiutes of the high plateau country south of the Columbia River brought game and plant foods, horses, and obsidian to The Dalles. There was also an important trade route from The Dalles north to the Nlakapamux and Secwepemc in British Columbia.

Acting as middlemen, trading goods between the coast and interior tribes, the Wishrams and Wascos also provided their visitors with dried salmon. The chief location for barter was a Wishram village along The Dalles (at Fivemile Rapids) called Nixluidix, meaning “coming-together place” (French and French, 1998, 362). When Lewis and Clark arrived at Nixluidix in October 1805, they discovered twenty large wooden houses, each home to three families. Their expedition had arrived near the end of the busy trading period and fishing season that had started in mid-April; in his journal, Clark recorded seeing a total of 107 stacks of salmon and estimated their total weight at over 10,000 pounds (Lewis and Clark, 1953, 265). The trade fairs were also a venue for intertribal socializing, gambling, and exchange of information. According to Alexander Ross of the

North West Company, “The Long Narrows, therefore, is the great emporium or mart of the Columbia, and the general theatre of gambling and roguery” (Ross, 1969, 128).

During the height of The Dalles as a trade entrepôt, a major slave market developed in the early decades of the nineteenth century among the Wasco-Wishram people. Women and children were obtained from the Klamath of southern Oregon, who in turn raided them from northern California (Ruby and Brown, 1986, 91). The Klamath Trail, along the Cascade foothills, was an important trade route to The Dalles and Celilo Falls (Hunn, 1990, 225–227).

With the arrival to the area of European goods in the late eighteenth century and the first explorers and fur traders in the early nineteenth century, trade at The Dalles reached its apex. European goods actually stimulated trading activities at The Dalles, and dried salmon found its way to the coast decades before any Europeans arrived in the area (French and French, 1998, 369). Following Lewis and Clark’s expedition, the Pacific Fur Company (the Astorians), established a post near the mouth of the Columbia and explored and traded upstream. Portages around the falls and rapids were necessary to safeguard their trade goods, batteaux, and canoes. The Dalles, especially a section called the Long Narrows (later called Fivemile Rapids), was one of the most formidable barriers along the Columbia. The early years of the fur trade between 1812 and 1814 saw several skirmishes between the Indians and whites who attempted to obtain passage around the rocky channels.

An important aspect of the trade was the development of the Chinook Jargon, a trade language based originally on Chinook words. Later incorporating an increasing vocabulary of French and English origin, Chinook Jargon became an important *lingua franca* between the fur traders and Native groups in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The jargon was especially useful at The Dalles, at the boundary between the Chinook and Shahaptian language groups.

By the midnineteenth century, The Dalles trading center declined as Native populations were drastically reduced by disease and warfare. A trading post and Methodist mission were established in 1838, and, during a period of Indian uprisings in the 1840s and 1850s, Fort Lee and Fort Dalles were built to protect immigrants along the Oregon Trail and to gain control of the Columbia River and its abundant salmon. The construction of a pioneer road over the Cascade Range in 1846 and the Donation Land Act





of 1850 brought increased settlement to the area. Dalles City, seat of Wasco County since 1854, was incorporated in 1857. About fifty miles (eighty kilometers) south of The Dalles is the Warm Springs Indian Reservation, established in 1855, where the Wasco, Walla Walla, and Paiute peoples were removed, now comprising the more than 3,500 members of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs.

The construction of dams on the middle Columbia River directly affected the historic fisheries of the Confederated Tribes. The Dalles Dam three miles east of the city, built in 1957 and expanded in 1973, inundated many significant fishing areas, including Celilo Falls, the tribes' most sacred place. Although the U.S. government provided "replacement sites" in lieu of lost fishing stations when the earlier Bonneville Dam was built farther downstream, as well as \$4 million compensation in economic development when The Dalles Dam was built, the dams not only destroyed ancient Native cultures but destroyed an ecosystem that supported their traditional livelihoods of fishing and trading (Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, 1994).

The persistence of the Confederated Tribes in their efforts to conserve salmon in the Columbia and its tributaries has seen impressive results. Spring chinook returned in record numbers in 2000 and 2001. The Department of the Interior recognized the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs with an Environmental Achievement Award in 2002 for exceptional achievements in environmental stewardship (Ikenson, 2003).

First Peoples still come together each year at Celilo for religious observances such as the first salmon ceremony each spring. The traditional role of the river, however, and the original landscape that provided sustenance, economic barter, and spiritual meaning at The Dalles and Celilo Falls are forever gone. The Columbia Gorge Discovery Center and Wasco County Historical Museum, located in City of The Dalles, highlight the long trading history of the region. As well, the present-day Native community of Celilo Village reveals the power of culture in this ancient place.

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*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Trade.

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## L'Anse aux Meadows Viking Settlement

The discovery in 1960 of a medieval Norse settlement's ruins on the coast of Newfoundland proved that Vikings had explored America nearly 500 years before Columbus.





Helge Ingstad, born in 1899, a Norwegian lawyer and adventurer, found the ruins. Ingstad practiced law in Norway and worked as a trapper in Canada's Northwest Territories. After returning to Norway from Canada, he published a popular book about his experience. Ingstad lived for years in the Norwegian Arctic, where he served as a local governor, first in Greenland, then on Svalbard Island and became an expert in Norse history and the Viking sagas. The term "Norse" refers to medieval Scandinavians—residents of the areas that constitute modern-day Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Iceland—whereas the term "Viking" originally was used to refer to early medieval Norse pirates. In this article, the terms "Norse" and "Viking" are used interchangeably.

While Ingstad was living on Svalbard, Anne Stine, a Norwegian archaeologist, began a correspondence with him. The two eventually met, married, and had a daughter. Both Ingstad and his wife were intensely interested in Viking-era Norse history. They studied the sagas, explored the ruins of Norse settle-

ments in Greenland, and acquired medieval maps. Like many saga readers before them, they became fascinated with the mystery of Vinland.

The sagas began as epic oral histories of the adventures and everyday lives of the ancient Norse. Saga tellers recited and passed down the epics for hundreds of years. Thirty major sagas survive today in written form. Two of these tales, *The Greenlanders' Saga* and *Erik's Saga*, tell of the Norse Greenlanders' travels to Vinland, a land with forests of timber, an abundance of wild game, and ample pasturage that lay twelve days' journey to the southwest of Greenland.

For hundreds of years, saga readers have puzzled over Vinland, questioning whether the land described in the sagas was real and, if real, where it might lie. Based on the saga descriptions of the voyage, other historical sources, and his knowledge of Viking techniques of shipbuilding and seamanship, Ingstad believed that Vinland existed and that it probably lay somewhere on the coast of Newfoundland, a large island in southeastern Canada.



Replicas of Norse sod houses stand at L'Anse aux Meadows National Historic Park in Newfoundland. The Viking settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows is the earliest documented European settlement in North America. (Wolfgang Kaehler/Corbis)





Other scholars disagreed, arguing that, because the saga tells of the Vikings finding wild grapes and naming the land Vinland (Wineland) in reference to these grapes, Vinland must lie in an area where wild grapes grow. Because Massachusetts is the northernmost area where grapes grow today, many scholars believed that the Greenlanders must have journeyed at least as far south as Massachusetts. Ingstad, in contrast, thought it unlikely the Vikings would have traveled so far south. He instead theorized that the word "Vinland" was derived from the Old Norse word *vin*, meaning "pasture or meadow," not from a similar word meaning "wine." He further posited that the passages in the saga that refer to the gathering of grapes were not part of the original narrative, but instead were later additions.

In 1960, Ingstad and his daughter Benedicte explored the coasts of Newfoundland and Labrador by air and sea, attempting to match the geographic features they saw with those described in the sagas and the ancient maps. Eventually, Ingstad's calculations led him to L'Anse aux Meadows (pronounced "Lan-see Meadows"), a site that seemed to correlate exactly with Vinland as described in the sagas. When he asked a local fisherman if there were any ruins in the area, the man led Ingstad to an area of grass-covered mounds and depressions in a bay front pasture a short distance from the village.

L'Anse aux Meadows is a tiny coastal fishing village on the northern tip of Newfoundland. Behind the village is the small, shallow Épaves Bay. From the bay rises a gently sloping marine terrace covered with lush meadowland and bisected by a freshwater brook. It is on this terrace that the ruins are located. From Ingstad's first survey of the site, he believed that it was a likely place for a Norse settlement because it was reminiscent of the farm sites he had visited in Greenland.

Greenland, the world's largest island, was first colonized in 986 by Norse adventurers traveling from Iceland. Greenland's climate is harsh, with long, dark winters and short, cool summers. There are only a few wind-stunted trees on the island and more than 80 percent of Greenland's surface is covered with ice year-round. In the winter, the sea ice pack almost completely surrounds the island, making sea travel impossible. Coastal grasslands along the island's fjords constitute the northernmost reaches of arable land. Life in Greenland is difficult. To survive, the medieval Norse had to exploit all possible means of subsistence. These included trap-

ping; gathering wild plants, berries and eggs; fishing and hunting, as well as managing small farms. When wild resources were scarce, agriculture and animal husbandry helped sustain them.

The technology of the medieval Norse was similar to that of their fellow Greenlanders, the Dorset Eskimo—ancestors of the modern Inuit people. Both groups hunted game with snares and spears and used small kayaks made of animal hide to fish and hunt seals and walrus. Unlike the Inuit, however, the Norse farmed and kept animals, forged iron, and spun and wove wool into cloth. Yet Arctic survival was more difficult for the Norse than for the Inuit, who were more mobile and skilled in ice travel and in the use of kayaks and thus better able to hunt and follow migrating animals. Considering the difficult life they led in Greenland, it is easy to understand why the Norse continued to search for more favorable lands to colonize.

Based on historical and archaeological evidence, scholars believe that the Norse Greenland colony endured until around 1500. The exact reason for its disappearance is unknown; scholars have suggested it may have been due to a combination of factors, such as a cooling trend, the southward movement of Greenland Eskimos, disease, and pirate attacks. Some investigators believe that, after a number of years of population decline, the remaining Norse emigrated, perhaps to Iceland.

Initially, it was not clear if the ruins at L'Anse aux Meadows, which lie seven hundred miles southwest of Greenland, had been a Native American or a Norse village. The answer was left to a series of painstaking archaeological excavations that Anne Stine Ingstad would lead at the site.

The ancient house sites the archaeological team uncovered were made of sod, a building material common to both Native Americans in the area and the Norse Greenlanders. Other elements of the houses, however, led Stine Ingstad to believe that they were built by Norse settlers. For example, the houses contained hearths and cinder boxes similar to those found in the Norse Greenland settlements. Further, one of the houses was identified as a smithy, or ironworker's shop, and the forging of iron was a technology not known to Native Americans at the time. Several Norse items were found at the site, include Viking-era bronze and iron artifacts, a stone spindle whorl used for spinning wool into yarn and thread, and fragments of bone from a domestic pig.





The condition of the ruins and the style of the Norse artifacts led Ingstad to conclude that the settlement was occupied off and on for several years around 1000 by perhaps as many as a hundred people. Subsequent radiocarbon tests confirmed this date. Stine Ingstad based her conclusion that the time of occupation was short on the fact that the middens, or trash piles, the settlers left behind are shallow—no more than ten centimeters deep—and the sod houses, which naturally collapse after twenty to thirty years, show no evidence of having been rebuilt.

Since Vinland offered a more favorable climate than Greenland, better pasturage, ample game and fish, and wooded forests, the question arises as to why its occupation was so short. The evidence points to conflict with the Native people. Native artifacts excavated at the site indicate that the Beothuk people, their ancestors, and Dorset Eskimos occupied the L'Anse aux Meadows area between 1000 and 1500.

When the Norse Greenlanders encountered the Dorset people in Greenland, they referred to them with the derogatory term “skraeling,” meaning “screamers,” and, by connotation, wretched or uncultured. They used the same word to refer to the Natives they found in Vinland. The sagas make clear that the Norse feared the skraelings and believed them to be dangerous, possibly supernatural beings. As a result, there was limited interaction and exchange between the groups and the Norse were known to kill Natives with little provocation. According to the sagas, such behavior resulted in vengeance attacks by the Natives, whose weapons were essentially the same as those used by the Vikings but whose population vastly outnumbered that of the Norse settlers.

The Viking settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows is the earliest documented European settlement in North America. It predates Columbus by roughly 500 years. Yet Columbus and the Greenlanders must have seen their discoveries in a completely different light. Unlike Columbus, the Vikings received neither fame nor lasting wealth from their discovery, and they had no idea that they had discovered a new continent.

Until the Ingstads brought it to the world's attention, the Norse contribution to the settlement of America was lost for nearly a thousand years. In 1978, as a result of the Ingstads' work, the historical importance of the Norse village at L'Anse aux Meadows was officially recognized and the site was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

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*See also* Norse Exploration of North America.

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## Norse Exploration of North America

Before Columbus's voyages, sporadic contact between Native people and non-Natives left a residue of myth, transmitted from generation to generation in oral histories. American Indians from Nova Scotia to Mexico told their children about pale-skinned, bearded strangers who had arrived from the direction of the rising sun. Such myths played a large part in Cortes' conquest of the Aztecs, who were expecting the return of men who looked like him. The Natives of Haiti told Columbus they expected the return of white men; some Mayan chants speak of visits by bearded strangers. The Leni Lenape (Delaware) told Moravian missionaries that they had long awaited the return of divine visitors from the East. These currents, among others, suggest that the peoples of the Old and New Worlds communicated with each other sporadically centuries before Columbus.

In the realm of what critic Stephen Williams calls “fantastic archaeology” (Williams, 1991), theories establishing European origins for Native American peoples have long historiographic pedigrees. Evidence that meets the strictest standards of professional archaeology is scant in support of any of them. One exception is the pre-Columbian landfall of the Vikings. Norse sagas (oral histories) and scattered archaeological evidence indicate that, beginning about 1000, Viking explorers who had earlier settled Iceland and Greenland conducted several expeditions along the East Coast of North America. At up to three locations—Newfoundland, and possibly Cape Cod and the James River of Virginia—some evidence exists of small-scale, short-lived





Viking settlements. One Viking (the word is from the Norwegian *viks* for fjord dweller), Thorfinn Karlsefni, explored 3,000 miles of North American coast in the early eleventh century, according to the sagas.

The technical capability of the Vikings to reach North America is not in doubt. They were capable seafarers and built sturdy longships easily capable of reaching Iceland from Norway, a distance much greater than the voyage from Greenland to North America. In 1893, Magnus Andersen, a Norwegian, sailed a reconstructed Viking ship from Norway to Newfoundland.

Vikings may have followed the Saint Lawrence River and Great Lakes as far inland as the vicinity of Kensington, Minnesota, where, in 1898, a large stone was found inscribed with Norse runic writing that described the ambush and killing of ten men. Testing has revealed the runes as weathered (as would be expected) but authentic. The Norse may have been looking for new sources of furs after the German Hanseatic League captured their trade in Russian furs in 1360 (Kehoe, 2002, 217).

Indisputable proof of Viking landings in North America has been found on the northern tip of Newfoundland. These discoveries began with the explorations of Helge Ingstad, at L'Anse aux Meadows, about 1960. The site has since been excavated and part of it turned into a public park. The evidence there is conclusive—right down to such things as a soapstone spindle whorl, nails, and even the remains of an iron smelter, along with hundreds of other artifacts, many of which have been carbon-14 dated to about 1000. Most other supposed Viking visits to North America (one in the unlikely location of Tucson, Arizona) still reside in the realm of archaeological speculation. According to Frederick Pohl, a science fiction novelist who also has written three books on Norse exploration of North America, eighty-nine locations of Norse landfall have been asserted in North America. Some of these locations are as far apart as present-day Minnesota and New Orleans.

According to the Viking sagas, in about 985 the Viking sailor Bjarni Herjulfsson sighted land (probably Cape Cod) after several navigational errors led him astray on a voyage to Greenland. He finally reached his destination by sailing northeastward along the North American coast. In Greenland, his story of three land sightings to the southwest excited the imagination of Leif Erickson, who interviewed Bjarni and purchased his ship.

According to the sagas that were told after his voyages (which have been written and translated into English), Erickson made landfall at three places. He called the first Helluland, probably Baffin Island; the second was Markland, possibly Labrador or Newfoundland. The third landing, where Erickson established a small winter settlement, may have been on Cape Cod, near Follins Pond. The sagas tell of their ship being beached and stored, a house being built, and salmon caught that were larger than any the Vikings had ever seen. While the Viking settlement in Newfoundland lasted several years and left behind many artifacts, the visit to Cape Cod seems to have been more of a temporary stop, leaving little evidence that survived ensuing centuries.

Thorvald Erickson, a brother of Leif, set out on his own voyage of discovery shortly afterward, in 1007. His plan was to explore the coast north and south of Cape Cod. Along the way, Thorvald's thirty-man crew seized and killed eight American Indians (they called them "skraelings," meaning "screamers," after their war whoops, indicating, by connotation, a wretched or uncultured people). Thorvald later was killed in revenge for those murders, and his crew sailed back to Greenland without him.

A few years later, in 1010, Thorfinn Karlsefni sailed from Iceland to Leif's settlement on Cape Cod, after which he probably explored the Atlantic Coast southward to the James River of present-day Virginia. The trip required four summers. The first winter was spent along the Hudson River of New York State, where the Vikings were surprised by the depth of snowfall for a place so far south. The second winter was spent along the James River of Virginia. The sagas tell of a voyage up the river to the rapids, far enough upstream to have seen the peaks of the Blue Ridge Mountains. At one point, according to the sagas, Karlsefni's crew was attacked by Native Americans who used a large hornet's nest as a weapon. In all, the Karlsefni expedition probably logged about 3,000 miles along the coast and adjoining rivers.

Leif Erickson died about 1025, and his Labrador settlement withered, but not before Karlsefni and Gudrid, his wife, had given birth to a son they called Snorri, the first child believed to have been born in America of European parents. After that, voyages continued from time to time through the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. King Magnus of Norway and Sweden authorized the Paul Knutson expedition, which sailed in 1355 to explore conditions in





Greenland and Vinland. Knowledge of North America was apparently still being recalled in Iceland in 1477, when a young Italian sailor, Cristoforo Colombo, visited and became excited by sailors' gossip of land to the south and west of Greenland.

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See also L'Anse aux Meadows Viking Settlement.

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## Doctrine of Discovery

The Doctrine of Discovery references the logic of fifteenth-century Christianity that endowed European conquerors with self-assumed divine title over all "discovered" land and peoples. During this time Spain and Portugal were in fierce competition over the extent of their empires. As disputes festered, appeals for resolution often were presented to the pope—the recognized official arbiter between nations.

In 1455, King Alfonso V of Portugal made such an appeal, and in response the pope issued the bull *Romanus Pontifex*, confirming Alfonso's right to dominion over vanquished lands while also underscoring his duty to:

[I]nvade, search out, capture, vanquish, and subdue all Saracens and pagans whatsoever, and other enemies of Christ wheresoever placed, and . . . to reduce their persons to perpetual slavery, and to apply and appropriate to himself and his successors the kingdoms, dukedoms, counties, principalities, dominions, possessions, and goods, and to convert them to his and their use and profit (Davenport, 1917, 23).

The bull *Romanus Pontifex* provides great insight to the world in which Columbus voyaged in 1492. When he sailed, Columbus did so as a servant to the royal crown of Spain and as a soldier of Christ, dutifully claiming and possessing "uninhabited" lands not found to be under the dominion of any Christian ruler.

The "discovery" of the "New World" reignited the competition between Spain and Portugal. King Alfonso V argued that previous bulls entitled Portugal to the newly discovered lands, whereas the Spanish crown disputed Alfonso's claims, appealing to the pope to confirm their right to the New World. In response, Pope Alexander VI issued the *Inter Caetera* (1493), confirming Spain's right to conquests in the New World:

[Y]ou have purposed with the favor of divine clemency to bring under your sway the said mainlands and islands with their residents and inhabitants and to bring them to the Catholic faith . . . and in order that you may enter upon so great an undertaking . . . we, of our own accord . . . and out of the fullness of our apostolic power, by the authority of the Almighty God . . . do by the tenor of these presents . . . give, grant, and assign to you and your heirs and successors . . . forever . . . all rights, jurisdictions, and appurtenances, all islands and mainlands [to be] found . . . (Davenport, 1917).

As the pope took on the heady responsibility of dividing the New World between Spain and Portugal, the notion of occupancy emerged as a precondition for the dispensations of conquest. The irony of this did not go unnoticed by Native peoples, whose rights of occupancy were not only denied but categorically dismissed by the Law of Nations, a deeply racist "law" that proclaimed the world's "heathen" and "infidels" to be in inherent need of subjugation. These rules of engagement, set forth by church and empire in the fifteenth century, formed the corpus of the Old World's "Doctrine of Discovery," entitling the conqueror to all the spoils of conquest.

The Doctrine of Discovery was incorporated into U.S. law several centuries later through Supreme Court Justice John Marshall's majority decision in *Johnson v. M'Intosh* (1823). The question before the court was whether a land title obtained from Indians under British supervision at an open sale was superior to that obtained by the United States through a sale by designated land officers (Deloria, 1992, 299). The Court ruled in favor of the defendant, finding that only the federal government held the right to issue titles for Indian land. In the decision, Justice Marshall invoked the doctrine of discovery as the precedent by which "the discovering European nation" was granted "an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy,





either by purchase or by conquest" (Williams, 1986, 253–254). In effect, Marshall deemed the United States, as successor to Great Britain, the rightful heir to their spoils of conquest.

While Marshall was fully cognizant that his finding signaled a radical departure from modern, more "civilized" rules of engagement, he justified his ruling as follows:

[H]owever this restriction may be opposed to natural right, and to the usages of civilized nations, yet, if it be indispensable to that system under which the country has been settled, and be adapted to the actual condition of the two people, it may, perhaps, be supported by reason, and certainly not be rejected by courts of justice (*Johnson v. M'Intosh*, 1823, 591–592).

In other words, Marshall argued that the United States' "claim to property titles was valid because to do otherwise would disrupt everything that had previously occurred" (Deloria, 1992, 300).

Grande (2004) notes that perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the Marshall opinion is the relatively uncritical manner in which it was adopted into U.S. law. One would expect, even by the standards of nineteenth-century democracy, that the invocation of a fifteenth-century Christian doctrine by a Supreme Court justice would be viewed as an act of sedition, especially by a nation struggling to retain the "wall of separation" between church and state.

In subsequent years, however, Marshall's decision (and by implication, the doctrine of discovery) has been a popular rhetorical site of interrogation for legions of indigenous and nonindigenous scholars. Most recently, in *Uneven Ground: American Indian Sovereignty and Federal Law*, David E. Wilkins and K. Tsianina Lomawaima provide a thorough analysis of the doctrine of discovery and its impact on U.S. law.

In their comprehensive study of numerous treaties, laws, policies, and congressional directives, the authors identify three operating definitions of the doctrine of discovery in U.S. law and policy: absolute, expansive, and preemptive. The absolute definition equates discovery with complete conquest, not only denying indigenous peoples legal title, but also usage and occupancy rights. The expansive definition is less extreme, recognizing indigenous nations possessory and occupancy rights

but denying any right to legal title. The operating rationale is that Indians are inherently incompetent to manage lands and are therefore in need of "a benevolent guardian" to hold "full legal title" (Wilkins and Lomawaima, 2001, 21). Wilkins and Lomawaima dismiss both of these interpretations as, at best, ill informed and, at worst, racist and ethnocentric. They furthermore argue that, while expansive and absolute interpretations of discovery abound, a competing and legally sound interpretation of the rights of discovery is both plausible and necessary. As a result of their analysis, the authors advocate a preemptive definition of discovery—one that grants "discovering" European nations "an exclusive, preemptive right to be the first purchaser of Indian land, should a tribe agree to sell any of its territory" (2001, 20).

Indeed, their analysis reveals that the preemptive definition of discovery was the original and most prevalent interpretation of discovery in the precolonial era. Wilkins and Lomawaima examine various documents regarding established treaty relations between American Indians and the Spanish, French, and British empires and conclude that, to varying degrees, all nations recognized and respected Indian title. Their examination of similar relations between the United States and American Indians in the early years of nationhood (1776–1800s) reveals a similar reality: that the United States originally acted as "first purchaser" and not as "ultimate proprietor" of Indian lands (2001, 51).

Wilkins and Lomawaima (2001) maintain that a radical departure from the practice of treating Indian tribes and nations as sovereigns did not begin until 1801 when Justice Marshall commenced his service to the Court and came to a head with the *Johnson* decision in 1823. They write:

As the preceding analyses show, no previous sovereign—including Great Britain—had acted as if it had a superior title to Indian land. . . . Even in Marshall's time, the preponderance of historic evidence supported a recognition of Indian ownership of the soil that rested in the tribes until they chose to sell that soil to a bidding European sovereign (2001, 55).

Wilkins and Lomawaima furthermore maintain that subsequent cases—*Worcester v. Georgia* and *Mitchell v. United States*—indicate the Court's own discomfort with *M'Intosh*, causing them to "back away from the language of conquest" (2001, 61).





Finally, the authors argue that perhaps the final linchpin in the case against absolutist and expansive interpretations of discovery is the fact that Native American nations did not participate in the *M'Intosh* case, calling into question whether the precedent set by the landmark case was ever legally binding (2001, 58). They conclude with the following compelling statement:

The doctrine of discovery, when defined as an exclusive principle of benevolent paternalism or, as it was in the *McIntosh* decision, as an assertion of federal ownership of fee-simple title to all the Indian lands in the United States, is a clear legal fiction that needs to be explicitly stricken from the federal government's political and legal vocabulary. . . . Federal abandonment of the demeaning and unjust legal fiction contained in the absolute and expansive definitions of discovery . . . would be a significant first step in reformulating Indian policy so that policy is based on justice, humanity, and the "actual state of things" (63).

Sandy Grande

See also Tribal Sovereignty; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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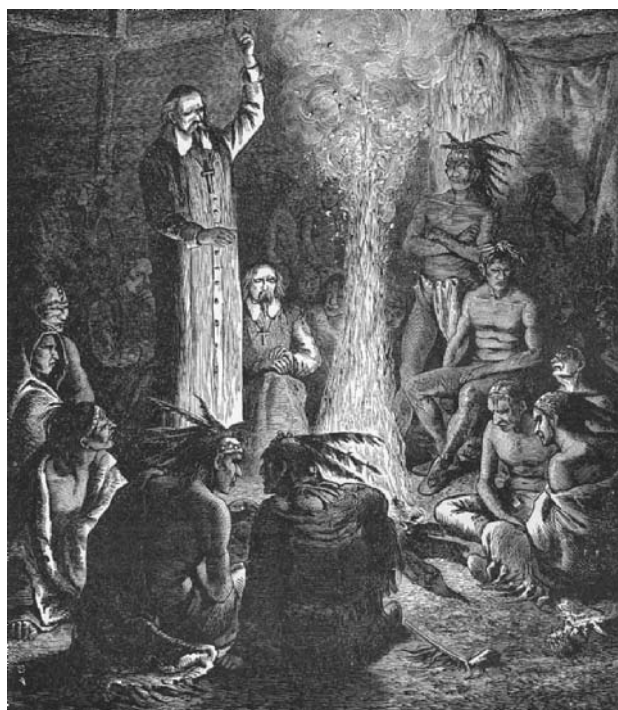
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## Missionaries, French Jesuit

The members of the Society of Jesus, a religious order of the Roman Catholic Church, served as missionaries among Native North Americans during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Though by no means the only missionaries to attempt to convert the indigenous peoples of the continent to Christianity during this period, the French Jesuits tended to be the most organized and energetic. They are remembered in part for their remarkable travel accounts and historic records.

The Society of Jesus was founded in 1540 by Saint Ignatius of Loyola (born Iñigo López de



Jesuit missionaries were met with a range of reactions as they preached among the natives of New England. (Ridpath, John Clark, *Ridpath's History of the World*, 1901)





Loyola). The Society's members, who became known as Jesuits, began as a major thrust of the Catholic Counter-Reformation in Europe, challenging the teachings of Martin Luther and other Protestants, but the Jesuits' work soon extended into the western hemisphere. The Jesuits took the three traditional clerical vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience, in addition to a fourth vow of special obedience to the pope. The multifaceted activities of the Society encompassed education, literary and scientific activities, pastoral care, and missionary work. During the second half of the sixteenth century, its mission field was extended throughout post-Reformation Europe, to Asia, and to Latin America. In North America, sixteenth-century Spanish Jesuits briefly and fruitlessly sought to convert the Natives of the Chesapeake, Florida, and Gulf Coast. A handful of English Jesuits also traveled to Maryland and New York in the seventeenth century, only to be hindered by the fierce anti-Catholicism of the Protestant Anglo-American colonists.

Jesuits played a central role in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century colonization of New France, the vast territory claimed by the French crown in North America. In 1611, two fathers attempted to establish a mission at Port Royal, Acadia, only to be expelled three years later by an English force. A similar fate befell the Jesuits who returned to the colony in 1625. Unfazed, the missionaries returned to New France for the long term in 1632.

During the 1630s and 1640s, French Jesuits followed Native trade routes and established missions among the Algonquians and Iroquoians who inhabited the region of the Saint Lawrence River, Saguenay River, and Great Lakes. Impelled by the desire to carry the teachings of the Catholic Church to the inhabitants of the continent, the missionaries figured prominently among those who continued to extend the religious, commercial, and political influence of New France. Closer to the core of the French colony, along the shores of the Saint Lawrence, Jesuits were instrumental in inducing a number of Hurons, Iroquois, Algonquians, Nipissings, and Abenakis to settle in a series of *reductions* (reserves).

For the Jesuits, the evangelization of Native America meant imposing monogamy, restraining independence (imposing French sovereignty), and suppressing a range of traditional practices as superstition. Not surprisingly, their message was received with considerable scepticism, often hostility, by Native peoples. Although they were certainly aided by French or French-allied Indian mili-

tary escorts as well as the ability to channel the French trade toward willing converts (nor were they above frightening Indians beset by smallpox into conversion), the missionaries endeavored to Christianize mainly through example and argumentation. To achieve their aims, they became keen students of Amerindian languages and cultures. Following a precedent set by their brethren in other parts of the world, the Jesuits of New France carefully documented their work and the indigenous ways of life, most notably in a collection of published annual reports known as the *Jesuit Relations* (*Relations des Jésuites* or *Relations de la Nouvelle-France*). Sometimes tolerated only because they guaranteed a commercial and military partnership with France, the presence and spiritual services of the French Jesuits came to be appreciated by many Native communities.

The standing of the Society of Jesus was challenged during the second half of the eighteenth century. Canada became a British possession in 1763, thereby losing its connection to France. Having come under fire for interfering with the enterprises of the royal governments in Latin America, the Society was further suppressed in a number of countries, including France, in 1767. A worldwide papal suppression followed in 1773. Staffed by aging men, the Jesuit missions in North America could no longer be sustained; some were abandoned, while others were taken over by secular "priests" and members of other orders.

The period following the Papal Restoration of the Society of Jesus in 1814, however, was marked by tremendous growth. The Jesuits of Maryland began to expand their missionary enterprises westward, while French Jesuits returned to Canada in 1842 to resume their work of ministering to the converted and undermining the structures and beliefs of traditionalists. The Society of Jesus continues, to this day, its work among Native Americans.

Jean-François Lozier

See also Ceremonies, Criminalization of; New France and Natives.

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## New France and Natives

While the term "New France" came to be applied specifically to the region between Montreal and Quebec, in general the territory stretched between present-day Quebec City in the east and Huronia (southern Georgian Bay) in the west. The French also colonized the Louisiana territory and parts of the Caribbean, areas not considered part of New France proper, but generally referred to by historians as the French Atlantic or French America.

The region that came to be generally known as New France was home to tens of thousands of indigenous peoples at the time of the European invasion. It is difficult to arrive at a precise population of precontact North America; in fact, modern estimates place the population of the continent anywhere between 3 million and 12 million. It is likely that the Iroquoian peoples of New France and present-day northern New York numbered a hundred thousand. When Jacques Cartier visited the village of Tiotontakwe (aka Hochelaga, at present-day Montreal), he recorded a population of fifteen hundred people (Del  ge, 1993, 1993, 43–45). We can safely say that Europeans stepped foot on a (sometimes densely) populated continent, of which the Northeast was one of the most thickly populated regions. The French encountered the Beothuk (a group that was exterminated, likely by disease, shortly after contact), as well as the Innu (Montagnais) and Mi'kmaq (Micmacs), both of the Algonquin cultural family, and the Hotinonshonni (Iroquois Confederacy) and other related nations—the Wendat (Hurons, a confederacy of several nations), the Tionontate (Petun), the Neutrals and the Tobacco.

Essentially the region's two cultural-linguistic groups had two different economic and settlement patterns. The semisedentary Algonquin peoples of present-day Quebec were hunter-gatherers, inhabiting village sites during warmer months and migrating over a wider hunting territory during the winter, following a sophisticated cyclical pattern, which was

conceptualized as distinct from nations who practiced horticulture. An Innu hunter explained to Jesuit Paul Le Jeune in 1634: "Do you not see that you and the [Hotinonshonni] cultivate the soil and gather its fruits, and not we, and therefore it is not the same?" (Greer, 2000, 27).

The Wendat and Hotinonshonni groups of New France were mostly sedentary, inhabiting village sites for about ten years before moving to a new location. Historians of ecology recognize that this practice helped to place less stress on local environments, because village relocation allowed the forests to grow back and the soil to regain fertility. These groups practiced horticulture, growing the "three sisters" complex of corn, beans, and squash, with diets supplemented by fish and game. These groups had come to inhabit sizable villages and established large populations. It is estimated that, on the eve of European invasion, the population of Huronia had reached as high as 30,000 people (Del  ge, 1993, 49). These horticultural societies divided work along gender lines, with women tending crops and doing other tasks such as sewing, cooking, gathering, and the important work of educating children. Meanwhile, men did some secondary horticultural work, including growing tobacco, as well as hunting and fishing (Del  ge, 1993, 50–52).

There is a wealth of written material about the indigenous peoples of New France because French colonial records have survived remarkably well. The diaries and reports of explorers such as Jacques Cartier and Samuel de Champlain give us a picture of indigenous life at the very first moments of European arrival. The voluminous *Jesuit Relations*, yearly reports sent by Jesuit missionaries back to France between 1632 and 1673, detail the customs, spiritual beliefs—essentially the everyday life—of the Natives of New France, whom the Jesuits were attempting to convert.

While contact with northeastern North America began with European fishermen off the coast of Canada in the late 1400s, the first sustained contact between the French and indigenous peoples began when Cartier first visited the area in the 1530s. Cartier described thickly populated villages along the Saint Lawrence River. The people whom Cartier encountered, and whom historians refer to as the Saint Lawrence Iroquois, had disappeared by the seventeenth century, and historians debate whether these people had migrated out of the region or had been exterminated by European diseases. Incidentally, Cartier also kidnapped several indigenous peo-





French explorer Jacques Cartier meets Native Americans at Hochelaga, now Montreal, in 1535. (Bettmann/Corbis)

ples, including the chief Donnacona, taking them to France to appear before King François I (Dickason, 1984, 210–211). French contact with Natives increased over the following decades, with Cartier's subsequent voyages, and the travels of Samuel de Champlain in the early 1600s. Champlain established a fortified settlement at Quebec in 1608.

French immigration to New France remained extremely low, due to the colony's isolation, its inhospitable climate, and a lack of silver and gold. By the 1650s, the colony included only 3,200 French inhabitants, many of them clustered around Quebec and other settlements, such as Trois-Rivières (established 1634) and Montreal (1642) (Greer, 1997, 5). Peter Moogk suggests that 10,825 European immigrants made a permanent home in the Saint Lawrence Valley before 1760 (Moogk, 2000, 113). As was the case across the Americas, infectious European diseases had an overwhelmingly destructive impact on indigenous populations.

As Olive Dickason has illustrated, the early modern French worldview classified indigenous peo-

ples as *les sauvages*, a term that denoted people living away from society, without a permanent residence, "by analogy, one who is rude and fierce" (Dickason, 1984, 63). According to Dickason, this was not a neutral categorization; using their moral framework, the French viewed Natives as "wild men" rather than as humans (Dickason, 1984, 63–64). However, as indicated by the initial trading partnerships with indigenous peoples, the attempts at settling and Christianizing Natives, and the high rate of cultural mixing through intermarriage, despite this disparaging term many French colonists did not view their Native hosts solely with contempt. Additionally, the French view of indigenous peoples changed over time, during the Enlightenment, as thinkers exchanged the image of the wild man for the noble savage (*le bon sauvage*), living in a state of nature uncorrupted by "civil society" (Dickason, 1984, 80–81).

A key feature of European interactions with Natives in New France was missionization. Champlain brought four Recollet (Franciscan) priests from France in 1615 to attempt conversions among the





Wendats. The Recollets had relatively little success and sought help from the Society of Jesus (Jesuits), a newly formed order that had been successful with missions in South America and Asia. The Jesuits came to hold a monopoly on mission work in New France from 1632 until the 1660s (Moogk, 2000, 29). Father Paul Le Jeune became the first Jesuit superior in New France and documented his daily life with the Innu in the *Relations*. When it came to conversions, the Jesuits were met mostly with failure, as it became apparent that semisendentary peoples would not yield many converts. With the hopes of converting indigenous peoples into French subjects, the Jesuits set up permanent mission settlements, such as those at Sillery near Quebec and Sainte Marie-aux-Hurons in Huronia. The missions acted as permanent bases for the Jesuit priests and became the home of Christian Natives, with a separate living area for the unconverted. With Europeans living among Native communities, disease spread through the missions with devastating effects on indigenous populations. Often, Native people blamed the Jesuits' "sorcery" for the death that ravaged their societies after the arrival of the French.

In the mission setting, the Jesuits had much more success with conversions. In Huronia, the Jesuits claimed a thousand baptisms in 1639–1640 and 620 in 1642 (Delège, 1993, 179). The mission at Sainte-Marie lasted only ten years (1639–1649) because increasing attacks made by Hotinonshonni people from the south resulted in the deaths of several Jesuit priests, including Jean de Brébeuf, and the settlement was seen as too dangerous. The remaining Wendat people were dispersed, some to Lorette near Quebec City and others to the midwestern United States via the Great Lakes.

With the beginning of the Seven Years' War, fought between England and France on both sides of the Atlantic, New France and its scattered European population became literally cut off from the empire when the English made the North American theater of war its main priority. The English victory in the war, which saw the transfer of New France to England, marked the end of French colonial rule in North America. However, despite changes brought about by England's policy toward indigenous people, the legacy of French colonialism remains visible in the province of Quebec today.

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*See also* Fur Trade; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Missionaries, French Jesuit.

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## Spanish Influence

Spain was the first European country to extensively colonize what today is North America. The Spanish approach to the region came from two directions. One was from the Caribbean area, primarily Cuba and Puerto Rico, into Florida. At its height of development, Spanish Florida included the coastal regions of Georgia and southern South Carolina. The second was into central Mexico and then northward to what today is the northern tier of Mexican states and California, Arizona, New Mexico, and Texas in the United States. The Spanish influence on the Native peoples of America went beyond the actual territories that they colonized. The Spanish first introduced modern horses into North America. Native peoples' acquisition of horses transformed their economy and sociopolitical organization, including those of peoples who moved to the Great Plains on a full-time basis. Spaniards did venture onto the Great Plains but never colonized the region.

Several elements framed the Spanish colonization of the north Mexican frontier and Florida. The first was the *reconquista*, the seven-century-long process of the reconquest of much of Iberia from the Muslims, who first invaded the region in 711. The protracted reconquista often proceeded in fits and starts, and the frontier between Muslim and Christian was permeable. However, the conflict had a profound influence on the development of Iberian





Catholicism and Iberian society, which in turn would impact Native America.

Iberian Catholicism became especially chauvinistic, exclusivistic, and militant. The Spanish state of Castile was the first to initiate a national inquisition independent of the papacy. As the reconquista drew to a close in 1492 with the conquest of Granada, the last Muslim state in the southern part of Iberia, the Catholic Queen Isabella ordered the expulsion of Jews who refused to convert to Christianity. About a century later in 1609, the crown ordered the expulsion of the remaining Muslim population in southern Iberia. Iberian Catholicism also had a strong thread of mysticism and Marianism, and championed the acceptance by the Catholic Church of the concept of the Immaculate Conception. Finally, the reform of the church, and particularly of the mendicant and monastic orders, created a pool of missionaries to be sent to the newly conquered lands to convert the Natives.

Following the discovery of the New World after 1492, the papacy theoretically assumed responsibility for the organization of missions to evangelize the newly encountered peoples. However, the papacy in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was embroiled in convoluted Italian politics, wars, and massive building projects that left the popes with insufficient resources to undertake such a massive enterprise. The 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas between Portugal and Spain ratified the donation and division of the non-Christian world between the two countries by the Spanish-born Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503). The papacy later made a number of concessions to the crown of Castile known as the *real patronato* (royal patronage).

In exchange for organizing and financing the evangelization of the large Native populations in its newly acquired territories, the crown gained considerable authority over the Catholic Church in its American territories. When the Spanish colonized Florida and the north Mexican frontier, the mission evolved as an important institution that combined the attributes of church and government, through the *real patronato*.

The Spanish developed a colonial Indian policy based on some of the sociopolitical structures of the Native peoples they encountered in central Mexico and other areas such as the Andean region (the Aztecs and the Incas). In these areas the Spanish encountered and conquered highly stratified hierarchical polities. The Native residents of these polities had a tradition of paying tribute and of providing

labor services to the state, a system that resembled Spain's in some ways.

The Native peoples of central Mexico lived in nucleated communities, which made it easy to organize labor drafts. Moreover, the Spanish created a system of indirect rule, allowing the Native communities autonomy as long as they complied with their obligations to the Spanish, a system that meshed with prior practice in Spain.

Moreover, community leaders were made responsible for the delivery of tribute and could be held personally accountable for arrears, a structure that the Spanish had used long before they encountered Indian nations.

On the northern frontier of Mexico, Spanish policy created communities modeled on those in central Mexico from scratch, whenever they encountered Native peoples who were not sedentary agriculturalists. The Spanish created the mission as a cost-effective institution to transform the sociocultural and political structure of the Native populations and to convert them to Catholicism.

Through the *real patronato*, the crown controlled the Catholic Church in Mexico and used this control to employ missionaries as quasi representatives of the colonial state. The missionaries created new communities from scratch (except in New Mexico), congregated Natives on the missions, and initiated the process of evangelization and sociocultural change. After a period of time, when the Natives living on the missions were deemed to be sufficiently acculturated, the missions were to be transformed into self-supporting communities. Franciscans and Jesuits staffed the vast majority of missions on the north Mexican frontier, and in 1773 Dominicans assumed control over the Baja California establishments.

After 1770 royal officials experimented with a new Indian policy geared more to the challenge of trying to control Native peoples living on the southern Great Plains and other areas beyond the pale of Spanish control. Peoples collectively identified by the Spanish as Apaches and Comanches, for example, rejected life on the missions and saw greater benefit from trade than subjugation.

The new policy entailed greater coordination of the frontier military, the reorganization and relocation of the military garrisons, campaigns to defeat the Native bands known as Apaches, and a military-trade alliance with the Comanches. Moreover, the Spanish created reservations where they resettled and subsidized bands of Apaches. Finally,





the Spanish relaxed their prohibition on providing firearms to Native peoples as a whole. (The Pueblos had been armed before 1770.)

The Spanish also sought to enhance the dependence of the Natives by providing defective weapons that would break down and require repair and by a growing reliance on trade goods supplied by the Spanish. This new policy became practical following the defeat of the French during the French and Indian War (1754–1763) and the acquisition of Louisiana by Spain. Prior to the ouster of the French from North America, they had served as a viable alternative to Native groups who did not want to live on the missions but who wanted to acquire European trade goods. The reservation and trade policy broke down with the beginning of the independence war in Mexico, which forced the royal government to suspend funding of the policy.

What other influences and effects did the Spanish colonization of northern Mexico have on Native peoples? In terms of material culture, the Spanish introduced livestock and horses, metal tools, and new crops such as wheat. There is no question that the resettlement of Natives on the missions modified their culture and social structure, but the extent of change is difficult to measure. Royal officials required the missionaries to report on conditions on the missions, and the missionaries themselves measured conversion by the number of sacraments recorded. At the same time there is extensive evidence of the persistence of traditional culture and particularly religious beliefs, generally in covert forms. In New Mexico, for example, the Katsinas (Katchina) religion survived efforts by the Franciscans in the seventeenth century to extirpate idolatry. Moreover, syncretism occurred in New Mexico. For example, some Pueblos still perform the Matachina Dance based on passion plays introduced by the missionaries. At the same time there are a number of reports written by missionaries that recorded the persistence of *mitotes*, pre-Hispanic dances, and of the continuing influence of shamans. Another important consequence of Spanish colonization was the demographic collapse of the Native populations resulting from the introduction of highly contagious crowd diseases and other factors. Many Native groups completely disappeared or merged with other polities.

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See also Katsinas; Mission System, Spanish; Slavery.

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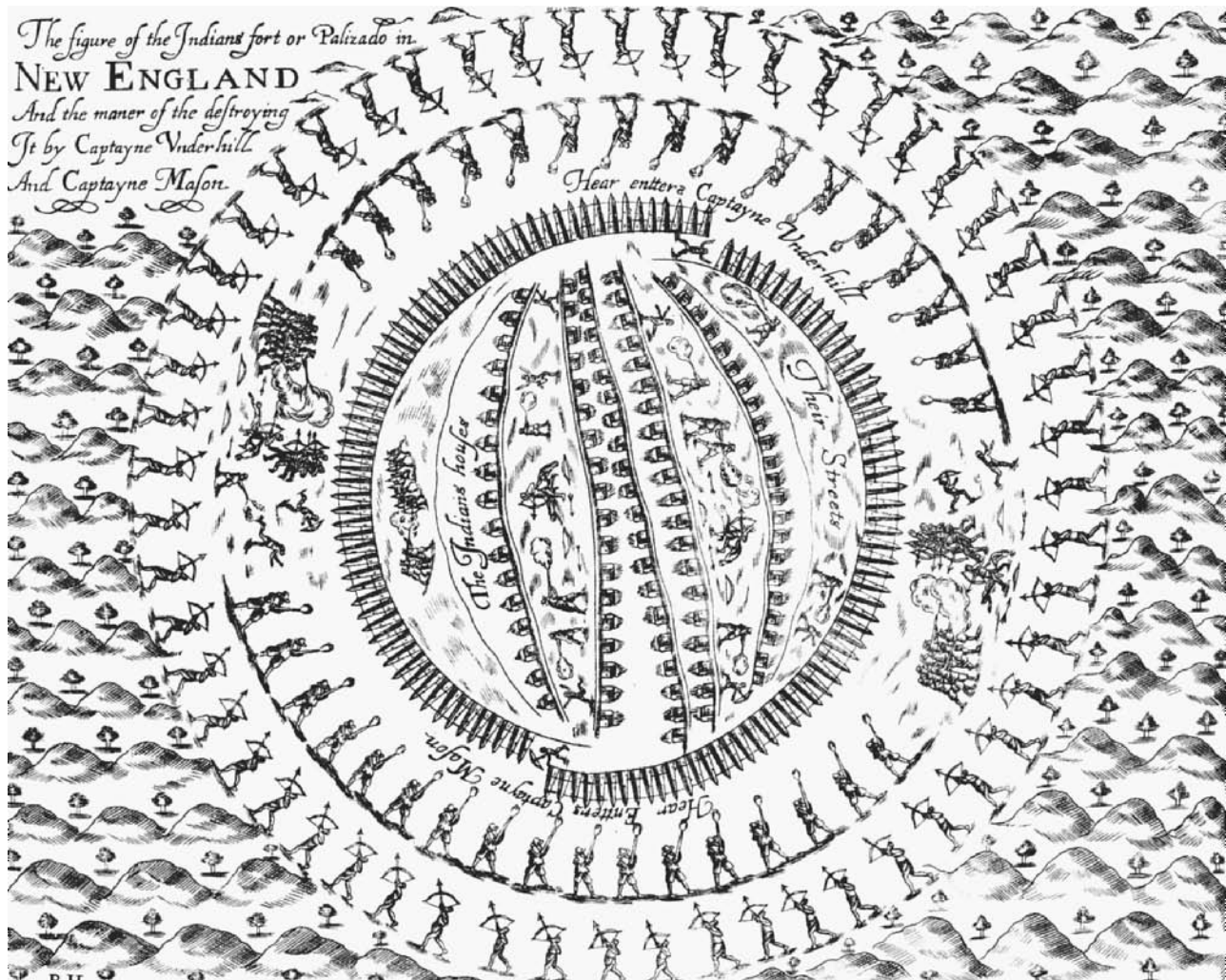
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## Pequot War

The Pequot War was the first major outbreak of armed hostilities between Native people and the English settlers of New England. Its outcome radically altered the demographic balance in southern New England. Before it, the English colonists were a tiny minority. After it, they were unquestionably dominant. The Pequot and Narragansett, the two principal Native nations between Boston and Providence, were devastated in the war.

In the early 1630s, the Puritans battled the Dutch for control of the lucrative fur trade around the Connecticut Valley. The Pequots considered this area to be their territory. In 1634, the Pequots, or their tributaries the Western Niantics, murdered a Narragansett trading party in the area. This event





Scenes from the defeat of the Pequot tribe in Connecticut in 1637. The Pequot War was the first conflict between Native Americans and New England colonists rooted in land ownership. (Library of Congress)

triggered a sharp escalation of conflict between the local Indian groups and the Dutch and Puritans.

The papers of Roger Williams, who founded the colony of Providence Plantations (later Rhode Island), provide an insightful window into the English side of the war. When word reached Boston that the Pequots were rallying a Native alliance to drive the Massachusetts Bay settlements into the sea, the Massachusetts Council sent urgent pleas to Williams to use his influence and his "utmost and speediest Endeavors" to keep the Narragansetts out of it. Within hours after the appeal arrived in the hands of an Indian runner, "scarce acquainting my wife," Williams boarded "a poor Canow & . . . cut through a stormie Wind and with great seas, euey [sic] minute in hazard of life to the Sachim's [Canonicus's] howse" (Ernst, 1932, 252). After traveling

thirty miles in the storm, Williams arrived at a Narragansett town larger than most of the English settlements of his day, knowing that the success or failure of the Pequot initiative might rest on whether he could dissuade his friends from joining in the uprising.

Canonicus listened to Williams with his son Mixanno at his side. The younger sachem was assuming the duties of leadership piecemeal as his father aged. The three men decided to seal an alliance, and within a few days officials from Boston were double-timing through the forest to complete the necessary paperwork. Later, Williams also won alliances with the Mohegan and Massachusetts nations, swinging the balance of power against the Pequots and their allies. The Indians welcomed the Puritan deputies with a feast of white chestnuts and





cornmeal with blackberries ("hasty pudding," later a New England tradition), as Williams translated for both sides, sealing the alliance.

The Puritan deputies were awed at the size of the Narragansett town, as well as the size of the hall in which they negotiated the alliance. The structure, about fifty feet wide, was likened to a statehouse by the men from Boston. Canonicus, so old that he had to lie on his side during the proceedings, surprised the Puritans with his direct questions and shrewd answers. The treaty was finally sealed much to the relief of the Puritans, who thought the Narragansetts capable of fielding 30,000 fighting men. Although they had only a sixth that number, the Narragansetts still were capable of swinging the balance of power for or against the immigrants, who had been in America only sixteen years at the time.

Following the murder of the Narragansett trading party, the Dutch held the Pequot sachem, Tabotem, hostage in an effort to punish the Indians. A series of Pequot killings of whites ensued, followed by a Pequot raid on the settlement of Wethersfield in retaliation on April 23, 1637, that left thirty whites dead. The war escalated and reached its climax with the burning of a thatch fort in the Pequot village at Mystic, trapping as many as 600 Indian men, women, and children in a raging inferno. The few who managed to crawl out of this roaring furnace jumped back into it when they faced a wall of Puritan swords. Puritan soldiers and their Indian allies waded through pools of Pequot blood, holding their noses against the stench of burning flesh.

The wind-driven fire consumed the entire structure in half an hour. A few Pequot bowmen stood their ground amid the flames, until their bows singed and they fell backward into the fire, sizzling to death. Bradford recalled: "Those that escaped the fire were slain with the sword, some hewed to pieces, others run through with their rapiers, so that they were quickly dispatched and very few escaped. It was conceived that they thus destroyed about 400 at this time. It was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire, and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stink and scent thereof" (Bradford, 1967, 296).

Having described the massacre, Bradford then indicated how little guilt the Puritans felt about it. "The victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands and give them so speedy a victory" (Bradford, 1967, 296). While a few Puritans remon-

strated, many put the war in the category of God's necessary business, along with all sorts of other things, from smallpox epidemics to late frosts and early freezes.

The Pequot War had the effect of destroying most of the Pequot tribe. Local tribes, vastly reduced by war and disease, were in no position to offer serious resistance to non-Native encroachments and subjugation in southern New England for forty years, until the onset of King Philip's War.

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*See also* Canonicus; Massasoit; Pequot War; Williams, Roger.

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## Beaver Wars

The phrase "Beaver Wars" has become an historical shorthand reference for the Haudenosaunee campaign against the Wyandots, western Iroquois, and Algonquin-speaking tribes allied with the French from the 1640s to around 1700. The wars culminated in the defeat of the Wyandots and western Iroquois speakers located in the southern Great Lakes region, and they led to some Haudenosaunee assimilation by 1650. Like most wars, this one had more than one provocation. The most prominent, however, was competition over the diminishing stocks of beaver and other fur-bearing animals. The Haudenosaunee cause during this conflict was aided immeasurably by their relatively recent acquisition of European firearms that the Wyandots and Algonquin nations, for the most part, lacked. The Mohawks, situated near the trading centers at Albany and Montreal, were among the first to acquire a stock of firearms; one French source estimated that they had close to 300 guns by 1643 (Richter, 1992, 62).





French illustration of a “Guerrier Iroquois” or Iroquois warrior. (Library of Congress)

At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Wyandots (Hurons), who lived near Georgian Bay on Lake Huron, were a prosperous confederacy of 25,000 to 30,000 people, comparable to the Haudenosaunee. The Wyandots had built a confederacy similar in structure to the Haudenosaunee (although more geographically compact). By 1642, the Wyandots had allied with the French and also had entered an alliance with the Susquehannocks, south of the Iroquois.

By 1640, the Wyandot economy was almost completely dependent on trade with the French. At the same time, weakened by disease, the Wyandots found themselves facing waves of raids by the Iroquois (principally Mohawks and Senecas), who were seeking to capture the Wyandots' share of the fur trade. The Wyandots' location at the center of several trade routes also made them an appealing target for attack at a time when the demand for beaver pelts was rising and the available supply of the animals was declining.

For nearly a decade, the Mohawks and Senecas harassed the Wyandots. Fearing Iroquois attacks, the Wyandots curtailed their trade with the French. Between 1647 and 1650, a final Iroquois drive swept over the Wyandots' homeland, causing the dissolution of their confederacy as well as the usurpation by the Senecas and Mohawks of the Wyandots' share of the fur trade.

Iroquois pressure against the Wyandots continued for several years, as Wyandot refugees sought new homes throughout the Great Lakes and Saint Lawrence Valley. Many Wyandot refugees experienced acute hunger, and a sizable number starved. Some Wyandots became so hungry that they ate human excrement; others dug up the bodies of the dead and ate them, a matter of desperation and great shame because cannibalism is directly contrary to Wyandot belief and custom.

Scattered communities of Wyandots gradually revived traditional economies after the hungry years of the 1650s. Many Wyandots settled in or near European communities (including Jesuit missions). Even those who became Christianized, however, continued during these years to live in longhouses, to hunt and trap as much as possible, and to practice slash-and-burn agriculture. At the same time, the Iroquois adopted and socialized some Wyandot prisoners into the various Haudenosaunee families and clans. Iroquois peoples did this to replenish their societies, which had been hard hit by European diseases and the casualties of nearly continual war.

The last half of the seventeenth century saw intermittent warfare and peace, as the Iroquois struggled to gain access to more fur-bearing areas to acquire more beaver, deer, and other furs and skins for trade with the English and Dutch. The Iroquois tried to negotiate commercial treaties with the western Indian nations, but the French worked to keep their political allies distinct from the New York-based English groups. The Algonquin nations—Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatamie, and others—were forced by the wars to migrate westward. The Chippewa moved into present-day Wisconsin and Minnesota, forcing Native nations in those regions to the south or west. The Lakota, some Dakota, Cheyenne, and Nakota were forced onto the Great Plains in the middle 1700s because the better armed Chippewa came to occupy present-day Minnesota.

By 1700, the Beaver Wars diminished significantly. The Iroquois were nearing exhaustion from the intermittent years of warfare and realized that





the British were starting to occupy the Mohawk Valley in present-day upstate New York. They consequently moved to establish a diplomatic policy of balancing relations between the French in New France and the British colony of New York. The Iroquois also moved to establish diplomatic alliances and commercial agreements with the western Indian nations, promising access to trade at Albany in return for access to hunting and trapping grounds in the Great Lakes region.

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*See also* Fur Trade; Trade; Warfare, Intertribal.

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## Pueblo Revolt

The 1680 Pueblo Revolt in New Mexico was one of many Native American rebellions against Spanish rule. Unlike the earlier revolts in the region, it coordinated large-scale revolt resulted in temporary independence for many Pueblo villages and a short-term elimination of the Spanish from the region. The Spanish returned in 1692 and reconquered the area.

The Pueblo Revolt was preceded by a generation of starvation and disease that was brought on by warm temperatures, drought-like conditions, and raids by Apaches, Navajos, and other Native groups. As these raids increased in the 1670s, the desperation of the Pueblos increased and they abandoned their communities on the edge of the High Plains. The arrival of refugees furthered the food shortages.

While many Pueblos turned to traditional religious leaders and ceremonies to resolve the crisis, Spanish missionaries used violence and intimidation to enforce and maintain the imposed Catholic orthodoxy. They repressed many Pueblo religious ceremonies, banned liturgical practices, and punished those who continued to practice what the Spanish deemed sorcery. Attempts to resist the new rule were brutally repressed. In 1599, for example, the Spanish burned the pueblo of Acoma to the ground for its resistance to Spanish rule and then cut off the right foot of every adult male Acoman.

Around 1675, the repression increased as Spanish officials vigorously enforced their prohibitions, created new bans on certain dances, began destroying prayer sticks and masks, and seized altars and ceremonial chambers called kivas. The inability of the Spanish to protect the Pueblos from Apache raids created further anger with the Catholic presence.

Across the Southwest, leaders from individual pueblos voiced their anger over these Spanish policies. The Spanish responded swiftly to quiet the discontent. In 1675, for example, Governor Juan Francisco de Trevino had four dozen religious leaders whipped and sentenced to hard labor for continuing to practice banned ceremonies. At least one of these religious leaders, El Popé of San Juan Pueblo, would play an influential role in the Pueblo Revolt.

Repression curtailed localized rebellions in the short term, but it did not quell the frustrations among the Pueblos. Rather than acquiesce to the demands of the Spaniards, in 1680 Pueblo leaders coordinated a unified military response to eliminate the Spaniards from the region north of El Paso. The subsequent revolt united approximately seventeen thousand Indians who spoke at least six languages and various dialects and who lived in more than twenty-four towns across hundreds of miles.

The rebellion emanated from the kiva at Taos, where Pueblo leaders met in secret to orchestrate the rebellion. They sent out knotted cords to various pueblos, with orders to untie the knots daily to count down the days to the attack. Two days before the last knot was to be untied, the Spanish uncovered the plot and captured two Pueblo messengers. As a result, the Indians attacked on August 10, a day ahead of schedule. For the next month, Spaniards fled to Santa Fe and Isleta Pueblo to escape the Pueblo rebels. The Pueblos laid siege to Santa Fe, and, finally on September 21, they allowed the refugees to head south down the Rio Grande to El Paso. Santa Fe was sacked and burned, and the Spanish presence was eliminated from the region.

The rebels killed at least 380 of the 2,500 Spanish colonists, killed twenty-one of the thirty-three Franciscan friars, and rid the region of the Spanish presence. They destroyed churches, stopped using Spanish names, returned to traditional forms of dress, and otherwise renounced their baptisms and conversion to Catholicism.

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*See also* Spanish Influence.





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## Russians, in the Arctic/Northwest

The history of Native interactions with Russians in Alaska and the far Northwest is really a history of two institutions that often operated at cross-purposes: the Russian Orthodox Church and the Russian American Company. The church, like so many other religious groups in colonial North America, charged itself with saving the souls of the Natives. The company's self-defined purpose was making a profit from the colony's extensive fur resources. The political interaction between the Russian American Company, the Orthodox Church, and the czar's government back in St. Petersburg would profoundly affect changes both in the short-lived nature of the company's mission and the permanent structure of the church.

Beginning in the seventeenth century, Russia began expanding eastward toward Siberia and China, and the Orthodox faith accompanied Russian colonization efforts from the beginning. Although small, transitory Russian settlements had been built by profit-seeking *promyshlenniki* (fur hunters) throughout the mid-eighteenth century, the first verifiable, permanent settlement was established by Grigorii I. Shelikov, later to head the Russian American Company, on Kodiak Island in 1784. Shelikov was among the first to anticipate the possible profits and benefits of Alaskan colonization. Fifteen years later, the Russian American Company was granted a monopoly on the exploitation of the natural resources and governmental control of Alaska, and the city of Novo-Arkhangel'sk (later named Sitka) was established as the capital of Russian America.

Orthodox missionaries played a major role in the settlement process during this early period of

Russian expansion eastward. Native people were baptized by the thousands and given Russian names. Many of these newly Russified Natives were rewarded for their conversion by being released from paying taxes to the Cossack rulers and by promises of employment by the hunters and traders. This conversion of Native people, Russian/Native marriages, baptizing of children, and promises of religiously determined economic gain laid a foundation for the religious conversion policies established in Siberia and the Far East that would be used later in North America.

Between the first Russian American settlement at Three Saints Harbor, near Kodiak, in 1784, and the establishment of the first mission, the explorers themselves were primarily responsible for these rudimentary rituals. The Orthodox mission in Russian America was first authorized by Catherine II in 1793, and then established at Kodiak, the first capital of the colony, on September 24, 1794, by a group of monks sent from the Valaam monastery in St. Petersburg. One of these monks, Archimandrite Ioasaph, was elected to be the first bishop of the new colony.

Ioasaph complained to Shelikov about conditions in Russian America in a letter he wrote in May 1795. Apparently, the company's general manager, Alexander Baranov, was unwilling to assist the priests and even showed outright hostility toward the initial efforts to found a mission church in Kodiak. Ioasaph complained of Baranov's exploits with women, of his encouraging the hostility of the *promyshlenniki* against the priests, and of insufficient resources and food. The company was proving a hindrance to the monks rather than a help. After being consecrated as bishop in April 1798, Ioasaph died in a shipwreck on the way back to America, with all but three of the other monks. For the next two decades only those three surviving monks remained in Russian America, and a state of constant enmity existed between them and Baranov (Starr, 1987, 127). Both religious rituals and missionary activities were almost nonexistent due to the lack of trained clergy in the colony. Finally in 1816, a small church was erected in the new city of Novo-Arkhangel'sk, and Aleksei Sokolov came to serve as its first priest, performing baptisms and other church rituals for people who came from all over Russian America.

Along with the first group of monks sent to America from the Valaam Seminary in St. Petersburg in 1794 was a monk named Herman who was to become the Native populations' most adamant





*A Russian Orthodox church on Attu Island in Alaska. Many Native Aleutians were converted by Russian priests before its purchase by the United States and then maintained the religion. (Library of Congress)*

defender against the Russian American Company (Rochau, 1972, 17–18). When Herman arrived in Alaska, relations between the Russians and the Natives were very poor, and, by 1819 (and until 1823), there were only two other monks besides Herman left in Russian America. This period between the first settlements and the reorganization of the Russian American Company in 1821 was a time of great persecution by the profit-seeking *promyshlenniki*, both of the Orthodox Church and the Native populations in Russian America. After the death of Ioasaph, Herman, as the superior among the three remaining monks in Russian America, reported on these incidents in letters back to Russia.

Because the *promyshlenniki* were not adept at the hunting of sea otter furs, and the Aleut and Kodiak populations were, the Russians soon found that they would need to either buy or coerce the assistance of

the Native populations to exploit this resource (Starr, 1987, 78). In some cases, the pelts were a form of tribute paid by the Aleuts to the Russians, with hostages being held by the Russians to ensure payment. Later, a quasi-feudal system developed, in which the Aleuts were required to work for the Russian American Company and received the goods they needed to survive in return for sea otter pelts. This system was a reaction to the system in place in Russia. Aleut men were separated from their families for long periods of time and forced to hunt in far-off regions (Starr, 1987, 80). As time passed, many of the Natives began to rebel against this system. In the 1760s, armed Aleuts killed the crews of three (or four, according to some reports) Russian vessels (Starr, 1987, 112).

Incidents such as these made it clear to Shelikov that greater support of the church by the company





would be necessary to control the Native populations, but as of 1820 only one priest and one monk remained in Russian America. However, these factors helped lead to the reorganization of the company in the early 1820s. After this occurred, the relationship between the Orthodox church and the Russian American Company became one of codependence. When the Russian American Company's charter was to be renewed by the czar, Nicholas I stipulated that the company was ordered to provide adequate financial resources from its own profits for the needs of the Orthodox Church and its Russian, Creole, and Native parishioners (Rochau, 1971, 106). A string of mediocre leaders filled the position of bishop of Alaska from that point until 1840, when Ivan Veniaminov (later named St. Innocent), who had been working as a diocesan priest on Unalaska Island and at Novo-Arkhangel'sk since 1822, became bishop. It would be under his guidance that the Russian Orthodox Church would gain a truly permanent foothold on the North American continent.

Veniaminov reported that, between 1799 and 1828, the Native population had decreased rapidly. This was due in large part to fatalities that occurred during the long hunting expeditions on which the Russian American Company sent parties of Natives. Also, the absence of the Aleut men on these parties caused starvation among the remaining Native peoples in their villages. Veniaminov also noted that the state of the education of the Natives was extremely poor and that Herman was the only monk teaching in a school for Natives. Because he was held in high esteem, Herman's letters back to church and government officials in Russia were effective in that they were one of the causes for the reorganization of the Russian American Company, which eventually led to more ecclesiastical leadership in America. Only because of a new company charter from the czar was there any renewed interest in both education and ecclesiastical leadership. Although the Russian American Company paid the priest's salaries, not many newly ordained clergy were interested in making the hazardous journey into an unknown area where some had already been martyred. To the extent that the ecclesiastical situation had deteriorated, so had the education of Natives, Creoles, and Russians in America.

Veniaminov designed and built the Church of the Holy Ascension, along with his own home and a school in 1826 (Veniaminov, 1993, 47). He and his wife taught in the school, which had about a hundred pupils of both genders, instructing them in

scholastic subjects and trades. This education, like all assistance to Native Alaskans, did not come without a price, however. All men educated in company schools were obligated to serve the Russian American Company for ten to fifteen years (Chevigny, 1965, 199–200).

Veniaminov then undertook the task of learning the local language and put it into writing. Although Russian was the primary language taught in the school, after he had gained enough proficiency, he taught a course in the Native language, called Aleutian-Fox. He compiled an Aleutian-Fox dictionary, a grammar, and a primer to teach the children. He then translated into the Native language the Orthodox Catechism, the entire gospel of Matthew, the book of Acts, and part of the gospel of Luke into Aleutian-Fox, along with a sermon he had authored titled "An Indication of the Path to the Heavenly Kingdom" and a brief history of the Orthodox church (Oleska, 1992, 344).

Veniaminov took many trips to the surrounding islands of Akun and Unga, where sizable Native populations lived. While on these islands, he performed and explained the rites of the church, along with the sacraments of baptism and confession, for the Native Aleutians. He also blessed all of the marriages, allowing them to be recognized in the sight of the Orthodox Church. Interestingly, in a demonstration of the overlapping of civil and ecclesiastical authority, Veniaminov also had to administer the oath of allegiance to Czar to all Russians, Creoles, and Natives that he ministered to. Veniaminov even encouraged the older Natives to continue to tell their myths and legends, and he himself was not an apologist for earlier Russian atrocities committed against the Aleut populations. Veniaminov's journals, letters, and edicts verify a view of him as a missionary who did not use forced conversion as a tactic, but who attempted to integrate Russian and Native beliefs.

After the death of his wife, Veniaminov was transferred to Novo-Arkhangel'sk, the new episcopal seat of Russian America, becoming bishop of Alaska in 1840. The Russian American Company was seeking a renewal of its charter at the time, and, because the Russian government was very concerned with the welfare of the church in America, the construction of a new cathedral was a high priority to the company (Nordlander, 1995, 24–25). His growing influence can be seen in the new company charter, in that Russians working in America were forbidden to use force against the Natives, except in





keeping peace, and could not establish any posts without the consent of the local Native population. Governmental and church authority overlapped in this period to prevent Native abuses. This was not always out of sympathy. The fact that the company was better off, in tandem with the appointment of church leaders like Veniaminov, created less pressure to exploit the Native populations for monetary gain. He also became an ambassador to the other colonial powers in the region, as he entertained foreign visitors such as Hudson's Bay Company chief, George Simpson.

From Novo-Arkhangel'sk, Veniaminov directed the expansion of Orthodox mission work in the vast Alaskan interior, whereas before missions had been established only near the coastline. With the establishment of many missions, he would help to create communities of Native Orthodox believers that still exist today. The long-term success of these missions was based on Veniaminov's emphasis on the enculturation of the liturgy and theology of the Orthodox church. Just as he had learned the Aleut language, Veniaminov strove to learn the Tlingit language upon his arrival in Novo-Arkhangel'sk. Other priests were not as willing or able to learn the Native languages as Veniaminov, so a seminary was established in 1845 to train Native clergy, who Veniaminov thought were necessary to the long-term success of the church in America. Most Russians were in America only temporarily, whereas the Native clergy were permanent residents, and they had a stake in the future of the region. The seminary trained priests, deacons, and lay readers. Some of these went on to train further at seminaries in Russia before returning to Alaska. This indigenization of the Orthodox clergy would prove essential to the survival of the faith (and, with it, Russian influence) in Alaska after the sale of the region to the United States in 1867.

Veniaminov's methods may explain the continued strength of the Russian Orthodox Church among Native Alaskans, even a hundred and forty years after the end of Russian rule in the region. During the initial period after the sale of Alaska to the United States, most Russians returned home, and the Aleuts primarily continued the operation of schools, churches, and trading posts (Oleksa, 1987, 165). After 1920, nearly all clergy were Native. Veniaminov's vision of an indigenized church is what would allow it to survive both in the changing political climates, and in the lives of Native converts.

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*See also* Fur Trade; Hudson's Bay Company.

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## French and Indian War

The final intercolonial war between France and Great Britain, the French and Indian War (1754–1763), like the three wars before it, had European roots. Called the Seven Years' War in Europe, the French and Indian War actually began two years earlier than its European counterpart. The three prior French–English conflicts in America were largely centered in the Northeast, but the French and Indian War shifted to the Ohio River Valley, an area that had become increasingly important as European interests began to reach west beyond the Appalachians.

The French, who sought a corridor of trade to connect the Mississippi River and Louisiana with their outposts on the Great Lakes and beyond, built a series of forts in the Ohio Valley, the most important being Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh). At the same time, the British crown, with a continuing eye toward colonization, had offered large land grants there for settlement. Under the circumstances, it was inevitable that the two powers would collide.

The opening stages of the war saw the advantage go to the French. As early as 1754, a young Virginian named George Washington was involved in an unsuccessful attempt to capture Fort Duquesne. The next year, a second, more determined effort ended ignominiously. A column of British regulars under the command of General Edward Braddock





was ambushed and routed by the French and their Indian allies in July 1755. British casualties were heavy; Braddock himself was mortally wounded. Humiliated and devastated, the British column was forced to withdraw. The Ohio Valley Indians, concerned with the growing threat of European-American invasion, viewed Braddock's defeat as an opportunity to strike a further blow against the English. In the following year, thousands of European-American immigrants from Virginia and Pennsylvania to South Carolina felt the fury of Indian attacks.

The British position continued to deteriorate. Increasingly, Indian nations and tribes, some from as far west as the Great Lakes, threw their support behind the French; they saw an opportunity not only to drive back the hated white settlers but to plunder as well. Despite the efforts of Sir William Johnson, Indian agent, the British, who had seen the powerful

Delaware and Shawnee nations ally with the French, feared that the Iroquois might also join the enemy.

In August 1756, a combined French and Indian force captured Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario and the following year took Fort William Henry, situated at the foot of New York's Lake George. Following the capture of Fort William Henry, immortalized in James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans*, many of the British garrison, including women and children, were massacred by Indian allies of the French as they marched out of the fort, despite the customary assurances of honorable treatment as prisoners of war. The French, mortified at the slaughter, were unable to control their allies.

The 1757 appointment of the controversial William Pitt the Elder as British prime minister was perhaps the turning point in the French and Indian War. One of Pitt's first steps was to strengthen the



Ottawa chief Pontiac and Major Robert Rogers meet in 1763 to agree on peace terms after the siege of Detroit during the French and Indian War. (Library of Congress)





British forces in North America and to appoint able commanders to prosecute the war to a successful conclusion. He also instituted a stronger policy regarding the employment of Indian allies. No less important, particularly in the area of Indian relations, was the work of Sir William Johnson, whose tireless efforts to convince the Iroquois to remain neutral at last bore fruit. The Iroquois, in turn, persuaded the Delawares to cease warfare against the British. The tide was beginning to turn.

During the summer of 1758, a strong British force failed to take Fort Ticonderoga (Fort Carillon to the French), but that failure was offset by the capture of Fort Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island, and Fort Frontenac, both located in Ontario. British fortunes were also improving in the south, where General John Forbes cut a new trail through the Pennsylvania wilderness in yet another effort to take Fort Duquesne.

Forbes's strategy produced the Treaty of Easton, in which the British managed to enlist strong Indian support for their effort to take Fort Duquesne, which many of the Indians were anxious to see abandoned—regardless of whom it belonged to. In return for the Indians' support, the British provided certain financial considerations and their promise to withdraw from the Ohio River country. Surrounded and unable to be supplied, the French abandoned Fort Duquesne, which Forbes promptly occupied and renamed Fort Pitt.

A year later, in 1759, a mixed force of British regulars and Iroquois allies took Fort Niagara. Sensing the vulnerability of their position, the French then abandoned Fort Carillon (Ticonderoga) and Crown Point and withdrew to Canada. In September 1759, British General James Wolfe's defeat of the French Army, commanded by Marquis Louis-Joseph de Montcalm, on the Plains of Abraham resulted in the surrender of Quebec. The deaths of the two generals, Wolfe and Montcalm, made the British victory one of the epic stories of history. For all intents and purposes, the British victory at Quebec marked the end of the French and Indian War, although some historians believe France had privately conceded victory to the British.

The Treaty of Paris (1763) officially ended the intercolonial wars between England and France. The conclusion of the French and Indian War was a watershed event that marked the end of French power in North America. As a result of the treaty, England acquired Canada and all of Spanish Florida. For the next two decades, England would be the sole, dominant power in North America.

*See also* Fur Trade.

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## California Indians, Genocide of

On January 24, 1848, gold was discovered on the South Fork of the American River in California. One hundred and fifty years later, the state of California observed the sesquicentennial of the 1849 gold rush. The anniversary, however, was no cause for celebration among California Indians. The Spanish mission system, the seizure of California from Mexico by the United States, the influx of thousands of American miners and settlers, and California statehood—all had disastrous consequences for the Indian peoples. Sherburne Cook, an expert on California Indian demography, found that between 1770 and 1900 the Native population experienced a fall from 310,000 to approximately 20,000, a decline of over 90 percent.

### Genocide

Given the enormity of the population decline and its rapidity following the gold rush, it is appropriate to examine the concept of genocide as defined in international law. The Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide was unanimously adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on December 9, 1948. It became international law following World War II in recognition of the crimes against humanity committed by Nazi Germany that annihilated millions of people because of their religions or ethnic origins. Ninety-seven nations have ratified the Convention, most of them within a few years after its passage, but it was not ratified by the United States Senate until 1985 after almost thirty-six years of delay and contentious debate.

The Genocide Convention outlaws the commission of certain acts with intent to destroy, wholly or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. What is less known is that the scope of the Convention is much broader than forbidding the actual killing of such groups. The Convention also includes





*Sutter's Creek in Amador County, California, was at the heart of the California gold rush that had a devastating effect on the Native American population. (Library of Congress)*

acts of causing serious bodily or mental harm; the deliberate infliction of conditions of life calculated to bring about physical destruction; imposing measures to prevent birth; and forcibly transferring children of one group to another group. Furthermore, the definition includes not only the commission of such acts as punishable, but also the conspiracy to commit genocide, the direct and public incitement, the attempt to commit, and complicity. The Convention specifies that it is genocide whether such acts are committed in a time of peace or in a time of war.

An examination of the California Indian case makes it absolutely clear that the crime of genocide was committed indirectly during the Spanish and Mexican periods of hegemony and directly by the Americans following the 1849 gold rush. The information contained in this essay can provide only a brief outline of the scope of the tragedy.

### Spain and the Mission System

The Spanish period of conquest introduced a system of religious missions that began in 1769 and ended in 1821. Spanish policy was to convert the Indians to Christianity and to use Indian labor to further Spanish economic aims. A chain of twenty-one Franciscan missions were established along a narrow section of the California coast from San Diego in the south to San Francisco in the north. The Spaniards also founded

civilian towns (*pueblos*) and military garrisons (*presidios*). In the countryside were *ranchos*, where soldiers and settlers grazed stock using Indian labor.

By 1805 there were twenty thousand neophytes (Indian converts to Christianity) in the Spanish missions. Although Indian persons were recognized as human beings with souls and limited rights, Spanish laws nevertheless permitted armed Spaniards to round up the peaceful coastal Indians and impress them into *de facto* slavery. The Indian lands seized were then held in trust by the Spanish crown under the *encomienda* system, by which the Spanish administered their colonies. California became, in effect, a Spanish military colony. Spanish policy was not to annihilate the Native population directly, as occurred later during the gold rush, but rather to absorb it as a labor force for Spanish ranches and the agriculturally based missions. Mission life was brutal and harsh. Indian neophytes were forced to construct the mission buildings, herd the cattle, work the fields, and wait on the mission priests. Men and women were segregated with the men confined to coffin-like rooms with barely enough space in which to lie down, and the women and girls were housed in bare dormitories called "nunneries." Indian marriage and divorce customs were suppressed, along with all aspects of Native religion. Anglo-borne diseases easily ravaged the concentrated mission populations. A measles epidemic in 1806 killed 1,600, and in some missions children under ten years were almost entirely wiped out. Malnutrition was a persistent problem. Labor was unpaid, and the neophytes were punished by the Franciscans for the smallest infractions. Indians who ran away, or who resisted, were severely punished if not killed. Typical punishments included whipping with a barbed lash, solitary confinement, mutilation, use of stocks and hobbles, branding, and even execution.

Although limited in its geographic scope, the harsh conditions of mission life resulted in the disintegration of most coastal Indian societies and a significant decline in the overall indigenous population of interior California. The total Native population declined by half, from over 300,000 to 150,000 Indians before the end of the mission system.

Missionization often met with Native resistance. Neophytes at times poisoned or murdered the Franciscan fathers. There were also outright revolts. Among the most noteworthy was the 1824 uprising at Missions La Purisima and Santa Barbara. There were also mass escapes, such as the one in 1795 in





*The San Xavier Del Bac Mission in Tucson, Arizona, was founded by the Jesuit Eusebio Kino in 1700 as part of the Spanish Mission system in the New World. (Corel)*

which over 200 Costanoan Indians fled Mission Dolores. Nonviolent resistance included the practice of abortion and the infanticide of children born out of forced concubinage of Indian women by priests and soldiers.

### **Mexico and Secularization**

After sixty-five years of Spanish rule, the missions were abandoned in 1834 when Mexico achieved its independence from Spain. After the Mexican Revolution, the 1824 Constitution formally secularized the mission system. California's Indians were made citizens of the new republic, and mission property, at least in theory, was turned over to them. Franciscan resistance and the political turmoil of the period, however, forestalled secularization. As late as 1836, the Franciscans continued to mount military campaigns to seize new "recruits" from the interior for labor at the missions. In reality, Mexican policy was essentially the same as that of Spanish rule. Neither Spain nor Mexico acknowledged Indian ownership of the land.

The Mexican period was a time of confusion and disarray for the Indians, and it led to further depopulation. Some of the emancipated neophytes hired themselves out as farm laborers and servants. There were also those who revolted, as in the Santa Ynez Revolt of 1824. Some fled to the interior to join still independent Indian communities. Those employed on the *ranchos* became victims of the hacienda system of peonage bordering on slavery. Yet others were left at the mercy of the *pueblos*, where they were exploited as domestics, plied with alcohol, and left for a life of poverty and debauchery.

These oppressive conditions contributed to the spread of European-introduced diseases that caused most of the deaths during the period of Mexican rule. The Pandemic of 1833 killed an estimated 4,500 Indians, and a smallpox outbreak killed several thousand more. As a result, by the time of the American invasion there were only about 6,000 exmission Indians still residing along the coast, along with 7,000 predominately Indian-Mexicans. There were also about 700 Europeans.





More than a 100,000 Natives remained in interior California.

### Americans and the Gold Rush

The American period commenced with the U.S. victory over Mexico and the Bear Flag Revolt by the “Americanos” in between 1846 and 1848. The discovery of gold in 1849 and the rush of miners and settlers that followed the discovery completely overwhelmed the Native population. As word of the gold discovery spread, prospectors flocked to the hills to wash the sands and gravels of mother lode streams and rivers. Mining operations destroyed Native fish dams, polluted salmon streams, and frightened away the wild game. A pastoral California, with its Indian population, Spanish missions, and Mexican *ranchos*, was quickly overrun by an invasion of gold seekers from throughout the world, the Forty-Niners. A virulent racism was spawned in the quest for riches, and a holocaust of the California Indians was ensured.

Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which was signed at the end of the Mexican–American War, the United States was obligated to recognize two kinds of property rights: traditional *rancho* rights of the *Californios* and open land where Indian title was still intact, including Indian villages and the abandoned missions. Yet the American authorities immediately violated the treaty after taking over California.

The discovery of gold at John Sutter’s sawmill on the American River in 1848 ushered in a period of extreme abuse of the Indians. To mobilize the dispossessed Indian labor force, the U.S. military government in California decreed that Indians who did not work for ranchers or who did not have an official passport could expect to be tried and punished. Worse, an Indian might be shot on the pretext that he was a horse thief. By the end of that summer, 4,000 miners, half of them Indian, were prospecting for gold. This atmosphere of tolerance toward Indian gold miners lasted no more than a year.

Unlike other Indians in the Far West, Native Californians often lived and worked with non-Indians in the early conquest era. This was especially the case during the Spanish and Mexican periods before 1850. The Gold Rush fundamentally changed this relationship when California became marked by a precipitous Indian population decline, unique in U.S. frontier history. Before the gold discovery, Indians outnumbered whites by nearly ten to one, but by the early 1850s whites had come to

outnumber Indians by almost two to one. Gold fever resulted in tens of thousands of immigrants— young single men, flocking to the California gold fields, hoping to strike it rich. Insatiable greed dominated the immigrant population, and unbridled individualism marked the new California society. As a result, the white population steadily rose to more than 200,000 while the Indian population reached its nadir of 23,000 by 1880, about 15 percent of its pre-Gold Rush population.

Most immigrants viewed the Indian people as worthless, and they were appalled by the Mexican custom of sanctioned miscegenation (interracial sexual unions). They were imbued with a frontier mentality that taught them to despise Native peoples as subhuman “diggers.” (Many California Indians used digging sticks to harvest roots and other food sources from the soil, hence the name “digger,” which became a pejorative.) Before they were driven from the gold fields, some Indian miners were able to enter the trade system by bargaining their gold for trade goods. The traders countered by inventing “the Digger ounce,” a lead slug that dishonestly outweighed the legitimate weights used to measure the gold brought in by white miners.

### The Massacres

The Forty-Niner Gold Rush initiated a holocaust for California’s Native population that scarcely diminished in intensity until the end of the nineteenth century. The Indian people were cheated, debauched by liquor and white demands for sex, starved, rounded up, and herded on brutal forced marches to small reservations (virtual concentration camps), enslaved in debt peonage, brutally murdered and massacred, and denied civil rights and equal justice before California’s courts and institutions. The immigrant intruders shot Indians on sight as the Indians were gathering food or fish, or trying to protect their women and daughters from rape and kidnap. Hundreds of Indian homes were burned and the human occupants trapped by surrounding gunfire.

Some Indian peoples, like the Modocs under Kentipoo, also known as Captain Jack, fought back. One hundred and fifty Modoc warriors and their families successfully held off over 3,000 U.S. Army troops for nearly a year. In the end, the resisters were captured and the leaders hanged. After execution, the warriors were decapitated and their heads sent off to Washington for “scientific investigation.” Grave robbers later disinterred Kentipoo’s body,





embalmed it, and displayed it in a carnival in Eastern cities. His skull was not returned to the Modocs by the government until 1984.

Between 1848 and 1860 there were at least 4,267 Indian deaths attributed to the military, or about 12 percent of the Indian population living at the time. Ironically, it was the gold stolen from Indian lands that paid for the ensuing genocide. Towns offered bounties on Indians ranging from \$5 for every severed head in Shasta in 1855, to 25 cents for a scalp in Honey Lake in 1863. Some of the worst massacres occurred in northwestern California. Militia groups such as the Klamath Rifles, the Salmon Guard, the Union Volunteers, and the Pitt River Rangers, armed and paid for by the state government, roamed the countryside with the avowed aim to exterminate "the skulking bands of savages."

Possibly the most notorious massacre occurred at Indian Island near Eureka. On February 26, 1860, the peaceful Wiyot people were holding their annual religious ceremonies when they were attacked during the night as they slept by white "volunteers," who slaughtered them with axes. A Major Raines testified to finding one man, seventeen women, and eleven children among the dead. In addition, eighteen women and an unknown number of children had been carried away by their relatives for burial before his arrival. It was later learned that the Indian Island massacre was part of a premeditated plan by some local farmers and stockmen to exterminate the region's resident Indian population. That same night three other massacres took place simultaneously, two at Humboldt Bay and another at the mouth of the Eel River.

### Disease and Starvation

Throughout most of California, the deaths resulting from disease epidemics greatly exceeded those from massacres. In 1853, 500 died in Nevada City of smallpox and typhoid; 800 Maidu died of influenza and tuberculosis in the same year. Venereal disease was contracted mainly from white men who abducted and raped Indian women. Syphilis infected approximately 20 percent of California's Indians, and gonorrhea may have been as high as 100 percent.

Malnutrition paved the way for death from disease. The destruction of Native food sources, either from gold mining or from outright theft, contributed to Indian susceptibility to communicable diseases. Between the years 1848 to 1855, according

to Sherburne Cook, Native population declined from approximately 150,000, or about 66 percent, to about 50,000 (Cook, 1978, 93). "This desolation was accomplished by a ruthless flood of miners and farmers who annihilated the Natives without mercy or compensation. The direct causes of death were disease, the bullet, exposure, and acute starvation," he wrote (Cook, 1978, 93).

The mentality that fueled the nineteenth-century genocide continued into the early twentieth century when Ishi, a Yahi Indian, wandered out of the hills of Tehama County in 1911 as the last surviving member of his tribe. Vigilantes had undertaken raids of extermination against the Yahi and other Indian groups of northern California. Alone and emaciated, Ishi finally allowed himself to be taken by those from whom he had hid for so many years. Ishi's story is recounted by Theodora Kroeber in *Ishi in Two Worlds*.

### The "Lost Treaties"

In 1851 and 1852, President Millard Fillmore sent three Indian commissioners to negotiate eighteen treaties with California Indians. Under the treaty terms, the Indians reluctantly agreed to surrender their land claims, and the federal government agreed in turn to provide some 8.5 million acres of good lands, reservations, and goods and services. It was the era of the gold rush, however, and the greed for gold and California's rich lands motivated the state legislature to pressure the U.S. Senate not to ratify the treaties. The treaties were then conveniently "lost" in the Senate archives and not rediscovered until 1905. Because the treaties were never ratified and then "lost," the Indians were forced to give up virtually all of the promised lands and settle instead for small, temporary *rancherias* and farms, a mere fraction of the original 8.5 million acres that were promised them. The 1887 Dawes (Allotment) Act further reduced California Indian landholdings.

A congressional act of 1928 and a 1946 law creating the U.S. Court of Indian Claims permitted California Indians to sue the government for the lost lands. A 1944 award received under the 1928 act was for \$17 million, hardly just compensation considering the billions of dollars in gold and resources realized from the stolen lands. Because of the inadequacy of the 1944 award, a new claims case was entered for other lands illegally taken. Yet the 1964





award paid California Indians only 47 cents an acre for approximately 65 million acres illegally seized.

### Indenture and Slavery

Until 1867, an estimated 10,000 California Indians, including 4,000 children, were held as chattel. Newspaper accounts of the time noted that while young boys sold for about \$60, young women could sell for as much as \$200. In some instances, entire tribes were captured, carried into white settlements, and sold. An 1850 state indenture law ordered that any Indian, on the word of a white man, could be declared a legal vagrant, thrown in jail, and have his labor sold at auction for up to four months with no pay.

The indenture law also allowed Indian children to be indentured with the consent of their parents or if they were orphans. The law provided a motive for making Indian children orphans by killing the parents so that the children could then be indentured. Child kidnapping and Indian slavery continued for fifteen years until 1867 when it was finally overturned to comply with the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery and involuntary servitude.

### Death Marches and Forced Relocation

The so-called humane alternative to extermination was the policy of "domestication." This involved rounding up Indian survivors of the gold rush, or those occupying lands desired by White settlers, and sending them on forced marches to relocation centers, euphemistically called reservations. Brutal atrocities were committed during these death marches. Many hundreds died as a result of the removal operations by the military, because, if they did not die or were killed along the way, they found no provisions, houses, or other facilities once they reached their destinations and consequently became the victims of disease and starvation. Once on the reservations, the relocated Indians faced exploitation at the hands of crooked Indian agents, some of whom sold government-issue cattle intended to feed the Indians and pocketed the proceeds for themselves.

### Summary and Conclusion

Sherburne Cook divides the catastrophic population decline of the California Indians into three

stages. The first stage took place from 1769 to 1834 during the Spanish period under the mission system. The major cause of the decline was disease. The second stage extends from the end of the mission system in 1834 to the Mexican war with the United States in 1845. The two demographic processes responsible for the decline during this period were disease and the opening up of land to white settlement. The third and worst stage took place between 1845 and 1855, during the American period of the gold rush. This stage witnessed the decline of the remaining Indian population by two-thirds. The causes for this precipitous population decline clearly fall under the definition of genocide: the committing of acts with intent to destroy, wholly or in part, a national, ethnic, racial, or religious group. In California, especially immediately following the Gold Rush, these acts were deliberate and even institutional in scope.

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*See also* Captain Jack; Forced Marches; Genocide; Mining and Contemporary Environmental Problems; Mission System, Spanish; Spanish Influence.

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### Mission System, Spanish

Three unprecedented events characterized Spain's epic year of 1492. On January 2, the last Moorish





stronghold in Granada fell. Regaining the country after seven centuries solidified the Spanish ego, sense of identity, and purpose, and it was now time for the married Catholic rulers Fernando and Isabel—he the heir to the throne of Aragon and she the heiress to the throne of Castile—to establish Christian dominance over the country's widespread landholdings. Next, Alexander Borgia, a Spaniard, was elected Pope Alexander VI, providing the king and queen with a strong ally in their Christianizing efforts. Lastly, Columbus's foot, planted on the sandy soil of Hispaniola, introduced the New World to the power, authority, and might of the Spanish empire's imperialism—and to the Spanish Roman Catholic mission system.

Throughout history Christianity has shown great success in propagating itself because it has had a chameleon-like ability to mirror, reflect, and occasionally include stylized aspects of the traditional ways of worship it seeks to replace. This determination has transformed social relations, cultural meanings, and personal experience among indigenes worldwide and has been a cataclysmic event that caused a lasting sea change among thousands of American Indians.

As an example of the progression of the Spanish mission system westward across the United States, active Spanish exploration began with four men: Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and three companions who had been shipwrecked off the coast of Texas in the late 1520s. They swam to shore, escaped in 1534 from captivity by hostile Indians, and marched toward the setting sun where they joined a Spanish slave ship anchored off the coast of Guaymas, Mexico (Stockel, 2004, 1). Safely situated in Mexico City, Cabeza de Vaca addressed the viceroy and told of his experience, which led to two subsequent explorations by Fray Marcos de Niza in 1539 and by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado in 1540. The eventual settlement of northernmost Mexico's region followed, including what was to become New Mexico and Arizona.

A set of written guidelines, the Laws of the Indies (Cutter and Engstrand, 1996, 64–65), promulgated in 1573, directed all Spaniards' behavior in the New World, stating, for instance, that the primary purpose of occupation was to convert the Indians to Christianity without injury to them. Twenty years later, in 1595, explorer Juan de Oñate signed a contract for the conquest and settlement of New Mexico but the long march did not begin until

1598. Eighty-three wagons and almost 7,000 head of livestock stretched out along the trail northward from Mexico City for about four miles. Eight Franciscan priests and two lay brothers, eager to work mainly among the Pueblo Indians, participated in the expedition; more than twenty villages containing thousands of Natives awaited.

The area of Spanish religious colonization was in the Rio Grande Valley, reaching from what is now El Paso, Texas, to Taos, New Mexico (Burke, 1974, 84). Along the way the friars might have discussed and planned how to accommodate the Indians' religious beliefs and at the same time instill Christianity. They did not realize that the Pueblos did not represent a unified group, were independent of each other, and had no tribal or political organization or that many did not speak the same language. Shared traditional religious beliefs rested on the fact that their forebears originated near the center of the earth and, after generations of overcoming obstacles through cooperation that helped them climb upward, eventually emerged into the light at the surface of the earth; the most important aspect of pueblo life remained the common good, or the welfare of the group rather than the person. Consequently, Christianity's emphasis on individual salvation was a totally foreign concept and directly at odds with a powerful belief that had been passed down through the generations. Nonetheless, using several methods of persuasion such as introducing agricultural tools and techniques, and teaching construction methods, the friars gradually ingratiated themselves. Another means of convincing skeptical Indians that the Europeans meant no harm was through entertainment. At one village's plaza, colonists staged a mock battle simulating Spain's ancient conflict between Christian kings and invading Moors. Although the pantomime afforded a welcome diversion, it also was meant to convey the impression that the Indians were the current Moors and would be defeated if they resisted (Kessell, 2002, 78).

The plaza was a mission's central site and was usually ringed by the church, missionary's residence, Indians' shelters, carpenter and blacksmith shops, spinning and weaving rooms, stock corrals, fields, and irrigation ditches. The missions were thought to be relatively inexpensive to establish and were expected to continue evangelizing, proselytizing, and indoctrinating Indians for up to ten years, at which time they would become self-supporting, sec-





ular entities responsible to a diocese and would serve as a hub for colonization.

The first part of the seventeenth century has been characterized as a golden age of missions. The friars had established their own rules, answering to the head of missions, a man who was known until 1616 as the “father commissary.” He reported to his superiors in the New World, through them to the Franciscan Order in Spain, to the king, and finally to the head of the church, the pope. The priests divided the region into districts, each managed by one Franciscan who was responsible for seeing that a church, a school, and a convent were built. Usually the missionary lived among the Indians while they were creating a large mission complex, but periodically traveled to the smaller villages to serve mass, preach, baptize, and marry or bury the Natives who had become Christians.

New Mexico’s Franciscans supervised and Pueblo Indians built approximately fifteen churches in the villages along the Rio Grande. Construction routinely began with the priest marking a church’s outline on the ground, after which women and children made and laid adobe bricks and plastered the thick walls. The men cut, hauled, and peeled the logs, called *vigas*, used for roof beams. They next placed branches, called *latillas*, close to one another, often on an angle, across the beams and covered them with loose earth, which became packed down and hardened in time by rainwater and the sun; frequently grass and weeds sprouted from the soil.

Both the New Mexico and Arizona missions were supplied by caravans of thirty-three wagons that left Mexico City every three years. A great deal of space was allotted to articles essential for missionization, especially tools such as metal axes, saws, adzes, augurs, and planes and small materials—nails, latches, and hinges. Religious furnishings for the churches—like sacred vessels, fabrics, bells, a painting or two for the chancel, incense, and missals for the mass—were necessarily included. If any room remained, it was packed tightly with clothing and personal items that had been requested by the priests: Sackcloth for new robes, sandals, and linen were popular requests. Miscellaneous such as beeswax candles and incense for the censer, as well as sheets of music, could only come northward from Mexico.

The mission system in New Mexico reached its peak around 1640 and stabilized for fifteen years, but it never reached the desired quota of sixty-six

priests throughout the area. Animosity developed between the religious and secular authorities, driving a wedge of competition for free Indian labor. (Surviving Natives had become increasingly disabled and unable to work due to the effect of imported communicable diseases.) But at least two external conditions brought the religious and secular authorities together in the late 1660s and into the next decade: A serious drought affected the amount of food available, and raids by Apaches demanded an alliance of the authorities, particularly since the Puebloans were looking toward the military forces for protection. By 1680 deteriorating trust in Spanish power and prestige motivated a Pueblo revolt that drove the priests, political personnel, and settlers southward, out of New Mexico and into El Paso; thirty-four priests and innumerable Spaniards were killed (Kessell, 2002, 119–124).

Twelve years later, a bloodless reconquest of Santa Fe and the rest of New Mexico brought the Spaniards back. During the intervening years, the Puebloans endured such severe raids from Navajos and Apaches that they welcomed the returning Europeans, including the priests. Missionary and secular work was cautiously resumed. Under the watchful eye of seventeen Franciscans, Indians repaired the churches that had fallen into ruin since the revolt and built new edifices. Once again, however, Indians in some of the pueblos were close to rebellion, and in 1696 another revolt broke out in which five missionary priests and more than twenty Spaniards were killed. Within a few months the military had the situation under control, the mission system became invigorated, and it continued with only a few interruptions.

In spite of continuing Indian threats, the Franciscans stood fast and managed their missionary and exploring activities among the non-Christianized tribes, but success was elusive. Franciscan influence declined over the years and friars either departed or died. Since the supervising Bishop of Durango did not have sufficient diocesan priests to replace them, many churches and chapels in the pueblo villages were vacant by the end of Spanish rule in 1821.

An overlap between Franciscan and Jesuit religious efforts in northern Mexico (present-day Arizona) happened during the early 1600s before the Franciscans were forced, because of a political conflict, to leave the area and concentrate their efforts in New Mexico. Later, in 1636 the first Jesuit stood on





Indian ground in Ures and loudly proclaimed the Word of God; by 1649 the Jesuits had the Sonoran mission field to themselves. Here, the process of mission building began with carefully selecting a site, usually a spot that had been an Indian ceremonial center (Stockel, 2004, 54). The indoctrination of the indigenes into Christianity started by applying a policy of *reducción/congregación*—moving Indian populations out of their villages and resettling them in mission communities where European diseases quickly gained a deadly foothold. (Not incidentally, the policy also left most Indian lands open to appropriation by colonizing Europeans.) Under Spanish supervision in the missions, the disruption of Indian cultures occurred daily as the Natives became ill and were forced to hear about European religion, ideas, customs, and behavior. Importantly, the Jesuits enforced indoctrination into Christianity through supervision, control of labor, and the threat of discipline.

Friendly, sedentary Indian tribes who depended on agriculture for their sustenance were easy targets for the Jesuits, but the nomadic groups, such as the suspicious Apaches, remained elusive. Regardless of the apparent level of cooperation, however, varying degrees of resistance existed among Native peoples while living with the religious Europeans in the missions. Established rules and precepts dictated the type of discipline to be meted out to unruly Indians, ranging from mild punishment such as briefly withholding food and water to the most severe such as flogging or worse.

Before 1687, when the venerable Jesuit Eusebio Francisco Kino arrived and led the Christianization effort in northern Mexico, the Jesuits had already indoctrinated thousands of indigenes into the European ways. Still, Kino's proselytization and evangelization were invaluable examples to the toiling priests; his written description of one village church is testimony to the successes.

The mission has its church adequately furnished with ornaments, chalices, cups of gold, bells, and choir chapel; likewise a great many livestock fields, a garden with various kinds of garden crops, Castilian fruit trees, grapes, peaches, quinces, figs, pomegranates, pears, and clingstones . . . a forge for blacksmiths, a carpenter shop, a pack train, water mill, many kinds of grain, provisions from . . . harvests of wheat and maize, and . . . horse and mule herds . . . a few gifts and attractions with

which, together with the Word of God, it is customary to contrive to win the minds and souls of the natives (Stockel, 2004, 56).

By the middle to late 1700s, Apache raids on the missions had become uncontrollable and political intervention was necessary to avoid the continuing destruction of the religious complexes. Under the *Instructions of 1786* (Stockel, 2004, 79), which effectively created "peace establishments" out of the missions, all hostile tribes were offered the option of surrendering and living in these facilities under the watchful eye of Spanish military administrators, or of remaining free and risking total annihilation by an increased army presence. Although this policy shift diminished the Franciscans' role by replacing religious authority with military jurisdiction, the priests nonetheless continued proselytizing whenever possible at the peace establishments. Mexico's successful war of independence from Spain ended the Spanish mission system in 1825 when financial support ceased.

By 1683, a short-lived mission had been established at Loreto in Baja California. Two years later, however, Loreto was abandoned due to the lack of water and difficulty in obtaining supplies. It was not until 1697 that a permanent compound, Misión Nuestra Señora de Loreto, was founded by Jesuit Juan Maria de Salvatierra and became home of the mother mission. A positive relationship developed between the Jesuits and many Baja Natives even though the missionaries demanded hard work in the fields and in building the mission complex. Abundantly available stone, rather than adobe, was the choice material in Baja. Friendly, cooperative Indians were taught crafts, trade, preparation of European foods, and they were educated in the Spanish language and Catholic dogma.

The Jesuit era here also ended in 1767 but, during their years at Baja, eighteen *cabceras* (main missions), located from the southernmost tip of the peninsula at Cabo to Santa Maria, 600 miles to the north, were constructed under only sixteen Jesuits' jurisdiction. The tragedy of the Baja effort derived from the European diseases that so overran the missions and decimated the populations that about 25,000 died, leaving only 7,000 souls at the time of the Jesuits' departure.

In 1768 Franciscans Junípero Serra and Fernando Parrón assumed responsibility for the Baja missions, using Loreto as headquarters. With the exception of Serra, the friars stayed in Baja for five





years, until 1773, struggling to gain the same authority and respect enjoyed by the Jesuits, but only one new mission was established, Misión Santa Maria, which became the site of Serra's departure for Alta California in 1769.

The Dominicans followed the Franciscans into Baja and established their first mission in 1774. The following years were filled with struggle and failures. The missions in the south had badly deteriorated and those in the north were always subject to hostile Indian attacks. The Dominican regulations, meant to guide their behavior toward the Natives, called for "swift and sure punishment for all offenses," a striking and—for the Indians—confusing change in policy from the Franciscans' attitude. Remaining constant, however, was the effect of the diseases, so severe that by 1834 the Baja missions were nearly deserted; the last Dominican missionary departed the peninsula in 1855.

In response to the threat of the foreign occupation of Alta California by Russia, the Franciscan Order directed Serra to leave Baja for the northern territory. There, on July 16, 1769, he founded the first Franciscan mission by raising a cross, singing, and calling out the Word of God to curious and unfriendly Indians from under a *ramada* (crude shelter) at San Diego on July 16, 1769; the Monterey mission was next, 650 miles to the north, on June 3, 1770.

Twenty-one Franciscan missions were ultimately founded by Serra and his successors, each begun as a temporary *ramada*, a shelter of stakes with roofs of thatch or reeds, which was eventually replaced by buildings of stone or adobe; each mission was a day's horseback ride or fast march from one another through hospitable terrain mainly of lush grasses and free-flowing water—a landscape often in direct contrast with New Mexico's and Arizona's harsh environmental settings.

When functioning at a high level, the Alta California missions hummed: Men were tanning, blacksmithing, making wine, tending stock, constructing, and working in the fields. Women cooked, sewed, spun, and weaved. However, the education of the Natives in the Spanish language, customs, and religion, the expected by-product of missionization, was difficult to achieve because "the culture of the Indians was so backward." This belief may have fostered the friars' prevalent view of the indigenes as "children who offered little companionship for a highly educated man. Nor could he [the friar] count on his military escort for much personal communion," but

his associate, the second Franciscan [pairs were usually assigned to each mission], kept him from being too lonely in the remote regions of Alta California.

Most mission Indians presented no threat, but still a guard of about half a dozen soldiers at each mission maintained order and returned runaways. Although the military were often in conflict with the priests regarding how best to discipline the recalcitrant Indians, the usual punishment was a day or two in the stocks, quite a contrast with the more severe reprisals in New Mexico and Arizona missions.

Despite this difference, other major procedures, processes, and events occurring among the three missions were similar: The indigenes were congregated in an intense environment controlled by the Europeans, educated when possible in the European culture and religion, forced to erect structures and tend the fields and livestock, punished when necessary, and exposed to diseases against which they had no immunity; in time the survivors were expected to pay taxes to the empire. However, success at indoctrination into Catholicism depended on the individual Indian. While many sincerely adopted the European religion and were converted to Christianity in the Spanish missions, others paid only lip service and hid their ancestral ways in their hearts.

Many descendants of those Indians today practice Christianity openly, but still revere and venerate their rich heritage. Many ancient rituals are still practiced by tribes as they had been long ago. Other ceremonies have been modified in various aspects but still reflect ancestral ways. Even though the Spanish mission system was a powerful force in introducing Christianity to preliterate indigenous peoples of the New World, the Europeans spread illnesses so devastating that the entire religious effort saved only a fraction of the souls initially evangelized and proselytized for what the Spanish in their imperial heyday saw as the greater glory of God and empire.

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*See also* Spanish Influence.

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## Boston Tea Party, Mohawk Images

Few events of the American Revolutionary era have been engraved on popular memory like the Boston Tea Party. Nearly everyone, regardless of sophistication in matters American and Revolutionary, knows that the patriots who dumped tea into Boston Harbor dressed as American Indians—Mohawks, specifically. Regarding *why* the tea dumpers chose this particular form of disguise, we are less knowledgeable.

The Tea Party was a form of symbolic protest—one step beyond random violence, one step short of organized, armed rebellion. The tea dumpers chose their symbols with utmost care. As the imported tea symbolized British tyranny and taxation, so the image of the Indian and the Mohawk disguise represented its antithesis: a “trademark” of an emerging American identity and a voice for liberty in a new land. The image of the Indian was figured into tea dumpers’ disguises not only in Boston, but also in cities throughout the Atlantic seaboard. The tea parties were not spur-of-the-moment pranks, but rather the culmination of decades-long colonial frustration with British authority. Likewise, the Mohawk symbol was not picked at random. It was used as a revolutionary symbol, counterpoising the tea tax.

The image of the Indian (particularly the Mohawk) also appears at about the same time, in the same context, in revolutionary songs, slogans, and engravings. Paul Revere, whose midnight ride became legend in the hands of Longfellow, played a crucial role in forging this sense of identity, contributing to the revolutionary cause a set of remarkable engravings that cast as America’s first national

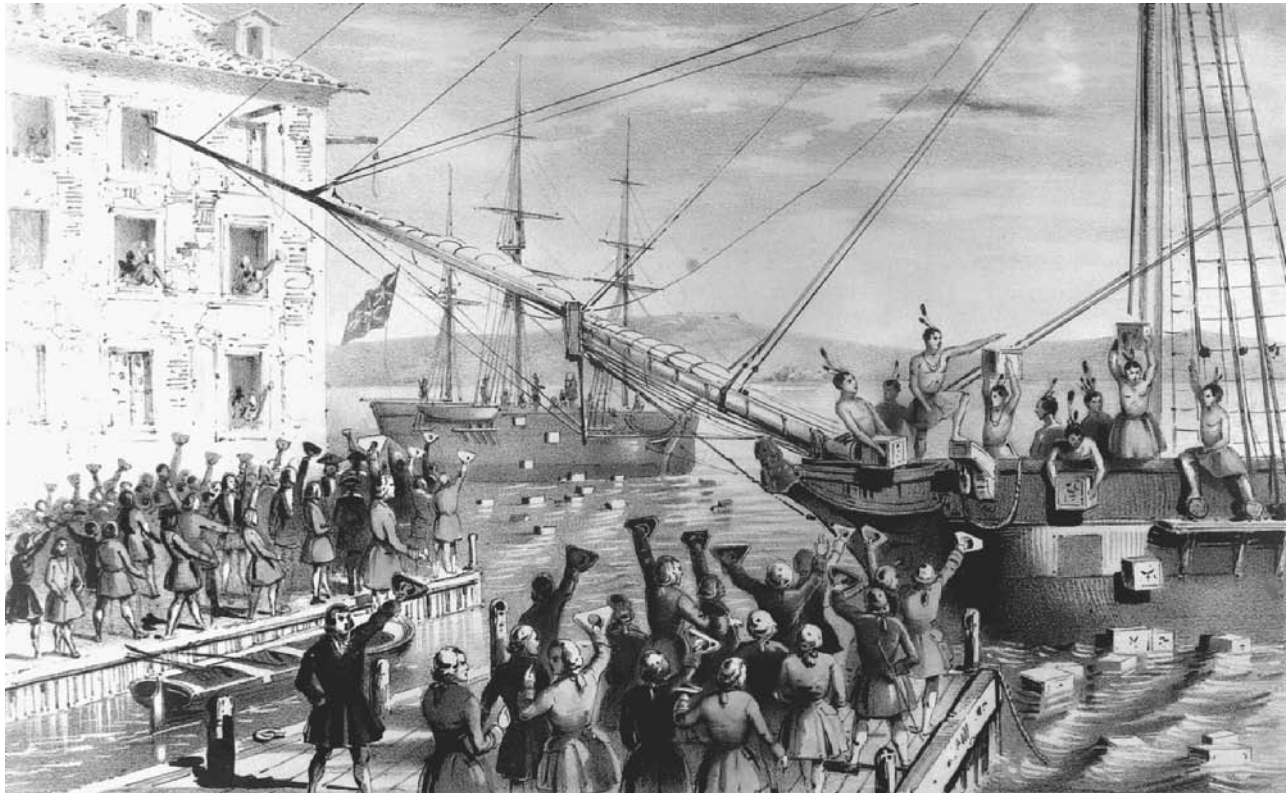
symbol an American Indian woman, long before Brother Jonathan or Uncle Sam came along.

Paul Revere was one of the earliest Sons of Liberty, a clandestine society that agitated against the British. The Boston Tea Party was only one of its many acts of agitation, propaganda, and creative political mischief. The use of American Indian imagery as a counterpoint to British tyranny ran through the group’s activities. Some of the Sons of Liberty’s units named themselves after Native peoples before the tea party occurred. Within the Sons of Liberty, John Pulling was called a bully of the Mohawk tribe by an unnamed British satirist.

On Thursday, December 16, 1773, roughly 5,000 patriots gathered at Boston’s Old South Church. Suddenly, a war whoop went up from the gallery, then another. A line of “Mohawks” formed in the crowd outside the church and began ambling toward Griffin’s Wharf at the foot of Pearl Street. They marched single file (“Indian fashion”), carried axes (which they called “tomahawks”), and shouted slogans: “Boston Harbor a tea-pot tonight” and “The Mohawks are come.” As the first group of “Mohawks” boarded the tea ship *Dartmouth* and began to rip open 35,000 pounds of symbolic oppression, others boarded the *Beaver* and *Eleanor*. Several thousand people gathered along the waterfront in the cold, dark, drizzly air, cheering as each tea chest hit the water. During the three hours they took to lighten the three ships of 10,000 pounds sterling worth of tea, the “Mohawks” exchanged words in a secret sign language using Indian hand symbols, and sang:

*Rally Mohawks, and bring your axes  
And tell King George we'll pay no taxes  
on his foreign tea;  
His threats are vain, and vain to think  
To force our girls and wives to drink  
his vile Bohea!  
Then rally, boys, and hasten on  
To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon!  
Our Warren's here, and bold Revere  
With hands to do and words to cheer,  
for liberty and laws;  
Our country's "braves" and firm defenders  
shall ne'er be left by true North  
Enders fighting freedom's cause!  
Then rally, boys, and hasten on  
To meet our chiefs at the Green Dragon  
(Goss, 1972, 123–124).*





*Bostonians, dressed as Mohawk Indians, throwing East India Company tea into the harbor in December 1773. (National Archives & Record Administration)*

Revere's engravings, which used an Indian woman as a patriotic symbol, often were sharply political. One of them, titled "The Able Doctor, or America Swallowing the Bitter Draught," portrays the Indian woman being held down by British officials, forced to drink "the vile Bohea." Lord Mansfield, in a wig and judicial robe, holds America down as Lord North, with the Port Act in his pocket, and pours the tea down her throat. Lord Sandwich occupies his time peering under "America's" skirt, as Lord Bute stands by with a sword inscribed "Military Law." The bystanders (Spain and France) consider aid for the colonies. In the background, Boston's skyline is labeled "cannonaded"; a petition of grievances lies shredded in the foreground, symbolic of the British government's failure to provide justice for America. This engraving, published in the *Royal American Magazine's* June 1774 edition, was copied from a similar work in England's *London Magazine* two months earlier.

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See also American Revolution, Native American Participation.

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## American Revolution, Native American Participation

Native Americans, individually and collectively, played a key role in the American Revolution. In particular, Native alliances, especially with the powerful Haudenosaunee (Iroquois or Six Nations) Confederacy, helped shape the outcome of the war. The war also was crucial for the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, which split for the first time in several hundred years over the issue of whether to support Great Britain or the new United States of America. The Oneidas allied





*Mohawk chief Joseph Brant leads a group of Tories and Senecas in a raid on the village of Cherry Valley, New York in 1778. More than forty people were killed in the ensuing massacre. (Library of Congress)*

with the Americans and assisted George Washington's army with crucial food supplies during its most difficult winter at Valley Forge. On the other hand, most of the Mohawks and, after initial neutrality, the Senecas sided with the British; the Senecas suffered from brutal raids principally by troops under the command of General John Sullivan. In the words of historian Richard Aquila, "The American revolution became an Iroquois civil war" (1983, 241).

The Seneca Cornplanter advocated neutrality, while Joseph Brant, a Mohawk leader, advocated alliance with the British, as did the Seneca Red Jacket. Indeed, the name "Red Jacket" was a reference to a scarlet coat given to him by the British for fighting with them during the war. Cornplanter insisted that the quarrel was among the whites and that to interfere in something that the Haudenosaunee did not fully understand would be a mistake. Brant contended that neutrality might cause the Senecas to be attacked by one side without allies on the other. Brant had visited England,

acquired a taste for English food and clothes, and had been told that land would be returned to the Mohawks by the British in exchange for alliance.

As one meeting broke up in a furor, Brant called Cornplanter a coward. Brant was influential in recruiting most of the Mohawks, Senecas, Cayugas, and Onondagas to support the British. Brant's ferocity as a warrior was legendary; many settlers who supported the Americans called him Monster Brant. His sister, Molly Brant, had married Sir William Johnson, Britain's chief Indian agent in the Northeast, a lifelong friend of such Mohawk leaders as Hendrick, with whom he had fought side by side in the war with France two decades before his death in 1774.

Although the Oneida Skenandoah asserted his people's official neutrality at the beginning of the American Revolution, he supplied warriors and intelligence to the patriots, as did the Tuscaroras.

As Washington's army shivered in the snow at Valley Forge, Skenandoah's Oneidas carried corn to the starving troops. Washington later named the





Shenandoah Valley of Virginia after the Oneida chief in appreciation of his support. During September of 1778, the Oneidas supplied a key warning to residents of German Flats, near Herkimer, New York, that their settlements were about to be raided by the British and their Iroquois allies under Joseph Brant. The settlers were thus able to get out of the area in time, after which their homes and farms were burned and their livestock captured.

Revolutionary forces often adopted a scorched-earth policy against the Haudenosaunee, who supported the British. George Washington's forces ended the battle for the Mohawk Valley by defeating the British and their Iroquois allies at the Battle of Johnstown. Following the war, the Brant family and many of the other Mohawks who supported the British in the Revolution moved to Canada to escape retribution by the victorious patriots. They founded the town of Brantford, Ontario, and established a new Haudenosaunee council fire there.

The Iroquois figured importantly in the Battle of Oriskany in 1777, the battle at Wyoming Valley in 1778, and the Battle of Newtown in 1779. The war often was very brutal on both sides; Brant's forces torched farms owned by patriots as patriot armies, particularly (but not exclusively) those under Sullivan, systematically ransacked Iroquois villages and fields, meanwhile expressing astonishment at the size of Iroquois (especially Seneca) food stores. The Iroquois often found themselves fighting each other as the confederacy split its allegiance between the British and patriots.

General Charles Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in 1781, but war parties continued to clash along the frontier for months after the British defeat became obvious. The Iroquois allies of the British sent out war parties as late as the early summer of 1782. They wanted to continue fighting, but their sponsors had given up. After the war, the efforts of the Iroquois went unrewarded by both sides. The British discarded their Mohawk, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca allies at the earliest convenience.

The Americans did the same to their own allies, the Tuscaroras and Oneidas. At the conclusion of the Revolutionary War, the border between the new United States and Canada (which remained under British control) was drawn through Iroquois country in the Treaty of Paris (1783), without consultation with the Indians. In 1784, during two treaty councils held at Fort Stanwix, New York, many Iroquois realized that the new U.S. government was ignoring most of their land claims. Most of the negotiations

were held at gunpoint, as the Iroquois were forced to give up claims to much of their ancestral territory.

Despite his reluctance to ally with the patriots, Cornplanter became a close friend of George Washington after the war. He was given a strip of land in western New York for his people, whose descendants lived on the land until the midtwentieth century, when it was inundated by floodwaters behind the Kinzua Dam, despite a pledge by President Washington that the land would be protected.

In addition to their role as combatants in the American Revolution, American Indians played a key role in the contest of ideas that spurred the revolt. As early as 1744, the Onondaga sachem Canassatego, Tadadaho (speaker) of the Iroquois Confederacy at the time, urged the British colonists to unite on a federal model similar to the Iroquois political system. Benjamin Franklin printed Canassatego's advice at the 1744 Lancaster Treaty Council and later proposed an early plan for union at the Albany Congress of 1754. This plan, which included elements of both British and Iroquois political structures, was rejected by the colonies but served as a model for Franklin's later Articles of Confederation.

During the early 1770s, before the American Revolution led to armed revolt, colonists adopted Mohawk disguises to dump British tea into Boston Harbor and at several other cities along the eastern seaboard. The American Indian, often portrayed as a woman, was used as a symbol of an emerging American nation long before Uncle Sam was adopted in that role.

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*See also* Albany Congress, Native Precedents; Brant, Joseph; Canassatego; Cornplanter; Franklin, Benjamin, Native American Influences; French and Indian War.

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## Goschocking (Ohio) Massacre of 1782

The Lenápe and Mahican capital in 1782, Goschocking was located in southeastern Ohio, near the modern-day town of Coschocton. On March 8, 1782, ninety-six Lenápes and Mahicans were brutally murdered on the outskirts of Goschocking by the 160-strong Pennsylvania militia out of Fort Pitt under Colonel David Williamson. On its triumphal way back to Fort Pitt, the militia fell also upon the inhabitants of Killbuck's Island, in the river across from Fort Pitt, killing around thirty more.

Lying along the fringes of the large Lenápe town with its sumptuous fields of corn, beans, and squash, were the three tiny Moravian "praying towns" of Salem, Gnadenhutten, and Welhik Tuppeek (Schonbrunn). These hamlets were suffered to exist, and the Moravian missionaries to be present, because the missionaries claimed political neutrality and had come with converts to Ohio in the wake of the genocidal attacks of the so-called Paxton Boys, a settler death squad trying to eliminate Native land proprietors around Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, under cover of the French and Indian War. In 1763, the 154 Lenápe and eighty-four Mahican converts surviving Paxtonian hits were moved west by Lenápes of the Iroquois League, to the safety of Lenápe land in the Muskingum River Valley in southeastern Ohio.

Although most American histories report that the Revolutionaries were fighting the British alone, the Revolution was, in fact, conducted on two fronts against two foes: the British front along the eastern seaboard, and the Native American front against, especially, the Iroquois League in New York, western Pennsylvania, and Ohio. "Freedom" might have been the battle cry against the British, but land attracted the troops in the Western Department, headquartered at Fort Pitt, Pennsylvania. George Washington was fighting furiously to seize Native

American land, particularly in Ohio, for European-American expansion, in defiance of a prohibition by the crown. Washington's armies were held off by the Ohio Union of Iroquois League peoples (including the Wyandots, Lenápes, Mahicans, and Senecas), the Three Fires Confederacy (of the Ottawas, Potawatamies, and Chippewas), the Miamis, and the Shawnees (in alliance with Ohio Cherokees).

During the American Revolution, Moravian missionaries acted as spies for George Washington, relaying considerable intelligence to him at regular intervals on the movements of the Ohio Union. The League was entirely aware of the spying and put an end to it in 1781, by taking the missionaries prisoner and sending them to the British stronghold of Detroit. At the same time, knowing that settlers and their militias wanted *all* Natives dead, Christian or otherwise, the League spirited 350 Moravian converts to Upper Sandusky, the Wyandot capital, for safety's sake. Although Upper Sandusky was beyond the reach of the settlers, it was not beyond the reach of the massive famine that had been occasioned by Washington's and Congress's total war against the League, which actively destroyed all Native food supplies. (Goschocking and its fields were attacked in 1781.)

At the request of the League Lenápes, who refused to countenance the killing of Innocents—a Native legal category into which the missionaries fell—the missionaries were released by the British. The moment they returned to Upper Sandusky, they immediately resumed sending intelligence to Fort Pitt resulting in their rearrest, this time by League Wyandots, who returned them to Detroit. The harm was already done, however.

As long as they resided at Goschocking as cover for the spying missionaries, the Lenápe and Mahican converts were safe from settler attack, but, once the missionaries' activities had been unequivocally exposed, there was no need on the part of the Western Department to continue sheltering them from harm. Thus, when news arrived at Fort Pitt from the missionaries late in February 1782, that about 130 converts, most of them starving women and children, had gone back to Goschocking to pull up last year's harvest, which had been abandoned before the panicked flight of 1781, the militia decided to seize the opportunity to eliminate them as claimants for southeastern Ohio. The fact that the converts had remained steadfast allies of the United States from the beginning of the Revolution and had





*The Goschocking massacre of the Lenápe and Mahican tribes, including women and children, on March 8, 1782. Lenápes and Mahicans were brutally murdered on the outskirts of Goschocking by the 160-strong Pennsylvania militia out of Fort Pitt under Colonel David Williamson, under the authority of General George Washington. (Library of Congress)*

even supplied Fort Pitt with food did not faze Williamson or his militia.

Heading into Goschocking, Williamson had a plan. It was to trick the converts by pretending to have come on a mission of mercy, to escort them back to Fort Pitt for their safety. Knowing of the missionaries' communications with and total confidence in military protection from Fort Pitt, the converts believed this until they had conclusive proof otherwise. To organize the "rescue," the militia asked all of the converts to assemble at Gnadenhutten, as a central location. By way of bolstering the scheme, the militiamen discussed theology with the converts as they walked them into Gnadenhutten and accepted the alliance wampum originally granted the converts by Congress. The militia had even brought along older boys to play with the Native children, thus to allay any lingering fears.

The work crews in the fields around Gnadenhutten and Salem were completely deluded by the militia's false message and feigned friendship, bringing in their harvests and unearthing all of the goods

they had hidden the year before, handing everything over to the militia. As soon as they were gathered, the militia dropped its pretense and bound everyone with leather thongs. Miffed that the work crews from Welhik Tuppeek had not arrived with the rest, the militia went in search of them, but the people there had been put on their guard by a *moccasin* (messenger) who had made a frantic run from Upper Sandusky, with the news that the missionaries had informed Fort Pitt of their being at Goschocking.

Wary, the Welhik Tuppeek work crew sent a couple of scouts to see what might be afoot. Almost immediately, the scouts found one of their foremost members hacked to pieces and weltering in coagulating blood. Consequently, instead of giving themselves up to the militia, the Welhik Tuppeek people hid in the woods when Williamson's men approached their hamlet. With great trepidation, the strongest adults carrying children and elders on their backs, the work crew made a daring escape, which entailed creeping across a wide plain in full daylight right before crossing the Tuscarawas





River, both acts conducted right under the noses of the militia guards. Successfully making the far shore of the river, the Welhik Tuppeek crew ran all night, bringing the horrifying accounts of what was happening to Upper Sandusky.

Back in Gnadenhutten, on March 7, the captive farmers were not so fortunate. The militia put them on trial as horse thieves (a capital offense) and sentenced them to death. A squabble ensued among the militiamen over the best method of killing so many people at once. Some wanted to confine them in the hamlet's huts and then set the huts on fire, shooting down any who tried to escape the flames. Others pointed out that this would sacrifice their valuable scalps. In light of the lucrative Pennsylvania bounty on Native scalps, the militia decided to club everyone to death first, to scalp them second, and *then* to burn them in the huts. To effect this plan, the men were separated from the women and children, the two groups put in separate "slaughter houses," as the militia dubbed them (*Murder of the Christian Indians*, 1826, 11). The execution was to occur the next morning.

Promptly, on March 8, with some of the militia expressing annoyance that the executions were not begun more expeditiously, the crime spree began. The militia first led out ten longhairs, or nonconverts, among the men for special taunting and abuse before the general massacre. One longhair, despite being bound, attacked his guards, freed himself, and nearly made it to the safety of the woods before he was cut down by several whooping cavalrymen. This was the only direct resistance offered.

Two adolescent boys survived the ensuing massacre, one in the men's and one in the women's hut. Both escaped to Upper Sandusky with their tales of horror. The first boy, a Mahican whom the missionaries had christened Thomas, did not die of his skull fracture or scalping, but woke up amidst a pile of bleeding corpses some time in the afternoon, before the hut was burned. As the militia reentered the hut to double-check their handiwork, Thomas lay as still as death amid the corpses, until the soldiers departed. At dusk, he bravely walked out the door of the hut, directly behind the guards, inching himself around to the back of the hut and locating the Sandusky Trail.

The name of the second boy was unrecorded by the missionaries, because he was not a convert. Ohio oral traditions refer to him as He Runs. He Runs was thrust into the women's hut, which had one advantage: a root cellar. Knowing this, the

women had, with their bare hands, started prying up a floorboard, with the intention of stuffing the children into the cellar. He Runs joined their effort and managed to pull up one board, even as the militia headed for the women's hut. Jumping into the cellar, he helped pull down a second child, quite as the militia entered the hut. The boys huddled in the dark, viewing the entire slaughter of their mothers, siblings, aunts, and grandmothers above through the cracks between the floor planking.

In the stillness that followed the last shriek, the smell of smoke wafted down. He Runs looked for a means of escape, locating a small air hole leading to the surface behind the hut. He was able to wiggle through, but the younger boy was trapped in the tunnel, where he suffocated in the ensuing fire. Deeply traumatized, He Runs located the Sandusky Trail behind Gnadenhutten, where he encountered a trembling Thomas. The two watched the militiamen, celebrating their "victory." Then, together, the two boys supported each other all the way home to Upper Sandusky, where they told what they had been through in a graphic detail that reverberates to this day in the oral traditions of Ohio Natives.

The militia stole all of the harvest, horses, goods, and clothes of their victims for sale in Pittsburgh; militia pay consisted mainly of all the auctionable loot militiamen could cart home. Not yet content with its scalp count and loot, however, the militia decided to up its take by attacking Killbuck's Island (no longer extant) on its way home. Again, the roughly forty Lenápes living on Killbuck's Island, across from Pittsburgh, had moved there specifically as allies of the United States, providing many scouts and much intelligence to Fort Pitt. This mattered not a whit to the militia, which fell upon the unsuspecting people. Gelelemund, their chief, was able to hustle a few women and children to safety, but thirty people were never heard from again. Another convert, Anthony, happened to have been in Pittsburgh at the time and watched the massacre from that side of the river. He, too, fled to Upper Sandusky.

The first militia report on the slaughters (most probably composed by Williamson) was published as a "Notice" in the *Philadelphia Gazette*. It characterized the massacres as a great victory (*Philadelphia Gazette*, 1782, 2), and that story might very likely have held as the official version today, had not John Bull, a lay Moravian missionary, who was husband to one and father to another of the people murdered at Gnadenhutten, flatly refused to be still. He prod-





ded the lead missionaries into creating a flap by demanding an investigation. On the defensive, Williamson and Colonel James Marshel, lieutenant of Pennsylvania, were forced to write more truthful reports. Investigators were sent to Fort Pitt and their reports to the president of Pennsylvania were forwarded to the Continental Congress.

After the massacre was exposed, every effort was made to throw the entire blame onto the militia with assertions that it was acting in violation of orders. It is true that Colonel John Gibson at Fort Pitt had little or no control of the excitable militias, but it is also true that George Washington had personally appointed the militias to garrison Fort Pitt. The war was ending; Ohio had not yet been seized, and Washington certainly knew the homicidally racist temper of the militias. On March 8, the very day of the massacre, Washington told General William Irvine, his new commander at Fort Pitt, not to worry about supply issues there, as “measures are actually taking,” i.e., steps were in the process of being taken, to provide “provisions, Cloathing [sic] and pay” (Fitzpatrick, 1938, 24, 48).

Although represented to Congress as a matter of extreme importance for the honor of the country (*Pennsylvania Archives*, 9: 552, 553; *Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania*, 13: 297), the matter suddenly disappeared from all official records. No final report on the investigation exists, just a couple of obfuscatory, preliminary letters from the lead investigator, who clearly sided with the militia. The Williamson and Marshel reports vanished entirely, never to reappear. The matter was quietly yet promptly dropped.

The official response to the flap was ultimately to order another attack that May, this time on Upper Sandusky. Williamson was again tapped to lead, as second in command to Colonel William Crawford. The militia’s announced intention was to “exterminate [sic] the whole Wiantott Tribe [sic]” (“The Haldiman Papers,” 1782, 10, 629, 631). This army was conclusively defeated by the Natives, with Colonel Crawford taken prisoner. Crawford was tried for the war crime at Goschocking, found guilty, and executed that June by the Wyandots. Crawford became an instant martyr among the settlers, who centered all future discussions on his fate, which was never thereafter presented in the context of the massacre at Goschocking.

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*See also* American Revolution, Native American Participation; Genocide.

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## Fallen Timbers, Battle of

The Battle of Fallen Timbers on August 20, 1794, cleared the way for American settlement into the southeastern corner of the Northwest Territory and nearby enclaves including Detroit and the future site of Chicago. The battle took place a few miles from British-held Fort Miamis (present-day Toledo) in Ohio. A confederation of Native Americans led by Weyapiersenwah (Blue Jacket) planned to trap General Anthony Wayne's army at a fortification made of fallen trees. Uncovering the trap, Wayne's mounted riflemen and infantry attacked, causing a general retreat. The British refused to protect the fleeing Indians in Fort Miamis. The battle, often called the final phase of the American Revolution, led to the British-backed Indians' ceding much land in the 1795 Treaty of Greenville.

The Battle of Fallen Timbers has its roots in the 1783 Treaty of Paris that ended the American Revolution. The new American government declared that Indian lands had been acquired from the British by terms of the peace treaty. Native Americans disagreed with this interpretation, with American demands for Ohio land cessions leading to plainly stated objections on the part of the Indian confederacy. Additionally, British authorities refused to relinquish their military posts on U.S. soil, using them as bases to supply the Indian nations in the Northwest Territory. Angered by American land demands and encouraged by British provisions, arms, ammunition, and moral support, Indians attacked American settlers on the frontier.

The American military responded to the Indian threat. In 1790, President George Washington sent an army under Brigadier General Josiah Harmar against the loose Native American confederacy, but his force was defeated on two separate occasions and forced to retreat. The following year, Washington sent a larger army, this one commanded by Major General Arthur St. Clair, to chastise the Indians who had beaten Harmar. Handicapped by a lack of provisions and equipment, St. Clair's force was ambushed on November 4, 1791 and suffered the most humiliating defeat ever inflicted on an American army. St. Clair lost half of his force in about three hours before his remaining troops ran for their lives from the battlefield near the present Ohio-Indiana border. The victories against Harmar and St. Clair gave the Indian confederacy a large quantity of arms and supplies, as well as the confidence to boldly reject peace proposals from the United States.



*General Anthony Wayne's American troops defeat an Indian alliance at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in August 1794. (Library of Congress)*

To regain the honor of his young country, President Washington formed a third army, styled the Legion of the United States, and selected Major General "Mad" Anthony Wayne to lead it. A born soldier, Wayne (1745–1796) had a long and distinguished military career that included service in the Revolutionary battles of Ticonderoga, Brandywine, Monmouth, and Yorktown. He was given plenary powers by the administration. With his decisions subject to review only by Washington and Secretary of War Henry Knox, the general would conduct his latest military campaign as he saw fit.

Wayne's primary goals were subjugating the Indians and bringing peace to the frontier, with removal of the British threat an additional interest. These tasks initially seemed overwhelming because of the difficulties with transportation and supplies in the Northwest Territory. There were no reliable maps





of the territory, and even basic information regarding the rivers and streams was nonexistent. Every piece of equipment purchased by the legion—paper, weapons, uniforms, sheet iron, shoes, buttons, needles—had to be purchased in the Atlantic states, carted overland to Pittsburgh, then shipped down the Ohio River to Fort Washington at Cincinnati. From there it had to be hauled overland, generally by packhorse, to forts. Construction projects were often delayed until soldiers could craft the tools they needed.

Further complicating the American situation, Wayne's force was always under strength and many of his soldiers were of poor quality. There was a constant stream of deserters. Yet Wayne was innovative with his troops. In addition to the standard branches of service—infantry, cavalry, and artillery—he employed riflemen, light infantry (armed with muskets of Wayne's own design), and mounted volunteers from Kentucky, who added mobility and firepower to the main body. This arrangement allowed Wayne to locate the enemy, absorb his attacks, and respond with overwhelming force at the critical point. His army was screened by parties of scouts on foot. Other scouts, known as spies, ranged far afield on horseback, occasionally even penetrating into Native American camps in search of intelligence.

Warriors from the Indian confederacy had been waiting for Wayne to advance. The Indian army, estimated at close to 1,500, moved south in two divisions. The first and largest, about 1,000 warriors, was composed of Wyandots (Hurons), Mingos, Shawnees, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Miamis. The second group consisted mostly of Delawares with some Potawatomis and stragglers from other nations.

The Native Americans had moved their women and children out from between the American invading forces and Fort Miamis. The noncombatants were placed in camps along the Maumee River, with settlements stretching from the fort to Swan Creek and to the shores of Lake Erie. This massive influx of refugees brought several thousand dependents to the area, which combined with the arrival of hundreds of Great Lake Indian warriors to place a major strain on available food supplies. British provisions eased the crunch, but the home front situation had mounted pressure on Indian leaders to drive Wayne from their lands. Accepting American peace demands would be equivalent to acknowledging cowardice.

On August 19, 1794, all available warriors arranged a line from the Maumee River bluffs into the timber and waited to ambush Wayne. They were joined by 100 British-Canadian volunteers. The Native American forces now numbered between 1,100 and 1,200 warriors, including about 100 adolescents. About 100 fighters had no guns, armed only with tomahawks. They waited in a jumble of trees blown down years before by a tornado.

Wayne issued an order that troops should be ready to move at 5 a.m. on August 20, modifying the regular order of march by having the formations march two men deep and in closer order than previously. Wayne expected the enemy to strike first, forcing him to fight defensively. A battalion of 150 mounted Kentucky scouts encountered the Indian ambush at 8 a.m. Overwhelmed by heavy fire, the Kentuckians retreated as they were chased by 300 to 400 warriors who had given up their prepared positions in anticipation of a quick victory. A front guard of army regulars was also overwhelmed, but the Indian attack stalled when it encountered a skirmish line of several hundred light infantry and riflemen that were covering the deployment of the main body of the Legion infantry. Once in position, the Legion charged into the fallen timber. The warriors, who had become thinly dispersed across a broad front, were overwhelmed by the infantry and cavalry. Driven back to their original position, the retreating Indians created disorganization and panic among the other warriors. Only on the extreme right of the battlefield was there an organized attempt by 100 Wyandots and the Canadian militia to halt Wayne's charge. Outnumbered and driven from the battlefield, the Indians retreated past Fort Miamis. The Indian dead were then scalped and mutilated by the Americans. None of the Indian or Canadian dead were buried by the Legionnaires, of whom twenty-six had been killed and eighty-seven wounded. Many of the American wounded were still hospitalized five months later.

After Wayne's victory, Indian people faced the reality that they would be compelled to give up the Ohio lands so forcefully demanded by the American government. The territory ceded at the Treaty of Greenville included a large area that had been a homeland for the Delawares, Shawnees, and allied Mingos as well as a hunting ground for the Wyandots. However, all Great Lakes Indians realized that they had a stake in the outcome. Tribes represented at Greenville were the Wyandots, Delawares,





Shawnees, Ottawas, Ojibwas, Potawatomis, Weas, Miamis, Kickapoos, Piankeshaws, and Kaskaskias. For Americans, the Battle of Fallen Timbers demonstrated the need for a standing army to protect American interests on the frontier.

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See also Northwest Ordinance.

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## Creek War

In 1813, a civil war erupted among the Creek Indians in Georgia, Alabama, and Florida. Also known as the Red Stick War, the dispute was largely an internal struggle over the cultural and political direction of Creek society. In this war, which overlapped with the War of 1812, Red Stick Creeks tried to reassert Creek sovereignty in the region and redirect the cultural path of their society. The war resulted in the defeat of the Red Sticks and the further dispossession of Creek lands by the United States.

In the decades prior to the Creek War, the Creek Indians underwent several cultural and economic transformations. After the American Revolution, the Creeks (via the deerskin trade) became increasingly connected to and dependent on the marketplace. Creek men hunted for longer periods, because the value of their skins declined and their dependence on trade goods increased. Unscrupulous traders, who used false weights and the influence of alcohol, outraged many Creek hunters. At the same time, a “civilization” campaign led by U.S. Indian Agent

Benjamin Hawkins helped lead many Creeks to embrace cultural innovations within Indian villages. By 1810, many Creeks herded cattle, owned slaves, spoke and wrote English, grew cotton, wore European clothing, fenced their lands, and intermarried with white Americans. These changes frustrated many Creeks, especially as reliance on Euro-American markets for basic supplies led many Creeks to amass burdensome debts.

While the Creeks became dependent on the marketplace for their survival, they experienced a political transformation that further threatened their independence. The creation of a national council, which Hawkins regularly attended, epitomized the political change. By centralizing authority in Creek society, the council violated Creek norms of localism. By allowing Hawkins to participate, the council further angered many Creeks, who saw his presence and participation as a sign that the Americans controlled the council. To the dismay of many Creeks, the council created a centralized police force, called the law menders, in part to protect individual property rights in Creek society. When the council agreed to allow the United States to build and maintain roads across Creek country, the opposition to the council and Hawkins turned to violence. When the road was completed in 1810, Red Stick Creeks attacked American surveyors, mail carriers, and travelers, and they tried to assassinate Creeks they saw as complicit.

In 1811, when Shawnee religious leader Tecumseh came to the Southeast, many Creeks were already predisposed to his Nativist messages and his calls for pan-Indian resistance. Tecumseh urged Creeks to regain control over their villages, to ally themselves politically with other Indians, and to oppose American expansion. Many Creeks embraced his teachings, especially those in the upper towns who felt most threatened by the recent changes in Creek society. Tecumseh's urging of the Creeks to prevent the further invasion of white settlement similarly resonated, as American squatters, settlers, and surveyors seemed to be constantly invading Creek lands.

When Tecumseh left the southeast, several Creek prophets continued to draw upon and spread Tecumseh's teachings. Religious and political leaders like Menawa, William Weatherford, Peter McQueen, and Josiah Francis called for Creeks to resist Hawkins, eliminate the American presence, and reassert Creek sovereignty. These prophets led war dances, sang spiritual songs, and otherwise demon-





*The horseshoe bend of the Tallapoosa River was the setting of the Red Stick village whose leaders executed the uprisings against American settlers in 1813 during the Creek War. (National Park Service)*

strated their possession of supernatural powers. They called for a renewal of Creek spiritualism and independence.

Other Creeks, especially those who embraced innovations such as American-style ranching and planting, opposed the Red Sticks. These Creeks were led by William McIntosh, a chief of Coweta, one of the most influential and interconnected towns. Other prominent Creeks, including Big Warrior and Little Prince, also resisted the Red Sticks. The Red Sticks made their attempt to obtain Creek allies rather difficult. Opponents of the Red Sticks were harassed, their property was destroyed, and their lives were threatened. Even before open warfare erupted, many opponents of the Red Sticks were killed and others were physically coerced into supporting the Nativist cause.

After months of intermittent fighting among the Creeks, the civil war slowly became part of the War of 1812. When American frontier settlers were killed by the Red Sticks, Hawkins tried to intervene and

obtain justice through the national council. Such actions only exacerbated matters. When the council executed five Creeks for the murder of Thomas Meredith in March 1812, for example, tensions within the Creek nation exploded. Rumors spread that the United States and the Creeks were at war, and within months the rumors became self-fulfilling prophecies.

In this context, the British and the Red Stick Creeks saw an ally in each other. The British provided supplies to the Red Stick majority to help them defeat the United States and its Creek allies. British support of the Red Sticks terrified Americans in the backcountry, who believed that a British–Creek alliance would overrun their settlements. When a party of Red Stick warriors led by Peter McQueen went to Pensacola to obtain supplies from the British in June 1813, militiamen who had formed on the edge of Creek country attacked McQueen and his men. The fighting resulted in the deaths of only a handful of Americans and Indians, but it outraged the Red Sticks, who responded with their own assault.





On August 30, 1813, about 750 Red Stick warriors retaliated by attacking the house of Samuel Mims. Fort Mims, which was located in the Tensaw District in Alabama, housed white traders, their African American slaves, and their Creek allies. Most of the traders at the fort, including Mims, were married to Creek women and were supporters of many economic and cultural innovations within Creek society. The Red Stick warriors completely overran the fort, killing those who resisted and freeing the slaves who were there. The event became known among non-Natives as the Mims Massacre.

After the battle at Fort Mims, the United States took a much more active role in the Creek civil war. Reports of casualties, which were often exaggerated, were met with calls for vengeance. The United States sent forces into Creek country from Tennessee and Georgia, led by General John Cocke, Major General John Floyd, and General Andrew Jackson. In addition, the United States obtained Chickasaw, Choctaw, Cherokee, and Creek allies to help with the invasion. Ordered to attack the Red Sticks they confronted, the armies marched toward the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. For about ten months, the American troops burned their way through Creek country. As the campaign progressed, Andrew Jackson emerged as the most successful of the four leaders. During the campaign, Jackson and his 3,000 militiamen from Tennessee razed two Creek villages (Talladega and Tallasahatchee) and helped destroy Red Stick interests in Creek country. Jackson's men killed approximately 1,000 Creek warriors and destroyed many of their supplies.

The Red Stick War culminated in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend on March 27, 1814. At this battle, roughly 2,500 Red Stick warriors faced a force of more than 15,000 soldiers. In addition to the soldiers from all four regiments, the United States was assisted by the so-called "friendly" Creek Indians who were led by Chief McIntosh. Nearly 800 Red Stick Creeks died on the battlefield. After the Battle of Horseshoe Bend, Jackson's army continued to burn and raze Creek villages. By the end of April, the U.S. forces reached Fort Jackson, which had recently been built on the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers. From there, Jackson received the surrender of hundreds of Red Sticks.

After the war, the United States coerced the defeated Creeks (Red Sticks and so-called "friendly" Creeks) to sign the Treaty of Fort Jackson. This treaty, which resulted in the cession of 23 million acres and the establishment of roads, trading houses, and mili-

tary posts in Creek country, officially ended the war. Rather than submit to the terms of the treaty, many Red Sticks moved south into Florida and joined with the Seminole Indians. During the First Seminole War, many Red Stick warriors found a new opportunity to fight the United States.

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*See also* Jackson, Andrew; Seminole Wars; Tecumseh.

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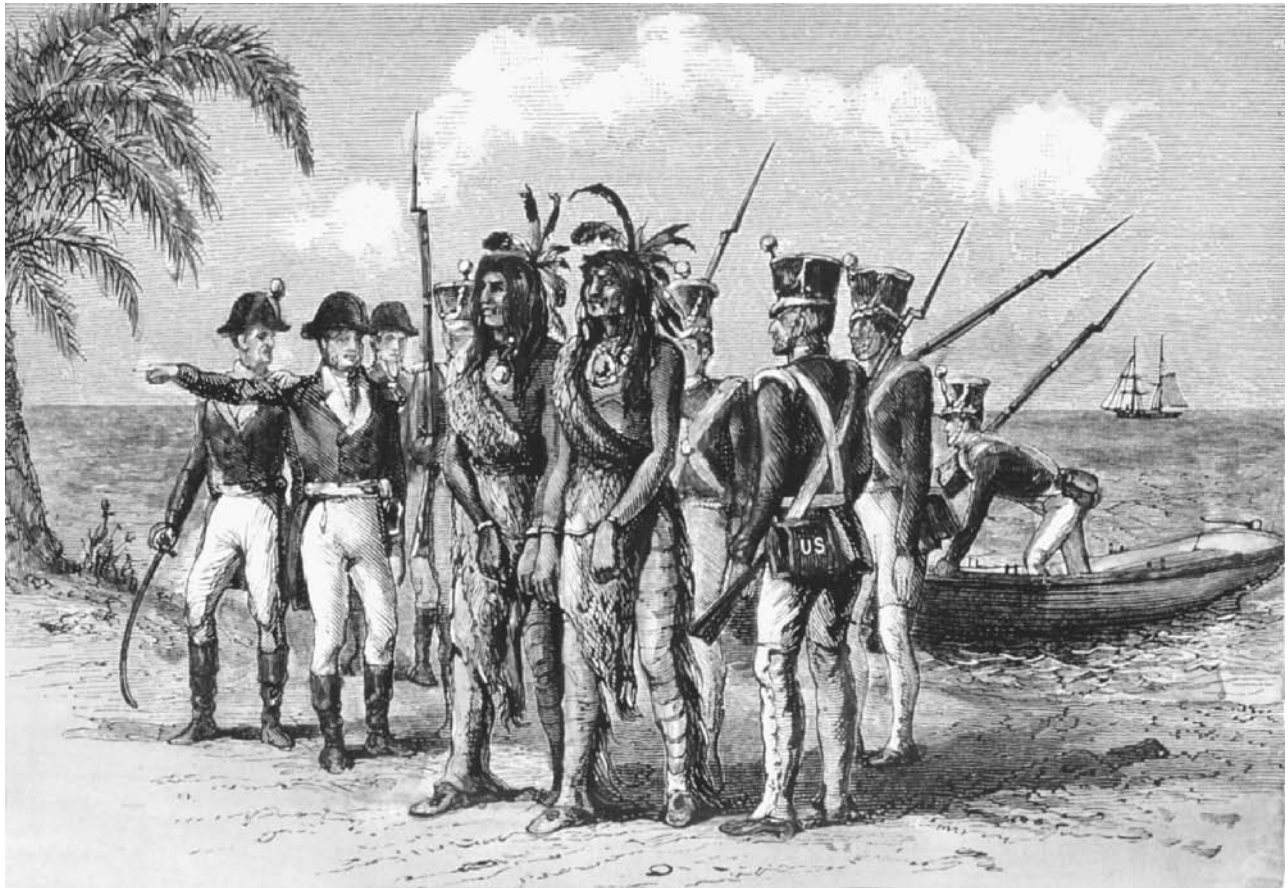
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## Seminole Wars

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Seminole Indians in Florida fought three wars with the United States. The issues that led to the wars varied, but in each conflict the invading American army sought to remove the Seminoles from Florida and fugitive African American slaves from Seminole villages. Although the three campaigns resulted in the removal of almost all the Seminoles from Florida to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), more than 200 Florida Seminoles never surrendered or relocated.

The use of Florida and Seminole villages as refuges for escaped slaves from the lower South helped to bring about the First Seminole War. After the War of 1812, the United States repeated its demands that Spanish officials do something about the Negro Fort, an outpost on the Apalachicola River in the Florida panhandle that provided refuge for hundreds of runaway slaves. When Spanish officials refused, the United States turned to its military. Led by Major General Edmund P. Gaines, the United States attacked the Negro Fort on July 27, 1816. When a well-placed cannon shot hit the fort's powder magazine, the entire fort was destroyed. Most of the approximately 300 residents of the fort





*Seminole chiefs were captured in Florida in 1816 by order of Major General Andrew Jackson. The First Seminole War began in 1816 when U.S. troops, in pursuit of runaway slaves, destroyed a Seminole stronghold in Florida, prompting retaliation by the Indians. (North Wind Picture Archives)*

were immediately killed. The United States Army returned to slavery the fugitive slaves who survived.

The destruction of the Negro fort did little to resolve the tensions on the Florida–Georgia border. Slaves continued to find refuge in Florida, and the Seminoles continued to offer them sanctuary. At the same time, Seminoles suffered from the theft of their cattle by Georgians and by others who refused to recognize Seminole property rights. The result was a series of frontier skirmishes that resulted in the deaths of Seminoles and Georgians alike.

After a small party of U.S. soldiers suffered a particularly devastating defeat at the hands of Seminole warriors in Georgia in 1817, the United States authorized its military to track down the offending Indians even if it meant entering Spanish Florida. With orders that forbade attacks on the Spanish, General Andrew Jackson took his campaign across the Apalachicola River and into Florida. Despite his orders, Jackson attacked and captured St. Marks on

April 7, 1818, and Pensacola on May 24, 1818. Seminole villages fared no better, as Jackson's men razed Indian villages and their agricultural fields. Jackson further outraged many Americans and the British when he captured, tried, and executed two British Floridians, Alexander Arbuthnot and Robert Ambrister, for providing aid and comfort to the Seminoles. Jackson declared victory, and almost immediately negotiations began that resulted in Spain's cession of Florida to the United States. This was accomplished by virtue of the Adams–Onís Treaty, signed and ratified by the United States in 1819 and finally taking effect in 1821.

The end of the First Seminole War and the incorporation of Florida as an American territory did little to ease the tensions between Seminoles and the United States. Even with Spain out of the picture, the United States struggled to prevent slaves from finding freedom in Florida. Matters worsened as cotton planters and southern herders began to move





to middle and east Florida. Now, they coveted Seminole lands and brought their African American slaves even closer to them.

In 1823, the United States and the Seminoles signed the Treaty of Moultrie Creek, the first agreement between the two nations. Under the terms of the agreement, which was opposed by many Indians, the Seminoles would be guaranteed protection and reserved lands in central Florida in return for leaving northern Florida, returning fugitive slaves, and allowing the building of roads. In short, the treaty removed the Seminoles and made them active partners in the development of Florida.

Disagreements over the meaning of the Treaty of Moultrie Creek began almost immediately. Seminoles pointed to the signatures of illegitimate leaders and complained that their new lands were ill suited to sustain their herds. Yet by 1826 most Seminoles had moved south and begun to rebuild their lives.

In 1832, the United States once again called upon the Seminoles to move west of the Mississippi. In the resulting Treaty of Paynes Landing, seven chiefs agreed to move within three years. Most Seminoles were outraged and demanded the rights to their land that were earlier outlined in the Treaty of Moultrie Creek. The ensuing dispute resulted in the assassination of Charley Emathla by Osceola for his role in supporting removal. Despite the widespread opposition to the treaty, the United States insisted on enforcing it. When 3,824 Indians went west in according with the treaty, warfare erupted between the resistant Indians under the leadership of Osceola and the U.S. military charged with removing the Seminoles.

The Second Seminole War officially began in December 1835. In a coordinated attack, Osceola and other Seminole warriors killed Wiley Thompson, the U.S. Indian agent to the Seminoles, while other Seminole warriors launched a surprise attack on U.S. Major Francis Dade and his men near Fort King. In the subsequent fighting, the Seminoles took advantage of the shelter provided by the Everglades and used guerilla tactics to keep American troops on the move. The United States, which began the war by fighting in large, heavily armed detachments, made headway in the war's early years. In 1837, as frustrations mounted in American society, the United States arrested Osceola, who had come to Fort Peyton under a flag of truce. The Indian warrior died of malaria in prison soon after.

The war continued after Osceola's death. The circumstances surrounding Osceola's death, as well

as the inability to achieve victory, resulted in the replacement of General Thomas S. Jesup by Brigadier General Zachary Taylor in 1838. Under Taylor, the United States pursued a new strategy. Dividing the hostile territory into squares twenty miles wide, Taylor built a series of roads and forts to secure each of the areas. At the same time he ordered Major General Alexander Macomb to pursue an aggressive peace plan that allowed the Seminoles to remain in southwestern Florida. The strategy came to a crashing halt and open warfare returned when Seminoles attacked a trading post on the Caloosahatchee River in July 1839.

In 1840, Brigadier General Walker K. Armistead took command of the U.S. forces in Florida. Armistead sent groups of a hundred soldiers into the swamps of south Florida to track down the resistant Seminoles. While Armistead's men marched south, the Seminoles attacked the plantation settlements in north and middle Florida. Despite the general success of the Seminole people in avoiding capture, many individuals were not so lucky. In June 1841, the United States captured Chief Coacoochee, shipped him west, and then returned him to Florida in an attempt to convince other Seminoles to move west.

In the end, the Second Seminole War lasted from 1835 to 1842, and it was the longest, costliest, and deadliest of the Florida Indian campaigns. Thousands of Seminoles and nearly 1,500 American soldiers were killed, and the campaign cost the United States more than \$30 million. The war resulted in the surrender and removal of approximately 4,400 Seminoles. In 1842, only several hundred Indians remained in Florida.

As white settlers and surveyors began to filter through Florida, the Seminoles remained on the defensive. Although they only numbered in the hundreds, the Seminoles continued to be a nuisance to American settlers. The ongoing tension resulted in the Third Seminole War (1855–1858). This campaign against the Seminoles began when Colonel William Selby Harney, who led a U.S. surveying corps, destroyed Billy Bowlegs' banana crop. This action, which was intentionally designed to outrage Bowlegs, resulted in a renewal of fighting.

The Third Seminole War was marked by few sustained battles. Instead, the Seminoles waged a campaign of guerilla warfare, attacking isolated settlers and small detachments of soldiers. The United States responded with a system of patrols and the use of bloodhounds to track down the enemy. The





Seminole, using the cover of the Everglades, easily avoided the invading soldiers. In late 1857, the United States turned to using shallow boats to enter the inhospitable Everglades, and in November they found and destroyed Bowlegs's refuge.

On May 7, 1858, Bowlegs and forty warriors finally surrendered to the United States. When Bowlegs and 165 other Seminoles moved to Oklahoma, only about 200 Seminoles remained unconquered in the state. Today, these survivors comprise the Seminole and Miccosukee nations.

Andrew K. Frank

See also Jackson, Andrew; Osceola.

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## Black Hawk's War

Black Hawk's War was an outgrowth of the Treaty of 1804, in which the Sauks (Sacs) and Foxes conceded all of their land east of the Mississippi River for a small price. The Sauks were closely allied with the Mesquakie, whom the French erroneously called Fox.

Trouble began to develop after the War of 1812, when southwestern Wisconsin and northeastern Illinois were opened to settlement. As settlers moved into the area, Black Hawk, a Sauk warrior who had fought in the War of 1812, grew increasingly disturbed over the loss of land and attempted to organize Indian opposition to white settlement.

By 1831, settlers had begun to take over Black Hawk's own village near present-day Rock Island, Illinois. Furious, Black Hawk prepared to resist, but U.S. Army troops forced him to move his people to the west bank of the Mississippi. Defying orders, he



Fleeing bands of Sauk and Fox caught and attacked by American troops, leading to the Battle of Bad Axe, the final conflict of Black Hawk's War. (North Wind Picture Archives)

returned the following spring and took his people to a Winnebago village, whose leader was sympathetic to Black Hawk's cause.

Upon returning to the eastern side of the Mississippi, Black Hawk was pursued by General Henry Atkinson. Without support from other Indians or from the British, Black Hawk decided to surrender. During negotiations, however, two of his emissaries were killed by unruly militia. Outnumbered, Black Hawk prepared to defend his position. Firing from concealed positions, the Indians struck first and quickly dispersed the militia, who fled back toward their camp. That incident came to be known as the Battle of Stillman's Run.

Black Hawk launched attacks throughout the spring of 1832 and evaded the often incompetent forces sent against him. By the end of June, however, supplies were running low, and, with troops in pursuit, it was becoming riskier to raid settlements. By midsummer, Black Hawk had concluded that it would be safest to cross the Mississippi again. The Sauks moved across southwestern Wisconsin toward the river, still pursued by the Army.

On August 1, Black Hawk reached the confluence of the Bad Axe and Mississippi Rivers, but with no way of crossing and fearing the approach of the troops, Black Hawk decided to move north to find refuge with the Winnebagos. However, most of the





band decided to build rafts to cross the river. Black Hawk and a few followers proceeded upriver.

While rafts were being built, the Army arrived. The Indians tried to surrender, but they were misunderstood, and the troops opened fire, initiating the Battle of Bad Axe. By the battle's end, about one hundred and fifty Indians lay dead; nearly half that number were taken prisoner. Army losses were low. The Indians who did reach the west bank of the Mississippi fared no better; they were attacked by Sioux war parties.

Black Hawk's War lasted only fifteen weeks. However, it was especially costly for the Indians, who suffered four hundred to five hundred casualties. On the other side, some seventy soldiers and civilians were killed. Black Hawk was later captured and imprisoned for a year in Fortress Monroe, Virginia, before being released.

*See also* Black Hawk.

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## Trail of Tears

The Trail of Tears was the migration route members of the Cherokee Nation followed in 1838–1839 when the federal government forced their removal from the southeastern United States to Indian Territory in present-day Oklahoma. The relocation resulted from the government's removal policy, which sought to open eastern lands to European-American immigrants and provide a permanent home for Native peoples in the West. The Trail originated in Tennessee and followed an overland route through Kentucky, Illinois, Missouri, and Arkansas.

Most of the Cherokees trudged along this path, although a lesser number navigated a southern water route along the Tennessee, Mississippi, and Arkansas Rivers. Due to the many hardships the Cherokees suffered during removal, they referred to this arduous journey as *Nunna dual Isunyi*, the "Trail Where We Cried." Between 1835 and 1839, approximately 16,000 Cherokees relocated to the West and an estimated 4,000 died. Despite this tragedy, the federal government remained committed to the removal policy.

During the 1820s, as the eastern population expanded, southern states exerted pressure on the

federal government to remove Indians from their lands. The government attempted to appease Southerners by negotiating treaties with the tribes that contained provisions for voluntary removal, but few Indians actually moved. Consequently, on May 28, 1830, President Andrew Jackson supported Southern demands and signed the controversial Indian Removal Act. This act authorized the president to exchange Indian lands in any state or territory for lands west of the Mississippi River. Supporters of the removal policy argued that it would open eastern lands to settlement and provide a permanent land base to protect the tribes from encroachment. Although critics blame Jackson for advancing the policy, the removal idea initially was not his own. In fact, Thomas Jefferson thought the lands of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase could provide an outlet for eastern Indians, and Presidents James Monroe and John Quincy Adams believed that removal would solve the so-called Indian problem.

Following passage of the Indian Removal Act, the federal government forced approximately 100,000 Native Americans to move to the West. The Act applied to Indians throughout the states and territories, but it particularly affected the Five Civilized Tribes, who held fertile lands in the South. Between 1830 and 1835, the Choctaw, Creek, Chickasaw, Cherokee, and Seminole tribes all signed removal treaties. The treaties varied slightly, but in each the Five Tribes ceded their eastern lands in exchange for western land, and the government promised to fund the move and provide one year's subsistence.

The Cherokee Nation, which inhabited sections of North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama, was the last of the Five Tribes to agree to relocate, and ultimately its removal proved to be the most controversial. The impetus for Cherokee removal stemmed from an 1802 compact between Georgia and the federal government in which Georgia ceded its western lands in exchange for the government's promise to extinguish Indian title to lands within the state. Consequently, in 1817 and 1819, the government signed treaties with the Cherokee Nation that encouraged tribal members to relocate to present-day Arkansas. The voluntary nature of the removal provision, however, led most of the Cherokees to reject the idea, and only a few thousand moved west.

By the late 1820s, the Cherokees had demonstrated their willingness to comply with federal policy by assuming a high degree of Anglo-American style civilization. In addition to establishing a bicam-





eral legislature and a Supreme Court, the Cherokees developed a written language, adopted a constitution, and published a newspaper. Indian acculturation, however, was insignificant to Georgians, who were more concerned with states' rights, the discovery of gold on Cherokee lands, and acquiring agricultural lands. At this point, having grown impatient with the federal government's failure to uphold the 1802 agreement, Georgia took matters into its own hands.

In 1828, following the election of President Andrew Jackson, Georgia extended state jurisdiction over Cherokee lands and nullified Cherokee law. It also authorized a lottery to distribute Cherokee lands to Georgia citizens. Jackson, a staunch supporter of the removal policy, refused to obstruct Georgia's sovereign rights by interfering in the matter. Consequently, the Cherokees filed suit in the United States Supreme Court. In two separate cases, *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), the Court ruled in the Cherokees' favor. In the first case, the Court declared Indian polities, "domestic dependent nations." In the second, it concluded that Georgia could not extend state law over Cherokee territory. Without federal enforcement, however, the victory rang hollow.

Following the Supreme Court decisions, the Cherokee Nation clung to the hope that it could avoid removal. By 1833, however, a rift developed within the Cherokee leadership. A minority group of Cherokees, known as the Treaty Party and led by Major Ridge, his son John, and Elias Boudinot, accepted the inevitability of removal and concluded that it was in the Cherokees' best interest to negotiate a fair removal treaty with the federal government. Consequently, on December 29, 1835, members of the Treaty Party signed the Treaty of New Echota, in which the Cherokee Nation agreed to cede its eastern lands and relocate to Indian Territory. These actions appalled the Cherokee majority, who opposed removal. Led by Principal Chief John Ross, they urged Congress to reject the treaty. Despite their pleas, Congress ratified the treaty on May 23, 1836. In exchange for the land cession, the government agreed to pay the Cherokees \$5 million, provide subsistence for one year, and finance the emigration. The treaty stipulated that the Cherokees move within two years of ratification or face forced removal.

For two years following ratification of the treaty, Ross continued his effort to reverse the policy. He appealed to Jackson's successor, Martin Van Buren, and submitted a protest petition containing 15,000

Cherokee signatures. Unmoved, the federal government remained committed to its removal policy.

In the meantime, a minority of the Cherokees journeyed to the West. Between January 1837 and May 1838, approximately 2,000 Cherokees, including members of the Treaty Party, emigrated. The majority of the Cherokees, however, convinced that Ross could reverse their fate, did not prepare for removal. Consequently, at the expiration of the spring 1838 removal deadline, the United States ordered troops into Cherokee Territory to organize a forced removal. Led by General Winfield Scott, the troops seized Cherokees and placed them in stockades to await removal. Although Scott ordered his men to treat the Indians humanely, reports indicate that the treatment was severe. Families were separated during the roundup and their abrupt departure left them little time to gather their belongings.

In June 1838, the first government-led emigrant detachment left Tennessee, traveled by steamboat down the Tennessee and Ohio Rivers to the Mississippi, then entered Indian Territory. The summer heat made the journey difficult, however, and shortly thereafter, Scott postponed removal until the weather cooled. During the hiatus, Ross petitioned for and received permission to allow the Cherokees to remove themselves.

Consequently, in late August, the first of thirteen Cherokee-led detachments left the Southeast for present-day Oklahoma. The group trudged along the northern overland Trail of Tears and arrived in Oklahoma in January 1839. In December 1838, the last Cherokee detachment left the East under the leadership of John Ross. Following the southern water route, the group arrived in Oklahoma in late March 1839. Sadly, Chief Ross's wife succumbed to illness and died during the journey.

The entire removal experience devastated the Cherokee Nation. Between August 1838 and March 1839, 13,000 Cherokees and their slaves followed the Trail of Tears to Oklahoma, and 4,000 died in the stockades, en route, or during the first year in the West. Throughout the ordeal, the Cherokees suffered from disease, malnutrition, starvation, and general exhaustion. The challenges continued in their new homeland. Once in Oklahoma, a struggle ensued in which the Old Settlers, the Treaty Party, and the new arrivals all sought to control the Cherokee government. When the groups failed to reconcile, violence erupted, and in June 1839, Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Elias Boudinot were murdered in retaliation for their roles in the 1835 treaty.





Despite the removal tragedy, the Cherokees remained committed to rebuilding their nation in the West. Soon after arriving in Oklahoma, they reestablished their political institutions and named John Ross principal chief. They also developed an education system that included institutions of higher learning and resumed publication of a newspaper. They endured the American Civil War, the arrival of the railroad, and the loss of their tribal land base when Oklahoma entered the Union. In 1987, more than 150 years after ratification of the Treaty of New Echota, Congress commemorated Cherokee removal by designating the Trail of Tears a national historic trail.

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See also *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Indian Removal Act; Jackson, Andrew; Ross, John; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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## Oregon Trail

Spanning half a continent and stretching more than 2,000 miles, the Oregon Trail was the key northern overland migration route used by European-American immigrants through the West during the mid-nineteenth century. As well as serving as a route for westbound transit, the Oregon Trail produced Indian-white interactions that transformed Native American lifeways and helped the United States in its cultural goals of Manifest Destiny, including the subjugation of Native peoples.

The trail is marked by a myriad of cutoffs and shortcuts along its route from Missouri to Oregon. The basic route started in Independence/Kansas City, followed the Santa Fe Trail just south of the Kansas River, then angled to Nebraska along the Little Blue River onto the Platte River. It followed the Platte and North Platte Rivers to South Pass through the Wind River Mountains. The trail then followed

the Snake River to the Columbia River before arriving at Oregon City (the trail's terminus) or taking the Barlow Road to the Willamette Valley.

Fur traders, trappers, and missionaries during the 1820s and 1830s were the first to use the trail. Their activities altered the economies, marriage patterns, and other lifeways of many indigenous cultures. More significant, however, was the flood of emigrants during the 1840s and 1850s, whose contact with Native Americans fostered a wide range of Indian-white relations.

Myths of the treacherous West and savage Indians plaguing the trail were strong public perceptions during the 1800s. To be sure, some Indian-emigrant violence erupted along the trail, but the great majority of Indian-white exchanges were positive and peaceful, especially during the early years of trail use during the 1840s. Many Indians provided advice to emigrants, guided them, and acted as interpreters or packers. Others helped emigrant groups navigate treacherous western waters. Still others carried mail eastward and cut wood or hay for westbound travelers. Some even operated toll roads and bridges. Much of this Indian-emigrant interaction centered on the exchange and barter of goods, and Indians were shrewd businesspeople and negotiators. Tribes often traded horses, moccasins, robes, lariats, and foods in exchange for trinkets, weapons, ammunition, coffee, sugar, and similar items. The most extensive trading occurred along the more western stretches of the trail between Fort Hall in Idaho and the Oregon country, not on the Great Plains as is the common perception. Both groups viewed each other as strange curiosities with peaceful interaction, trading, and mutual aid prevailing along the trail early on.

Antebellum-era migration quickened along the trail, producing less than friendly confrontations and eventual military conquest of Western tribes. Natives recognized quickly the threats that overlanders posed. Emigrant livestock overgrazed the region, emigrants depleted timber resources, and they also overhunted and drove away buffalo and other game. Waters became contaminated, and epidemic diseases spread. By traveling along major rivers, emigrants monopolized important resource areas as well.

These conditions made the West a contested region between Indians and European-American immigrants. Native peoples responded by demanding compensation or tribute for lost resources, sometimes at the suggestion of government agents. During the 1850s, Manifest Destiny gave rise to a sense





of entitlement and racial superiority and a predisposition toward suspicion and fear that was generated by guidebooks and newspapers, as emigrants became increasingly belligerent toward Native Americans. Some refused to pay compensation and at times violent confrontations erupted. The area of greatest conflict, however, was not the Great Plains region, but westward beyond South Pass where 90 percent of clashes on the trail occurred. One of the biggest problems was the shooting of cattle by Great Basin tribes, who hoped emigrants would leave the wounded animals for the taking.

The result of increased tensions between tribes and emigrants along the trail eventually led to a greater U.S. government presence in the West. Peace commissions and treaty negotiations to open the West and to ensure safe passage for overlanders increased. The Oregon Trail became a major pathway for the U.S. government's colonialization of the region. In 1854, along the trail near Fort Laramie, an incident involving a passing wagon train precipitated what became known as the Grattan Fight, in which an Army officer and his troops were killed. This event altered Lakota-federal government relations from one of peaceful interactions to an inflammatory conflict between the United States and the Plains Indians that would not be resolved until the end of the 1870s. After the transcontinental railroad's completion in 1869, the trail ceased to be used for long-distance travel.

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See also Assimilation; Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868.

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## Yakama War

The mid-1800s were a turbulent time in the Pacific Northwest. Oregon and Washington Territories' Native population had been ravaged by disease, resulting in the Whitman Massacre, and news from Indians around the Northwest was keeping racial tensions high.

In 1854–1855, the new territorial governor, Isaac I. Stevens, was on a mission to acquire Native Americans' land in the Pacific Northwest for a proposed transcontinental railroad route from the Mississippi River to Puget Sound (Kent, 1993, 98–99). To do so,

he needed to secure peace in the region and to open the land to European-American immigration. After negotiating several treaties around Puget Sound, Stevens intended to do the same with the Plateau Indians, and then cross over the Rocky Mountains to deal with the Flatheads and the Blackfeet. For the council with the Plateau Indians at Walla Walla, Stevens enlisted the assistance of Oregon Indian Agent, Joel Palmer (Stevens, 1855, 8).

Upon hearing of these plans, Kamiakin, the headman of the Yakamas, called for a meeting of chiefs from several tribes and nations in the region on the Grand Ronde River, during the summer of 1854, to discuss rumors. After meeting for five days, all the men of authority among the Plateau Indians agreed to band together against Stevens and refuse to give up their peoples' lands. Some powerful men, mainly Spokane Garry (Spokane) and Lawyer of the Nez Percé, however, advised the chiefs listen to what the immigrants had to say before entering into an avoidable and costly war (Miller, 2003, 112).

When the Walla Walla council did finally meet in the summer of 1855, the solidarity that had been agreed upon at Grand Ronde quickly broke down and each of the chiefs found themselves scrambling to retain any of his peoples' land at all. In the end, the Yakamas received a relatively small reservation in the Yakima Valley, a loss of nearly 30,000 square miles (Splawn, 1944, 35–36).

This was a devastating loss to the Yakamas and, along with the increased traffic from the Puget Sound settlements to the gold mines in northeastern Washington, Kamiakin's warriors were furious. In September 1855, A. J. Bolon, subagent to the Yakamas, was murdered, sparking open hostilities. Bolon was assumed to have known that some of the white travelers were killed by Qual-chin, son of chief Owhi, who was Kamiakin's half brother, so Qual-chin ambushed Bolon to keep the authorities from punishing him for the murders (Glassley, 1972, 112–113).

Meanwhile, Governor Stevens was meeting with Native peoples in the Rocky Mountains; acting Governor C. H. Mason called on troops from Fort Vancouver and Fort Steilacoom to protect Euro-American immigrants traveling through the area and to escort Governor Stevens on his return to Washington Territory. This duty fell upon Major General Rains, the commander of Fort Vancouver, who ordered Brevet-Major Granville O. Haller from The Dalles, Oregon, and Lieutenant W. A. Slaughter from Fort Steilacoom to join forces (Glassley, 1972, 113).





En route, Haller, with nearly 100 men and a howitzer, encountered approximately 1,500 well armed Indians on Toppenish Creek, on October 6, 1855. The Indians attacked and surrounded the soldiers. Fighting continued for three days, as the soldiers were forced to bury all their extra supplies, including the howitzer, and make a fighting retreat to The Dalles. Along the way, Haller met with a group of forty-five artillerymen on the Klickitat River, under Lieutenant Day. There they built a blockhouse and defended themselves. At the same time, Lieutenant Slaughter had tried to cross the Cascade Mountains through Naches Pass with fifty men, but on the eastern side, he encountered so many hostile Indians that he returned to the west side of the mountains (Glassley, 1972, 113–114).

General Mason then sent Lieutenant Phil Sheridan from Fort Vancouver, along with two companies of volunteers and regulars from The Dalles, plus two government ships from Puget Sound. Governor Curry of Oregon Territory sent four more companies of volunteers against the hostile Indians. Major General Rains, with two companies of Washington volunteers and all the available regulars, combined with four companies of Oregon volunteers under Colonel J. W. Nesmith in the Yakama country on November 7. On the next day, they engaged hostiles near the Yakima River. The soldiers pursued the Indians upstream along the river, but the Indians escaped by climbing the cliffs out of the canyon (Glassley, 1972, 115).

Initially, the Yakima War lasted only a few months, July to November 1855, but, having escaped the pursuing soldiers for the time, the Indians resumed their hostilities against the intruders. By July 1858, war had erupted again, this time with the help of the Palouse, Spokane, and Coeur d'Alene Indians. This war lasted until September 1858, when the Indians were defeated and many of their leaders were hanged. After this, most Plateau Indians resigned themselves to their reservations. Peace was shattered again in another conflict in 1877, when Chief Joseph fled federal troops until his defeat in western Montana.

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*See also* Dalles Trading Area; Disease, Historic and Contemporary.

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## Great Sioux Uprising

The Great Sioux Uprising, also known today as the United States–Dakota War of 1862, initiated an era of U.S. military conquest on the northern Plains that continued until the massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890. With the loss of approximately 450 European-American lives, the war resulted in one of the most violent and threatening indigenous attacks on European-American immigrants in United States history. For the Dakotas, the war remains their major point of historical reference because it marks the moment of their physical subjugation and the loss of their Minnesota homeland.

The beginning of the war is usually attributed to the killing of five immigrants on August 17, 1862, in Acton Township by four Dakota warriors from the Rice Creek village. Although this was the act that sparked the full-blown war, it occurred only after decades of conflict that could no longer be contained.

*Minisota Makoce*, or Land Where the Waters Reflect the Skies, is the ancient homeland of the Dakota people. By the early nineteenth century, the U.S. government was seeking access to those lands and fraudulently achieved its first Dakota land cession in the Treaty of 1805. Despite the fact that only





*The siege of New Ulm. The largest Anglo-American settlement near the Sioux encampment, New Ulm was attacked twice during the 1862 Minnesota Sioux Uprising. As punishment for their role in the hostilities, thirty-eight Sioux were executed at Mankato in December 1862. (Library of Congress)*

two Dakota signatures were obtained on this treaty to represent the entire Sioux nation, once ratified it allowed the construction in 1819 of Fort Snelling. Protection of the fort allowed an influx of traders, soldiers, missionaries, and other immigrants, resulting in severe threats to the Dakota way of life. Dakota lands became increasingly desirable to immigrants; the U.S. government catered to that desire by securing further land cessions in the treaties of 1837, 1851, and 1858, eventually confining the Dakota to two small reservations (each approximately ten miles wide and seventy miles long), bordering the Minnesota River. The Sisitunwan and Wahpetunwan occupied the tract bordering the upper portion of the river, and the Bdewakantunwan and Wahpekute occupied the lower portion.

Not only were the Dakotas prevented from practicing their seasonal subsistence lifestyle, but, along with European-Americans came unceasing incursions on remaining Dakota lands and the accompanying depletion of game and other food

sources. Cultural pressures also ensued from the invasion; missionaries worked incessantly with government agents and traders to eradicate Dakota cultural traditions and replace them with Western notions of civilization. Evidence of the deep factionalism resulting from decades of their colonizing efforts was apparent in the split between the Dakota cut-hair or farmer Indians, who yielded to those pressures, and the blanket Dakotas, who resisted them and attempted to maintain their former way of life.

Regardless of which path the Dakota chose, the winter of 1861–1862 was a time of starvation. The cut-hairs suffered a major crop failure the previous fall and fared no better than the blanket Dakotas attempting to survive on a meager game supply. The treaty payments expected in the summer of 1862 offered the only hope for fending off starvation for the eastern Dakotas and, when the payment of gold did not arrive, desperation set in. The tension was compounded when the Dakotas learned that Agent





Thomas Galbraith held the treaty food supplies in a warehouse while he was awaiting the payment of gold so that he could distribute them together. When 5,000 Dakotas gathered at the Upper Agency on July 14 demanding what was rightfully theirs, Galbraith was forced to issue some provisions under threat of violence, but he kept the bulk of food beyond their reach. At the same time, traders with stores of food also refused to distribute food to the Dakotas. The callousness of white Minnesotans to Dakota starvation was captured in the statement made by trader Andrew Myrick, "If they are hungry, let them eat grass or their own dung!" By mid-August the Dakotas were in a life-and-death struggle and their level of tolerance had been breached. After the Acton killings, driving out the invaders seemed the only remaining solution for the Bdewakantunwan Dakotas.

Realizing that their actions would not go unnoticed or unpunished, the Dakota men responsible for the Acton killings returned to their village leader, Shakpe, and they gathered together a council of Bdewakantunwan warriors, including leaders such as Wabasha, Traveling Hail, Big Eagle, and Little Crow, to determine what course of action should be taken. Although many proclaimed the futility of a military action against an organized military force with tremendous firepower, Little Crow eventually agreed to lead the military struggle against the invading whites, and war was declared.

Their first act of war was waged at the Lower Sioux Agency on August 18, 1862. Myrick was one of the first casualties of the war and when he was found later his mouth was stuffed with grass. Word of the violence quickly spread among the white settlers, and many of them fled to nearby towns for safety or to Fort Ridgley, the only military post in the southwestern region of Minnesota. When news of the war reached Governor Alexander Ramsey in St. Paul the next day, he immediately commissioned Henry Hastings Sibley as a colonel and sent him with 1,400 troops to lead an expedition against the Dakotas. While the Dakotas initially had the element of surprise working in their favor, killing hundreds of immigrants and taking many European-Americans and mixed-bloods as prisoners, their offensive was short-lived. With European-American defenses quickly solidified and the arrival of Sibley's Sixth Minnesota Regiment, the Dakotas quickly shifted to a defensive position. When the Dakotas were unable to take the strongholds of Fort Ridgley and the town

of New Ulm, Minnesota, it was clear that their war effort could not be sustained. The final battle was fought at Wood Lake on September 23, 1862, and the subsequent surrender of the Dakotas and release of the 269 prisoners at Camp Release three days later marked the European-Americans' victory in the United States–Dakota War of 1862. It also marked the beginning of a war of extermination against the Sioux and their forced removal.

In September 1862, Governor Ramsey had declared, "The Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond the borders of the State." Once the war was quashed, Ramsey was free to implement his plan with the support of his angry citizenry, who were well aware that unhindered access to Dakota lands would be their final reward.

When the war ended, the Dakota could either flee or surrender. Those who fled made their way into Dakota Territory or northward into Canada. The 2,000 who eventually surrendered did so believing they would be treated humanely as prisoners of war, but they were wrong. The men were immediately separated from the women and children, shackled, and tried for war crimes. In a makeshift military tribunal, as many as forty-two cases were tried in a single day, some taking as few as five minutes. When the tribunal finished conducting the 392 trials on November 5, 307 Dakota men were sentenced to hanging and sixteen were sentenced to prison. In spite of their rulings, Sibley realized an executive order would be required before the sentences could be carried out and so the trial records were sent to Washington for President Abraham Lincoln's review. At 10 a.m. on December 26, 1862, thirty-eight Dakota men were hanged in the largest mass execution in U.S. history. Those with commuted death sentences were sent the following spring to Davenport, Iowa, where they were imprisoned for three years. By the time they were released in 1886, 120 men, or one-third of their population, had died.

The women and children who surrendered were treated similarly. On November 7, 1862, they were force-marched in a four-mile-long procession over 150 miles to a concentration camp erected at Fort Snelling. An unrecorded number of Dakotas died along the way and hundreds more during the winter of 1862–1863 at Fort Snelling. While roughly 1,600 arrived at the fort on November 13, by the time they left the concentration camp the following spring, only 1,300 were counted. They boarded boats





that were sent down the Mississippi River to St. Louis, then up the Missouri River to the newly created Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota. In spite of these already harsh actions, to be certain the Dakota population would be eradicated from the state, Governor Ramsey instituted a bounty on Dakota scalps. Beginning at \$25 and eventually reaching \$200, the bounties offered enough, at the time, for a European-American immigrant to establish a small farm. Within this context, Little Crow, the leader of Dakota resistance in 1862, was killed while picking raspberries with his son in the summer of 1863 near Hutchinson, Minnesota. At the close of the war, Little Crow had fled with other members of his family, but he returned briefly in 1863 and was shot by an immigrant father and his son. The younger Chauncey Lamson received the bounty for Little Crow's scalp, and his father, Nathan Lamson, received a \$500 reward for killing the Dakota leader of the war.

Ironically, the delayed gold payment that contributed to the start of the war was sent back to Washington and then redistributed later to European-American immigrants for depredations suffered during the war (totaling \$1,370,374 in 1863–1864). After the war, the eastern Dakota treaties were unilaterally abrogated by the U.S. government, the Dakota people were exiled from their homeland, and their lands were opened for immigration. Approximately twenty-five years later, small numbers of Dakota began returning to Minnesota and eventually resettled on four tiny southern Minnesota reservations. The majority of Dakota remain in exile as the devastating consequences of the war have carried into the twenty-first century. While the war remains a painful topic for some non-Natives in Minnesota, they continue to benefit from the Dakota expulsion. On a broader scale, the United States–Dakota War of 1862 epitomizes the process of invasion, conquest, and colonization that characterizes the American government's actions against much of its indigenous population.

*Waziyatawin Angela Wilson*

*See also* Battle of the Little Bighorn; Dakota; Wounded Knee, South Dakota, Massacre at.

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## **Long Walk (Navajo)**

The Long Walk of the Navajos is the most intensely traumatic experience in Navajo history. An estimated 8,000 Navajos were starved into submission by a prolonged scorched-earth campaign led by Colonel Kit Carson of the New Mexico Volunteers in 1863 and 1864 and then forced to walk several hundred miles to a forty-square-mile reservation on the Texas–New Mexico border that had been established for them and a few hundred Mescalero Apaches. There the Navajos were held captive under starvation conditions until 1868, when they signed a treaty and were allowed to walk back to their homeland, Dinétah.

For centuries, the Navajos were in intermittent conflict with the Spanish in New Mexico as well as with the Pueblos, Utes, and other Indians in the Southwest. In this they were very successful, gaining the title of the Lords of New Mexico. After the United States gained control of New Mexico territory (which then included what is now Arizona) in 1846 from Mexico, sporadic warfare with the Navajo continued, with occasional efforts at maintaining peace. Navajo headmen agreed to make peace, but the Navajos had no unified leadership, and a peace agreed to by one or more groups was not seen as binding by other Navajo-speaking groups. New Mexico colonists found profit by raiding Navajos for livestock and captives to serve as slaves. Navajos retaliated to recover their stolen wives, children, and livestock. Despite laws against slavery, it is estimated that in 1860 there were 5,000 Navajo slaves in New Mexico.

During the Civil War (1861–1865), the U.S. government sought to end the rebellious behavior of the Navajos through a large and prolonged military operation under the direction of General James Carleton. Carleton also hoped that gold and silver might be found on Navajo lands. Luckily for the Navajo, none was found, as it was in the Black Hills in 1874.

As happened elsewhere in the West, troops were initially sent eastward to fight in the Civil War, leading to a resurgence of raiding. Navajos' homes and crops had been destroyed in an all-out war in 1860. Following the withdrawal of troops who had been deployed to enforce the peace, Navajos were beset by raiding Utes, Pueblos, and New Mexicans. As soon as the threat from Texas was ended by John M. Chivington's victory at Glorietta Pass in 1862, the New Mexico Volunteers turned their attention to the Navajos.





Over time, the U.S. military learned from fighting Navajos that only a prolonged campaign against them had any chance of success. Carleton ordered Colonel Kit Carson, an experienced “Indian fighter” who resigned as Ute Indian Agent and enlisted in the New Mexico volunteers in 1861 at the beginning of the Civil War, to lead an army in the field. Carson first fought an invading Confederate army from Texas and then was ordered to move against the Navajos with 261 soldiers, a number that eventually reached 736, the largest military operation ever waged against the Navajos. Carson was a somewhat reluctant commander, having enlisted to fight the Confederacy and wishing to be with his wife in Taos, New Mexico. While known as an Indian fighter, Carson wrote a very critical letter in 1866 regarding Chivington’s massacre of Cheyennes at Sand Creek in 1864 that included the killing of many women and children.

Carleton’s goal was to end Navajo raiding once and for all. He ordered the building of Fort Sumner at Bosque Redondo on the New Mexico–Texas border, where he idealistically thought that Navajos under the watchful gaze of the Army would become Christians, be civilized, and settle down as peaceful farmers.

Helped by Ute and Pueblo allies, Carson started a scorched-earth campaign in the summer of 1863 to starve the Navajos into submission, using Navajo crops to feed his men and horses. Unlike previous campaigns, Carson kept his troops in the field throughout the winter, harassing the Navajos in their camps. He rebuilt Fort Defiance in Arizona and renamed it Fort Canby in the middle of Dinétah (the Navajo country). He then used it as a staging point for repeated raids that continued throughout the winter and into the following summer and that destroyed Navajo crops and captured, killed, or scattered their sheep, goats, cattle, and horses.

The Navajos were escorted to Fort Sumner in as many as fifty-three groups between 1863 and 1866. Navajos were gathered at Fort Canby, then moved about fifty miles to Fort Wingate (just east of present-day Gallup, New Mexico). After that, they took part in the Long Walk of 250 miles to Bosque Redondo during the spring of 1864.

Navajo oral history tells of the weak and young who could not keep up being taken behind hills and shot. Some drowned crossing the Rio Grande. Hundreds died en route, while several thousand took refuge in the extreme west and northwest of the Navajo homeland (Dinétah) and avoided the Long

Walk altogether. One of the leading Navajo headmen, Barboncito, did not surrender till 1864, fled Bosque Redondo in 1865, and surrendered again in 1866. Another prominent leader, Manuelito, remained free even longer, but, harassed by Utes and Hopis and with his followers starving, he surrendered on September 1, 1866.

On the reservation at Bosque Redondo, the Navajos and several hundred Mescalero Apaches were expected to take up farming and thousands of acres were planted, but the alkali soil, insects, and drought-ridden, harsh weather led to repeated crop failures and starvation. The lack of timber in the area also made it difficult to build shelters and keep warm in the winter. Comanche raids became more frequent, averaging one a week, in the spring of 1866, and government corruption in providing rations added to the misery of the Navajos.

Carleton had not realized how many Navajos had been forced to march, and his plans were inadequate to properly care for the thousands his troops captured. The Navajos who had the strength and supplies fled in the summer of 1865, even as those remaining behind were allowed arms to defend themselves from Comanche raids and to hunt. Game was scarce, however. That summer the Doolittle Joint Special Committee of Congress visited and found disease and malnutrition. In September 1866 the Long Walk’s architect, General Carleton, was transferred, and the experiment of relocating the Navajos to Bosque Redondo was recognized as a failure. In 1867, authority over Navajos shifted from the War Department to the Indian Bureau.

Many Navajos died of malnutrition and sickness at Bosque Redondo, and in April 1868 Navajo leaders went to Washington, DC, asking President Andrew Johnson to allow them to return to their homeland. Investigators from Washington backed up Navajo complaints, and General William T. Sherman and Colonel S. F. Tappan were sent to negotiate a treaty. Sherman wanted to send the Navajos farther east to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), but the Navajos were adamantly opposed. Barboncito, a Navajo leader declared at the treaty negotiation, “Our grandfathers had no idea of living in any other country except our own. . . . When the Navajos were first created, four mountains and four rivers were pointed out to us, inside which we should live, that was to be our country, and was given to us by the first woman of the Navajo tribe” (Iverson, 2002, 63).





Treaty negotiations began on May 28, and a treaty was signed on June 1, 1868, allowing the surviving Navajos with their remaining horses, mules, and sheep to walk home in a ten-mile-long column with their children in wagons. The treaty, patterned after other Indian treaties of the time, called for the end of all warfare, the compulsory schooling for Navajo children, and the provision of farm implements to heads of families willing to take 160 acres of land for raising crops. On July 6, 1868, the column of returning Navajos crossed the Rio Grande, and they were again in Dinétah, never to leave again.

The captivity at Bosque Redondo helped unite the Navajos and convinced them of the overwhelming might of the U.S. government, ending the chronic raids that had characterized the previous centuries. The distribution of rations at Fort Defiance until 1879 and the continued presence of troops helped keep the peace.

Jon Reyhner

See also Carson, Christopher "Kit"; Sand Creek Massacre.

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## Sand Creek Massacre

Located in southeastern Colorado, fifty miles from present-day Lamar, Sand Creek was the site of a deliberate and unprovoked attack on peaceful southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Indians by Col-

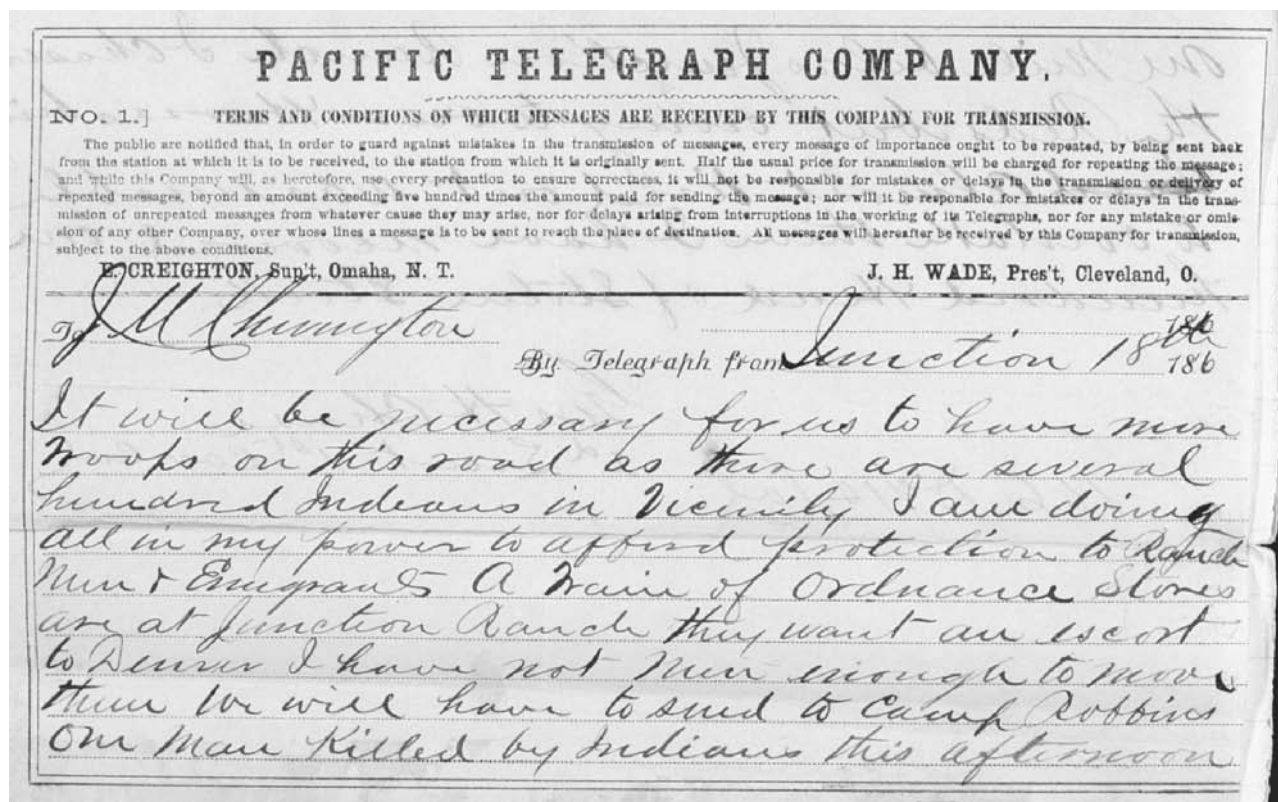
orado volunteers. This attack became known as the Sand Creek Massacre. In a little over an hour, 143 Indians lay dead, many of their bodies mutilated for souvenirs.

Included in the land guaranteed to the Cheyennes and the Arapahos in Article V of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 was eastern Colorado from its border with Kansas and Nebraska westward to the Rocky Mountains and south to the Arkansas River. However, the discovery of gold at the confluence of the South Platte River and Cherry Creek drew a multitude of prospective miners into Cheyenne territory during the latter half of the 1850s. New trails transversed Cheyenne hunting grounds, opening the way for immigrants, who constructed settlements and towns on land promised to the Indians. Soon the buffalo and other wildlife grew scarce. Tensions mounted as hunger and disease spread through Indian bands.

The U.S. government sought to relieve the friction by further reducing Indian land. Believing obstinacy and delay would result in a less favorable settlement, Cheyenne leaders Black Kettle and White Antelope, along with an Arapaho delegation led by Little Raven and Left Hand, met with government agents on February 8, 1861, and placed their X on the Treaty of Fort Wise. The document ceded to the United States the vast territory granted to the Indians in the 1851 Fort Laramie agreement in exchange for annuity payments and a small reservation of 600 square miles in southeastern Colorado between the Big Sandy and the Arkansas River. The treaty establishing the so-called Sand Creek Reservation was never approved by Cheyenne and Arapaho leaders, who were not present at the signing.

The Sand Creek Reservation was unable to sustain the Indians who were compelled to live there. Unsuitable for agriculture, the desolate, gameless terrain proved to be a breeding ground for epidemic diseases. With the nearest buffalo herd over 200 miles away, young Cheyenne men left the reservation in search of food. Raids on livestock and passing wagon trains became more and more frequent. Between 1861 and 1864, sporadic violence spread across eastern Colorado and the plains of Kansas and Nebraska, as men from Cheyenne and Arapaho bands clashed with soldiers and volunteer militia units. Fear and panic swept through white homesteaders, who were fully aware of the incidents associated with the Dakota uprising of 1862, which resulted in the largest mass hanging in U.S. history at Mankato, Minnesota.





A telegram to Colonel John M. Chivington, dated July 18, 1864, requesting more troops to combat Native Americans along an overland route in the Colorado Territory. On November 29, 1864, Chivington led the Third Colorado Volunteers to the peaceful camp of Cheyenne Chief Black Kettle along Sand Creek outside Fort Lyon. Despite the American flag and the white flag flown above Black Kettle's teepee, troops charged the village and killed more than 200 men, women, and children. (Corbis)

In June 1864, John Evans, who became the second governor of Colorado Territory two years earlier, issued a proclamation inviting all "friendly Indians" to certain designated forts where they would be fed and allowed to camp under the protection of the military. Those Indians who chose not to comply with this directive would be considered hostile and subject to punitive raids. With most of the territory's regular troops away fighting Confederates, Evans called for civilians to join the Third Colorado Cavalry for 100 days to carry out his plan, stressing that "Any man who kills a hostile Indian is a patriot . . . and no one has been or will be restrained from this" (Hughes, 1977, 59).

The commander of the Colorado volunteers was Colonel John M. Chivington, a forty-three-year old Methodist minister-turned-soldier-turned-politician. In 1862, Chivington replaced his clerical attire with a major's uniform in the Colorado Volunteer Regiment and won acclaim for his role in defeating Confederate troops at the Battle of Glorietta Pass in eastern New Mexico. Now he was to lead an expedition

against the Indians, "fully satisfied . . . that to kill them is the only way we will ever have peace and quiet in Colorado."

Black Kettle and six other chiefs decided to accept the governor's invitation and traveled with Major Edward Wynkoop, the commander of Fort Lyon, to Denver to meet with Evans and Chivington. Meeting at Camp Weld on September 28, the Indians were told to submit to military authority as represented by the garrison at Fort Lyon. Black Kettle believed that he had secured peace and safety for his band and others. Unknown to the Indians, Chivington received an order that same day from Major General Samuel R. Curtis, commanding officer of the Department of Kansas, instructing him not to make peace with the Indians. Chivington readily assented to this, with the blessing of Governor Evans.

On November 4, 1864, Major Wynkoop was relieved of command of Fort Lyon, owing to his benevolent dealings with Black Kettle, Left Hand, and Little Raven. His replacement was Major Scott Anthony, who proceeded to disperse the Indians,





sending them away from the fort and north to Sand Creek. Chivington, meanwhile, moved his column of nearly 600 men down the Arkansas River toward Fort Lyon, arriving at the post on November 28. The enlistment of his hundred-day volunteers was about to expire, and the men were already disappointed at having never experienced a battle. Chivington, as well, had been ridiculed in the press for his inactivity. Accompanied by 125 men under Major Anthony and four mountain howitzers, the volunteers started out for Black Kettle's camp at 8 p.m. that evening. Having covered the forty miles to the village that night, Chivington's men were in position to attack as dawn broke on November 29.

Black Kettle's camp along Sand Creek was composed of approximately 450 southern Cheyenne and forty Arapaho, split into separate groups of lodges, each headed by a chief. Although a few women were up starting fires for cooking, most of the village was still asleep when the volunteers struck. Major Anthony drove away the herd of ponies and then approached the village from the west. Three companies of the First Colorado crossed the mostly dry creek bed and attacked from the east and north, while the Third Colorado Cavalry under Colonel George L. Shoup charged straight into the center of the encampment. Cheyenne oral history is replete with accounts of confusion and chaos as the Colorado volunteers swept through the village firing indiscriminately into the lodges. The mountain howitzers positioned on the south bank of the creek began to rain grapeshot down on the fleeing Indians. Black Kettle and others were in a state of disbelief over what was happening. The Cheyenne chief tied an American flag that he received in Denver along with a white flag of truce to one of his lodgepoles in an unsuccessful effort to halt the slaughter. Black Kettle, along with Left Hand, was left with no choice but to try and escape with his life. White Antelope chose to remain and face death and was shot in front of his lodge.

The bloodletting continued as Chivington's men chased the remaining Cheyenne and Arapaho for miles up Sand Creek, overtaking and killing as many men, women, and children as they could find. Some of the refugees, including Black Kettle, managed to escape by digging into the sandy soil or hiding under the embankments of the creek. Returning to the village, the Colorado volunteers proceeded to kill all the remaining wounded and mutilate the bodies of the dead—taking scalps, ring fingers, ears, and even genitalia for souvenirs. Chivington did nothing to halt

the carnage. On December 1, the remains of the village and its inhabitants were set on fire and the Colorado volunteers left the area bound for Denver. Chivington's casualties at Sand Creek were nine killed and thirty-eight wounded. The Cheyenne and Arapaho dead numbered 148—only sixty were men.

At first, Chivington and his volunteers were wildly praised and rewarded for their actions, as celebrations filled the streets. Soon, however, rumors and testimonials about what really happened at Sand Creek convinced the U.S. Congress to order a formal investigation. Never formally punished for his actions, Chivington nevertheless resigned and withdrew from political life. Black Kettle, having miraculously escaped the carnage, returned to his efforts for peace on the Plains. On October 14, 1865, Cheyenne and Arapaho representatives agreed to a treaty giving up the Sand Creek Reservation in Colorado in exchange for a reservation in southwestern Kansas and Indian Territory.

A 12,000-acre Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site was dedicated by the National Park Service April 28, 2007.

Alan C. Downs

See also Black Kettle; Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851; Great Sioux Uprising.

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## Alaska, United States Purchase of

Although Europeans had been exploring the coastline of Alaska since the early 1700s, the Russians were the first to establish colonies there. Whereas Russia was the first to colonize Alaska and exploit its vast fur resources, much of the credit for the mapping and naming of places along the extensive coastline goes to the rival countries of Spain and Great Britain. Both countries were busily looking for a fabled Northwest Passage by painstakingly investigating and charting every inlet in southeast and south central Alaska.

The competing powers agreed, at the Nootka Sound Convention in 1790, that colonization had to follow exploration in order for any nation to support a claim of ownership over a new land (Borneman, 2003, 44–45). By that criterion, Russia had beaten its





*The Alaska Treaty of Cession was signed after its negotiation by U.S. Secretary of State William H. Seward, allowing for the U.S. purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867. (Bettmann/Corbis)*

rivals because the Russian American Company had established a fur trading post on Kodiak Island by 1784, the first permanent European settlement in Alaska, as well as others on Yakutat Bay and at Sitka Sound on the Baranof Islands within the ensuing ten years (Borneman, 2003, 61–65).

In 1812, John Jacob Astor of the American Fur Company established a headquarters at the mouth of the Columbia River and proposed that a border-line between Russian America and Oregon Territory be established at 55 degrees north latitude as a boundary for exclusive trade with the Tlingits (Borneman, 2003, 68–69). This boundary was moved in an edict by Czar Alexander I in 1821, to the fifty-first parallel with an offshore boundary of one 100 miles, into which foreign trade or trespass was forbidden. This infuriated the Americans and their British neighbors in Canada, but the czar had made his decision.

In 1823, U.S. President James Monroe stated his position on European powers in the Americas—later called the Monroe Doctrine. The first clause forbade further colonization, and the second, later to become

the more famous, forbade European intervention in Latin American independence movements. The first clause was purposely directed at Russia's North American ambitions. In 1824, Alexander found his colonies starving without the trade in food goods from the British and Americans and modified his earlier position by moving the southern boundary of Russian America to 54 degrees 40 minutes north, restoring the three-mile offshore limit, and resuming all trade (Borneman, 2003, 79–80).

When Alexander I renewed the Russian American Company's charter in 1841, he insisted that the company assist in the spread of the Russian Orthodox religion by aiding the works of Bishop Innocent, who had been busy converting Native peoples from the Aleutians all the way to Sitka in the Alaska panhandle. Thus, the Russian Orthodox church became a major influence in Alaska, a position it retains today (Borneman, 2003, 77–78).

Russian fur traders had been steadily depleting the areas in which they operated of the animals on which they depended. Having failed to diversify, the Russians found themselves holding a grand expanse





of territory now devoid of the animal resources they needed to extract profit. In 1854, Russia was at war with Great Britain over the Black Sea. To Russia, the logical, more probable buyer of Alaska was the United States, but the Americans were on the brink of their own civil war, so for the meantime Russia was left nervously holding the bag. The Monroe Doctrine did, however, prevent the British from taking possession of any Russian interests for the time being (Borneman, 2003, 85–86).

Baron Edouard de Stoeckl, the Russian minister to the United States, and U.S. Secretary of State William H. Seward met in March and a deal was negotiated for \$7 million (plus \$200,000 to finalize the arrangements of the deal). Some technicalities remained, such as the exact boundaries, what to call this land in the treaty documents (Alaska was selected from the name given the Alaskan Peninsula—an Aleut word meaning “great land”), and how to pay for the transaction.

The purchase had been approved as a treaty in the Senate, but it had not passed the House of Representatives as a bill of appropriations. Eventually all of these details were worked out, leaving only one other consideration—how to deal with Alaska’s entry into the Union. There was no such assurance of citizenship given Alaska as had been guaranteed in the Louisiana Purchase, the Mexican and Florida Cessions, or the Gadsden Purchase. Neglecting to resolve these problems at the time of the purchase left Alaska and its Native population in a precarious position for most of the next century (Borneman, 2003, 107–109).

The final treaty to buy Alaska was approved on April 9, 1867, with a Senate vote of 37–2. The House finally approved the payment, and the transfer from Russian to American ownership took place on October 18, 1867, in Sitka (Borneman, 2003, 109–111).

Daniel R. Gibbs

See also Russians, in the Arctic/Northwest.

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sion in water, the Baptist Church is one of the world’s largest Christian fellowships with more than 35 million members worldwide (Livingstone, 1997, 150). The church has made a significant impact on Indian Country, especially in the American South and Southwest. Evolving from the known custom of submerging Jewish converts during the time of John the Baptist and from the words of Jesus Christ, who refers to the practice in Matt. 29:19 and Jn. 3:5, the modern Baptist Church’s origins lie with John Smyth, an English minister who separated from the state church of England and emigrated to Holland, where the first Baptist Church began in 1609 with baptism representing a shared faith by the congregation. Subsequently, some of Smyth’s congregation began the first Baptist Church after returning to England in 1612 (Livingstone, 1997, 154).

Founded in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1639, the first Baptist congregation in North America preceded significant growth during the Great Awakening throughout the middle Atlantic colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Fahlbusch, 1999, 197). By the nineteenth century, Baptist missionaries began moving into the American South and West, evangelizing to rural Southerners. In 1817, the Baptist General Convention started the process of converting American Indians, turning over the work to the Missionary Union from 1846 to 1865, when the responsibility transferred to the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Peoples impacted by the missions included the Pottawatomis and Miamis (1817), Cherokees (1818), Ottawas (1822), Muscogees (Creek) (1823), Oneidas, Tonawandas and Tuscaroras (1824), Choctaws (1826), Ojibwas (1828), Shawnees (1831), Otoes (1833), Omahas (1833), Delawares and Stockbridges (1833), and Kickapoos (1834) (Armitage, 1890). None of the tribes was more affected than those who were removed from the southeastern United States, such as the Cherokees, Muscogees (Creek), Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, to Indian Territory, which eventually became the state of Oklahoma. By 1851, the Muscogee Baptist Association was formed and began its own missions to western Oklahoma peoples, such as the Wichitas and Kiowas. By the beginning of the twentieth century, a Baptist mission existed within the tribal areas of practically every people in Oklahoma, such as the Osages, Pawnees, Comanches, Cheyennes, Arapahos, Caddos, Apaches, and Delawares. Moving west, by the 1950s Baptist missions established themselves in New Mexico among the Mescalero Apache, Navajo

## Baptist Church

Rooted in the formal sacred rites of admitting a person into the Christian Church by way of total immer-





(Dine), and Pueblo peoples such as the Santa Claras, Taos, and Picuris, as well as the Jicarilla Apaches in northern New Mexico (Belvin, 1955, 67–76). Further entrenchment by the Baptists also occurred in the 1950s among the tribes of Arizona, such as the Navajos, Maricopas, White River Apaches, Pimas, and Papagos, as well as in southern Utah (Belvin, 1955, 93–99).

Even though Baptists were making inroads into tribal areas of the southwestern United States, by 1955, 75 percent of American Indians in the Southern Baptist Convention were in Oklahoma (Belvin, 1955, 17). That legacy represents the impact on the Southeastern tribes of the encroaching American society into traditional tribal homelands during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and a primary tenet of most of that encroachment was to “civilize,” meaning Christianize, the Native peoples of the region. Subsequently, during the removal period of the 1830s when tribal people were rounded up and forced to Indian Territory, Baptist Christianity came with them, then proceeded west under the impetus of missionaries. By the beginning of the twentieth century, Baptist churches operated by and for American Indians could be found from Virginia and Texas to Montana and California.

Hugh W. Foley, Jr.

*See also* Trail of Tears.

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## Washita Massacre

Located in western Oklahoma, two miles from present-day Cheyenne, a tranquil bend in the Washita River was the site of a surprise wintertime attack in 1868 by the U.S. Seventh Cavalry under the command of Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong

Custer on Chief Black Kettle’s peaceful band of southern Cheyenne Indians. Black Kettle, a survivor of the Sand Creek Massacre four years earlier, died along with his wife and 101 other men, women, and children.

Custer’s attack was the result of the U.S. Army’s evolving strategy for imposing the government’s reservation policy on noncompliant Indians of the Great Plains. In October 1867, peace commissioners from the United States government met with representatives of the Arapahos, Comanches, Kiowas, Prairie Apaches, and southern Cheyennes in a grove of trees along Medicine Lodge Creek, sixty miles south of Fort Larned, Kansas. There, the principal Native peoples of the southern Plains signed treaties promising to move onto two reservations in western Indian Territory and to take no action to impede the construction of nearby railroads, wagon roads, and government facilities. In exchange for their compliance, signatory tribes were promised agricultural implements, clothing, education for their children, annuity payments, and the prohibition of white settlement on reservation land.

Of the five nations represented at the Medicine Lodge council, the southern Cheyennes were the least united in support of the treaty. Black Kettle was reluctant to sign the document until the militant Cheyenne Dog Soldiers agreed to its terms. Unable to convince War Chief Roman Nose and his band of the merits of peace under the terms of the treaty, Black Kettle nevertheless affixed his mark to the paper. Despite the lack of a unified following, the Cheyenne chief settled peaceably into reservation life below the Arkansas River.

Throughout the winter of 1867–1868, food stores from the autumn buffalo hunts sustained the reservation Cheyennes. As spring approached and supplies dwindled, the promised government support materialized in insufficient quantities. Most disconcerting for the Cheyennes was the absence of the promised guns and ammunition needed for hunting. Notwithstanding the best efforts of Agent Edward W. Wynkoop to reassure the disaffected, some young Cheyenne men, angered by the duplicity of the white peace commissioners, ventured northward away from the reservation to join Roman Nose and the leaders of other resistant factions.

In response to the growing defiance of the government’s reservation policy among Native peoples on the southern Plains, Major General Philip Henry Sheridan, commander of the Department of the Missouri (with the support of Lieutenant General





*General George A. Custer's Seventh Cavalry raids the Cheyenne encampment along the Washita River. (Library of Congress)*

William Tecumseh Sherman), orchestrated a strategy to force submission. Sheridan envisioned a winter operation utilizing converging columns of cavalry and infantry to round up warriors whose limited supplies and grass-fed ponies would make them virtually immobile and susceptible to capture. Accordingly, on November 18, 1868, Major Andrew W. Evans left Fort Bascom, New Mexico, with 563 men and marched eastward down the South Canadian River. Two weeks later, Brevet Major General Eugene Asa Carr and 650 men left Fort Lyon, Colorado, and moved southward (guided by "Buffalo Bill" Cody) toward Antelope Hills in Indian Territory. The third and largest column, comprising the 800 troopers of the Seventh U.S. Cavalry under the command of Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer, left Camp Supply, a depot on the North Canadian River 100 miles south of Fort Dodge, Kansas, on Novem-

ber 23 and headed south toward the Washita River. Sheridan placed Custer in overall command of his column and instructed the lieutenant colonel to follow a fresh trail in the snow, suspecting its creators to be a Cheyenne raiding party returning from Kansas.

That same autumn, as Sheridan put the finishing touches on his planned winter campaign, Black Kettle and his followers set up an encampment on a bend in the Washita River, forty miles east of the Antelope Hills. Consisting of fifty-one lodges, the village was populated by Cheyenne women, children, and elders as well as recently returned young warriors who were now more willing to accept the peaceful ways of Black Kettle after Roman Nose's death on September 17 at the Battle of Beecher's Island. Downriver, Arapaho, Kiowa, and additional Cheyenne camps dotted the landscape. Learning





that U.S. troops were on the move, Black Kettle and other Cheyenne and Arapaho leaders traveled 100 miles down the Washita River Valley to Fort Cobb to meet with the garrison's commander, General William Babcock Hazen, to seek protection for their people. To their dismay, the heretofore convivial Hazen maintained he lacked the authority to allow the Cheyenne and Arapaho bands to move closer to the fort and instructed Black Kettle to return to his camp.

On November 26, Custer's undetected column drew near the bend in the Washita River occupied by the Cheyenne chief and his band. The trail they had followed led directly to the encampment. Without bothering to determine adequately the size and strength of his foe, the lieutenant colonel ordered an attack for the following day. Just before daybreak on November 27, troopers from the Seventh Cavalry, with the regimental band playing "Garry Owen," charged into Black Kettle's sleeping village from four directions. The shaken and surprised Cheyenne could do nothing except run for safety. A few warriors vainly fought back. Black Kettle and his wife attempted to escape across a ford in the river, only to be gunned down in the mud. Within ten minutes, the Seventh Cavalry controlled the village. Estimates vary, but it is probable that 103 Cheyenne men, women, and children died in the attack, while fifty-three women and children were taken captive. For his part, Custer lost two officers and nineteen enlisted men, most of whom were under the command of Major Joel H. Elliott. Attempting to corral a group of Indians fleeing downriver, Elliot and his men were themselves surrounded and killed by members of the nearby Arapaho and Cheyenne camps who were coming to Black Kettle's aid.

As more and more mounted warriors arrived to overlook the scene, Custer's troopers set up a defensive perimeter and then systematically set fire to the lodges, destroying the winter supply of food and clothing. The cavalry likewise slaughtered more than 800 Cheyenne ponies and mules. To remove his command from an increasingly foreboding environment, Custer abandoned efforts to locate Major Elliott, feigned an attack in the late afternoon against Indian encampments further downriver, then escaped back across the river after dark. The Seventh Cavalry returned triumphantly to Camp Supply on December 2, much to the satisfaction of General Sheridan.

More of a massacre than a battle, Washita proved to be a debilitating blow to the southern Cheyenne. With their winter supplies destroyed

along with their herd of mules and ponies, the majority of the Cheyenne bands found themselves with little choice but to succumb to reservation life. Perhaps of equal consequence, Washita demonstrated to the noncompliant Indians of the Plains that winter no longer provided the element of security it once had.

Alan C. Downs

*See also* Black Kettle; Sand Creek Massacre: Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War.

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## Grant's Peace Policy

At the time Ulysses S. Grant became president of the United States in 1868, approximately 250,000 American Indians all across the nation were under the jurisdiction of a federal Indian policy. Within the Department of the Interior, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was officially responsible for implementing relations with the Native peoples, but the agency had become a dumping ground for the party faithful and "a morass of corruption and inefficiency" (Utley, 1953, 123). Disgusted, reformers and policy makers called for a change that would result in positive accomplishments, such as civilizing American Indians through education, Christianity, and teaching methods of self-support. Not to be overlooked was the immediate need to reform the Indian Bureau. This "new" and untried approach to managing America's Indian peoples actually had another purpose as well: containing Indians for the benefit of non-Indians by removing obstacles to European-American settlements all across former Indian lands.

One year earlier, in response to continuing hostilities with Indians on the Plains, the government had created a Peace Commission, comprised of ten outstanding citizens who were "high minded Christian philanthropists" (Beaver, 1966, Ch. 4) and volunteers serving their country by monitoring, in conjunction with the Secretary of the Interior, congressional appropriations to ensure that (1) Indians would be placed on reservations, keeping them away from contact with the immigrants, teaching them how to be farmers, and exposing them to the





*A delegation of Native Americans arrive in Washington, DC, to meet with the commissioner of Indian Affairs and are greeted by members of the Grant administration. Grant's Peace Policy was acclaimed for its defense of Native Americans and its opposition to corruption in the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but it was also designed to isolate Native Americans on reservations, where federal agents and missionaries could work to "civilize" them. (Library of Congress)*

aid of Christian organizations; (2) when necessary, Indians would be punished for misdeeds, which should demonstrate the efficacy of following the government's advice rather than continuing their traditional ways; (3) high-quality supplies would be furnished to reservations; (4) through religious organizations, high-quality agents would be recruited, who would fairly distribute goods and aid in uplifting the Indians; and (5) through Christian organizations, churches and schools would be provided, which would lead the Indians to appreciate Christianity and civilization and educate them to assume the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Along with overseeing these provisions, one of the goals of this appointed body was to formally establish the reservations onto which all of the reluctant Native peoples would agree to be placed, receiving inducements such as education for the children, food, clothing, and instruction in agricultural techniques. Thus, the Peace Commission prepared the foundation of what would become known as Grant's Peace Policy.

A major hallmark of the Peace Policy was a desire to abandon the old treaty system, a patroniz-

ing arrangement that had never worked well and that had caused, at best, innumerable frustrations and disagreements among the Indian nations. At worst, open warfare had resulted with continuing consequences for both the Native peoples and the government. Less than fifty years earlier, similar Mexican policies dealing with that country's Native populations had not succeeded on the colonial frontier, a fact Grant must have known but disregarded, relying instead on several assumptions: Christians would not succumb to temptations resulting in dishonesty; the churches could stop the terrible unscrupulousness; and the righteousness of the hand-picked Protestant agents would produce peace among the Indians. Thus, a serious attempt to instill kindness and justice into official U.S. Indian policy was underway and represented an about-face from the failed military policy that emphasized force.

The United States in 1870 was a predominantly Christian nation, mainly Protestant, and many citizens believed that the government should assist religion to improve American society. Appointing churchmen as agents was first proposed to the president in 1869 by a delegation of Quakers. This action, the Friends thought, would raise politics and politicians to a respectable position once again and simultaneously ensure that the nation's indigenes would be well served. Grant favored the idea even though it was not an example of his religious beliefs; the president was only nominally Protestant (Methodist), had never been active in church affairs, and was baptized only on his deathbed.

Grant informed the nation about the change in his first annual message to Congress in December 1869, reporting that "[Quakers] are known for their opposition to all strife, violence, and war, and are generally known for their strict integrity and fair dealings. These considerations induced me to give the management of a few reservations to them and to throw the burden of the selection of agents upon the society itself" (Stockel, 2004, 108). Recalcitrant Indians—those who were not eager to comply—would still be treated as hostiles and disciplined accordingly.

The results of the new policy were initially impressive and in time caused church officials from Protestant sects other than Quakers to speak out and express their desire to participate; the process of selecting religious agents became more expansive. By 1872, "seventy-three agencies had been apportioned among the nation's principal denominations and good religious men set forth to elevate the Indians" (Utley, 1984, 133).





Most churchmen/agents of every belief were extremely dedicated to improving conditions among their Indian charges, but very little progress in relations between the government and Indian nations was noted between 1869 and 1871. Problems quickly appeared. The small salary was insufficient for many agents, and in some cases rapid turnover resulted. Married men brought their wives, many of whom, despite good intentions, learned they could not tolerate the seclusion and demanded a return to "civilization." Congress was not willing to appropriate the monies necessary to sustain the reservations during emergencies, such as the widespread disappearance of game. Political infighting resulted in supplies arriving late on the reservation or not at all. School funds were depleted. Agencies were in debt, and employees unpaid. Worse, incompetent and even corrupt churchmen slipped through the screen of the missionary associations, and the government ultimately became embroiled in religious strife.

Catholics, in charge of 17,856 Indians, felt discriminated against and outnumbered by Protestant agents, a fact that is substantiated by figures: Quakers administered 24,322 Indians; Baptists, 40,800; Presbyterians, 38,069; Methodists, 54,473; Dutch Reformed, 8,118; Congregationalists, 14,476; Episcopalians, 26,929; and other Protestant sects 13,856 (Prucha, 1990, 143). In 1874 the Catholic Church formed a lobbying bureau in Washington, DC, to fight for its fair share.

Conflicts also erupted between the Board of Indian Commissioners and the Department of the Interior over the board's authority, as well as between the churchmen/agents about who should control which reservations. Scandal after scandal ensued, involving the religious stewards in some of the same temptations that had seduced their predecessors: fraud, deception, and infighting for spoils. A movement began that threatened to transfer the Indian Bureau back into the War Department and that called upon the military to administer the reservations. Public confidence fell and the Peace Policy was discredited.

Eight years after it had begun, the policy collapsed. Despite its failure, Grant's Peace Policy had become one of the vehicles by which Indian peoples were pacified. The program also played a major role in redistributing the homelands of many indigenous peoples to Christian Americans who insisted their right to the land must prevail.

*H. Henrietta Stockel*

*See also* Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe.

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## Camp Grant Massacre

On April 30, 1871, a confederacy of Anglo-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Tohono O'odhams murdered more than 100 western Apaches, mostly unarmed children and women, who had surrendered to the U.S. Army at Camp Grant, just north of Tucson, Arizona. Another thirty or so children were taken captive. Later that winter, a local court charged the assailants with murder, but after a weeklong trial the jury pronounced a verdict of not guilty. Western Apache groups soon left their farms and gathering places near Tucson in fear of subsequent attacks. As pioneer families arrived and settled in the area, Apaches were never able to regain hold of their ancestral lands.

Following the Gadsden Purchase of 1854, American settlers began to enter the San Pedro Valley, the fertile land to the east of modern-day Tucson. However, western Apache groups like the Arivaipa and Pinal bands had control of the valley, as they had since at least the late 1700s. To protect pioneers and subdue Native populations who refused to submit to American authority, the government established military posts to strike directly into Apache communities. On May 8, 1860, the United States erected Fort Aravaypa at the confluence of the San Pedro River and Arivaipa Creek. In 1865 it was renamed Camp Grant in honor of Ulysses S. Grant.

On February 28, 1871, Lieutenant Royal E. Whitman, then in charge of Camp Grant, reported that a small group of elderly Apache women came to the post looking for several stolen children and hoping





to make a lasting peace with the government. Whitman encouraged the Apaches to come in, and soon dozens of Arivaipa and Pinal Apaches were encamped at the fort and receiving rations of corn, flour, beans, coffee, and meat. By late March, more than 400 Apaches had arrived, settling peacefully at a traditional site called *gashdla'á cho o'aa* ("Big Sycamore Stands There"), five miles from Camp Grant, up Arivaipa Creek.

Despite the amiable settlement at Camp Grant, Chiricahua Apaches continued raiding. While Apaches at Camp Grant almost certainly did not commit these depredations, residents in Tucson assumed they did. After the government refused pleas for protection, William Oury conspired with Jesus Maria Elías, two leading Tucsonans, to seek revenge on the Apaches near Camp Grant. The men recruited dozens of local residents and scores of Tohono O'odham warriors. On the afternoon of April 28, 1871, the group met in secrecy and was provided weapons and provisions by the adjutant general of Arizona, Samuel Hughes.

After nearly continuous travel, they arrived at Big Sycamore Stands There in the early morning hours of April 30, they attacked immediately, catching the Apaches off guard. The attack was over in half an hour. The murders were brutal—children were hacked apart, girls were raped. The army at Camp Grant did not hear the screams and gunshots because of the distance from the Apache settlement. When the attackers left, more than 100 Apaches were dead, nearly all women and children, and some thirty children were taken as captives. A half dozen of the children lived for a while with highly regarded Tucsonans, such as Leopoldo Carrillo and Francisco Romero, but were reluctantly returned to Apache relatives in 1872. The rest of the children were sold into slavery in Sonora for \$100 each.

The group returned to a jubilant Tucson, while the reaction on the East Coast and even among military personnel was horror and disbelief. When local authorities did not press charges, President Ulysses S. Grant threatened to impose marshal law to prosecute those responsible. On October 23, 1871, a grand jury handed down 111 indictments, 108 for murder and three for misdemeanors, with Sidney R. DeLong as the lead defendant. A weeklong trial was held in December. The jury deliberated for nineteen minutes before announcing a verdict of not guilty.

After the massacre, the Apaches at Camp Grant dispersed throughout southern Arizona. They returned to the post in the spring of 1872 for peace

talks and agreed to settle on the San Carlos River to the north. Although this pact did not relinquish Apache territory, Anglo-American and Mexican-American pioneers soon spread roots in the San Pedro Valley and made it their home. When Apaches later tried to return and settle in the San Pedro Valley during the 1880s, they were run off their traditional lands.

*Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh*

*See also* Genocide; Warfare, Intertribal.

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## Apache Wars

No formal declaration of hostilities signaled the beginning of the bloody Apache wars in the American West. Instead, two separate incidents, one in 1860 and one in 1861, caused a great deal of anguish on the part of the Mimbres and Chiricahua Apaches and sparked a decades-long resistance that came to be known by that name.

History reveals that in 1860 Mangas Coloradas—a tall, muscular, very strong, and well respected chief—lived with his Mimbres Apache followers in southern New Mexico (Sweeney, 1998, 7). The group's vast homelands ranged southward from forested mountains near the head of the Gila River, across deserts and valleys, into Mexico. In May of that year, prospectors discovered gold in the heart of Mimbres territory, causing an influx of more than 700 miners, a sight Mangas and his people never expected. In the spirit of friendship, the chief visited a mining camp and was immediately captured, bound, and whipped. A second offense occurred early in 1863 when Mangas became a prisoner of the military at the recently established Fort McLane. Two army privates, Jonn V. Mead and James Colyer, who were assigned to guard the chained Apache, taunted him by pressing hot bayonets to his feet. When he strenuously objected, they killed him. The Apaches considered both of these events to be intolerable and worthy of revenge.





*Apache rancheria with two men holding rifles. Under the leadership of such able warriors as Mangas Coloradas, Cochise, and Geronimo, the Apache struck fear throughout the Southwest during the nineteenth century. (National Archives)*

During the same period, Cochise—handsome, kindly, peaceful at heart, a natural leader, an honored chief, and Mangas's son-in-law—was the victim of similar depredations. Cochise ranged with his Chiricahua Apache people across deserts, grasslands, and mountains in the southeastern corner of Arizona (Sweeney, 1991, 4). Known by the Americans as a friendly and cooperative Apache, Cochise had an agreement with the U.S. government to supply wood to the Butterfield Stage Station in the Sulphur Springs Valley. In February 1861, he received word that a contingent of soldiers had arrived, was camped nearby, and wanted to speak with him. Trusting the Americans' word, Cochise complied, only to be mistakenly accused by a young American lieutenant—George N. Bascom—of kidnapping a rancher's son. Although wounded in the fracas, Cochise escaped, but his companions, five male relatives, were held and subsequently killed. According to Apache custom, the event demanded reprisal, so Cochise killed frontiersmen, drovers, stagecoach passengers, mail riders, the military, and everyone else who stepped into his territory. By August of 1861, much of Arizona that had been settled by non-Natives was deserted, with graves all along the roads. The Apaches were convinced for a time that they had driven the Anglos out of the area.

The non-Natives had not disappeared, however, and the Apache wars continued for twenty-five years. All during those battle-scarred decades, the frontier advanced farther westward under the banner of Manifest Destiny, a political slogan legitimizing for many non-Natives American expansion into Indian lands. The eastern populace moved out of cities into the healthier high deserts and mountainous regions of the Southwest. A tide of miners, merchants, businessmen, charlatans, religious men and women, schoolteachers, the military, mercenaries, scalp hunters, and settlers risked their lives when they entered the areas in which Mangas, Cochise, and their followers camped. These people expected protection from the forts that had been established across the Southwest after the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848 and the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, especially since the military had weapons superior to the Indians' use of rocks, knives, war clubs, lances, and bows and arrows.

Contrary to standard American military practices, the Apaches remained in small bands, each independent of the other, each warrior completely acclimated to the harsh terrain and arid climate and able to travel forty to sixty miles a day on foot with no need for food or water. Each man or woman was supremely confident in his or her abilities, waiting





for orders from no superior, never at a loss to know exactly when to attack or when to retreat, relying solely on guerilla warfare, traveling at night, and hiding during the day in rocky points and high places. Often using the element of surprise or a planned ambush, Apaches attacked, murdered, plundered, burned, scattered, and then regrouped at predetermined sites, carrying with them the rifles, shotguns, pistols, and ammunition taken from their enemies.

Despite the advantages a guerilla force has when protecting its homelands from unwelcome incursion, and in addition to the Apaches' extremely competent leadership, one fight in particular, known as the July 1862 Battle of Apache Pass (Thrapp, 1967, 20), showed how vulnerable the Indians were to American firepower. Apache Pass, located in southeast Arizona, is a narrow defile between the Chiricahua Mountains on the south and the Dos Cabezas range on the north. The area contained a flowing spring, the only reliable water supply for miles around. As Brigadier General J. H. Carleton led a regiment of California volunteers eastward from California to fight the Confederates, he passed through Apache Pass. When the army entered the pass, Apache warriors were on the cliffs high above the spring, ready to do battle. Kicking down rocks and boulders, using traditional weapons as well as American arms, they killed two soldiers and wounded two more, but then the Army's howitzers responded with twelve-pound shells and canisters of shot. Having experienced nothing similar in the past, terrified Apaches fled from their positions, but not before losing an estimated sixty-six warriors. Cochise's warriors half-heartedly resumed the battle the next day, but the troops again fired the howitzers and the Apaches scattered once more. Never again did Mangas Coloradas and Cochise fight together. As a consequence of the Battle of Apache Pass, Carleton recommended that a fort be established in the vicinity; it was built and designated Fort Bowie.

Following Cochise's death in 1874, his son, Naiche, and the warrior Geronimo carried on the Apache Wars (Debo, 1976, 101–102). Never a chief, Geronimo's remarkable abilities as a medicine man and war shaman served the group as it continued to defy the U.S. plan to settle the American West. By 1880, most of the West's Indian nations had capitulated and were put on reservations that encompassed only a small portion of their traditional homelands; the remaining areas were opened for

settlement. But the Apaches stayed free and fighting, the warrior group enlarged by the addition of many of Mangas's followers and their descendents.

Frustrated and embarrassed by its seeming inability to subdue the Apaches, the United States sent 5,000 army troops to southeast Arizona to capture the Naiche/Geronimo band of thirty-five people. Simultaneously, the Mexican government placed a price on Geronimo's head. Faced with a Hobson's choice—stay in Mexico and be killed or capitulate to the United States and face imprisonment—on March 29, 1886, Geronimo opted to surrender to General George Crook and the American army at Cañon de los Embudos, Mexico. It appeared that the Apache wars were over, but fate intervened and Geronimo suddenly changed his mind. Under cover of darkness he and the last holdouts left the area and remained at liberty for the next six months. In early September of 1886, however, Geronimo recognized the futility of an ongoing resistance and sent word of his wish to surrender once again. A meeting was arranged with General Nelson Miles in Skeleton Canyon, Arizona. On September 4, 1886, under the watchful eyes of nervous, heavily armed American soldiers, Geronimo placed a large rock under a tree, symbolizing the end of the Apache wars (Thrapp, 1967, 358–360).

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*See also* Cochise; Geronimo: His Own Story; Mangas Coloradas; Manuelito; Victorio.

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## Battle of the Little Bighorn

The Battle of the Little Bighorn, which took place in southeastern Montana on June 25, 1876, is one the best-known, most studied, and most controversial episodes in American history. The battle, in which a portion of the Seventh Cavalry led by Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer were all killed, was a crushing defeat for the United States Army at





*A depiction of General Custer's defeat at the Battle of the Little Bighorn on June 25, 1876. (Library of Congress)*

the hands of Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho warriors. The United States, celebrating its centennial, was caught totally off guard by the defeat of its army. Troops of a western "civilized" nation were not supposed to experience such devastation at the hands of an "uncivilized" foe. What became known as Custer's Last Stand instantly captured the American imagination and continues to do so today. However, following this great victory, the northern Plains tribes soon lost their war against the Americans and were confined to reservations, their equestrian bison-hunting lifestyle shattered.

The Battle of the Little Bighorn was one of the final episodes in the American conquest of the Great Plains, which started with the Lewis and Clark expedition and the Louisiana Purchase. According to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868, most of the Black Hills belonged to the Great Sioux Reservation, which contained the area of current South Dakota west of the Missouri River. The treaty also gave the Indians a right to hunt in the Powder River area as long as buffalo and other game were plentiful enough to provide subsistence for them. In the 1870s, however,

rumors of gold in the Black Hills, further confirmed by government expeditions, led to a stampede of white greed that swept away any indigenous rights to the area. Thousands of white prospectors swarmed the area, and, although the government made some efforts to keep them out for a while, it quickly attempted to buy the land from the Indians. The Sioux, considering the place sacred, declared their unwillingness to sell. The federal government responded by issuing threats, including the use of force. In actuality, it declared war through an ultimatum stating that any groups staying outside the reservation boundaries after the last day of January 1876 were to be considered hostile.

The U.S. Army concentrated large numbers of troops in the area. Following a nearly disastrous late winter campaign, the Army opted for a three-pronged summer offensive. Three converging columns were supposed to circle around the Powder River country and close in on the resisting tribes, crushing anyone they met. One of the columns, which had started from Fort Abraham Lincoln and approached the area from the northeast, was led by





General Alfred Terry and included the whole Seventh Cavalry under Custer. From the Yellowstone River, Terry dispatched Custer with approximately 600 soldiers and some indigenous scouts as a strike force to search for the Indians and drive them northward, where Colonel John Gibbon's troops might block their escape. Custer found the Indian trail and followed it into the valley of the Little Bighorn, hoping to strike a decisive blow against the Indians.

Knowing that the Army would come after them, bands of Sioux, northern Cheyennes, and northern Arapahos joined together for an exceptionally large concentration along the stream they called the Greasy Grass. The flood of Indians from the agencies doubled the village size in a few days, from 400 to 1,000 lodges, from 3,000 to 7,000 people, and from 800 to 2,000 warriors. Hunkpapas, Oglalas, Miniconjous, Sans Arcs, Blackfeet, Two Kettles, Brules, and some Yanktonnais and Santees made the five Sioux circles, coexisting with 120 Cheyenne lodges and a handful of Arapahos. This amount of people consumed immense amounts of game, forage, and firewood, and could not remain together for a long period of time. The Indians, angered by the federal government's unscrupulous policies, were ready for a fight. They were strong in number and leadership, extremely confident, and well armed. Just a week earlier, a portion of them had held General George Crook's troops to a stalemate along the nearby Rosebud. Custer was unaware of this battle.

Presuming that the Indians would scatter as soon as they spotted his troops, Custer was eager for a quick charge and divided his command of twelve companies into four groups. One group led by Major Marcus Reno would attack the southern end of the camp, while Captain Frederick Benteen would scout to the south and west and cut off any potential escape routes. Custer himself, with about 200 men, would flank the northern end of the village. In addition, a detachment was left behind to guard the pack train. Custer was clearly more concerned with preventing the Indians from escaping than with their numbers or fighting abilities. This concern was not unusual, because many officers considered that the hardest thing in Indian warfare was to locate the enemy and force them to stand and fight. Thus, Custer had a clear rationale for hurrying.

From the start, the battle was a success for the Indians. Reno's men met heavy opposition and were forced to retreat twice to better positions. Casualties included almost half of his command, and the rest fell under siege. The expected help from Custer

never came. Instead, Custer had advanced northward parallel to the river, realizing only then the size of the encampment he had stumbled upon. He sent word for Benteen to join him and rallied his men forward. Warriors charged across the river from the center of the village under Gall, a Hunkpapa leader; more came from the south, leaving the Reno site; and additional force under the leadership of the Oglala Crazy Horse struck from the north. Custer's men were sorely outnumbered, trapped in broken terrain, and fragmented along both sides of the battle ridge. The fight was brutal and short. None of the U.S. troops survived.

The pack train detail and Benteen, whose scout had proven useless, were unable to join Custer but reached Reno's defense position, bringing relief to their distress. Before that, many of the indigenous warriors had fled this battle scene and gone after Custer. Still, shooting at the Reno-Benteen site continued, and on June 26 two assault attempts were driven back by the soldiers. The situation of the troops remained desperate with many wounded, thirsty, and exhausted by the summer heat. Late in the evening the Indians started their retreat, and on the morning of June 27 the soldiers realized they were alone. Now Terry's troops arrived on the scene. All wondered where Custer was. The Reno-Benteen outfit had heard the sounds of fighting on June 25, and some of them had tried to go to Custer's help but were driven back by indigenous fighters. They had not seen Custer's struggles, the smoke and dust having obscured visibility. What they discovered after Terry arrived was total devastation. Custer and all his men lay dead on the slopes above the river. After the soldiers hastily buried the dead, they departed toward the mouth of the Little Bighorn, where a steamer was waiting. Altogether, casualties included half of the Seventh Cavalry; with Custer alone over 200 soldiers had died.

The Battle of the Little Bighorn proved to be, in fact, the last major show of force of the Sioux, Northern Cheyennes, and Northern Arapahos against the invading United States. Stunned and humiliated, the federal government poured men and resources quickly into the northern Plains. Throughout the winter of 1876-1877, regular troops with their Indian allies pursued the free bands continually, striking at their camps and commissary and slowly starving them into submission. The following spring a succession of Indian groups surrendered at various forts and agencies. The war was over. Indians had lost possession of the Black Hills and the Powder River





area, and eventually their large reservation was cut to pieces. Most of the surrendering Cheyennes were transported to the Indian Territory, from which they soon made their escape back north. The followers of Sitting Bull fled into Canada, only to return and surrender in 1881. The Battle of the Little Bighorn had been a major show of indigenous power, demonstrating Indians' courage and tactical skills and resulting in triumphant victory. Nevertheless, self-rule and the equestrian bison-hunting life did not survive its aftermath.

Janne Lahti

See also Black Hills (Paha Sapa); Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868.

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## Long March (Nez Percé)

The Long March of the Nez Percé, or the flight of the Nez Percé, took place between June and October of 1877. Approximately 600 members of the Nez Percé tribe, seeking to escape the United States Army, traveled 1,600 miles in their attempt to reach Canada and freedom. The Nez Percé involved in the Long March came from the nontreaty factions of the tribe, those who opposed the 1863 treaty that revised the Walla Walla Treaty of 1855 and who did not accept the new reservation boundaries set out in the 1863 treaty. The principal leaders of the nontreaty Nez Percé were Chief Joseph, Whitebird, Looking Glass, Lean Elk, Husis-Kute, and Toohoolhoolzote.

While most versions of the Long March begin with the Battle of Whitebird Canyon, the trek of nontreaty people started in late May as they moved

to the Nez Percé Reservation to meet the demands of the U.S. government. On June 13, 1877, a group of young men raided white homes along the Salmon River, creating fear and confusion for Nez Percé and Anglo-Americans alike. Knowing that this action meant war, Chief Joseph and his brother Ollokot led the people to Whitebird Canyon, a more defensible position. As white settlers panicked, the Army moved to confront the nontreaty Nez Percé there. Using their forces effectively, the Nez Percé defeated Army units sent in pursuit, inflicting heavy casualties. After the battle of Whitebird Canyon, Army units attacked the peaceful camp of Looking Glass and his people. Although Looking Glass and his people had not taken part in the earlier conflict, the Army believed that they were aiding the other nontreaty bands and counted them among the nontreaty people. After Whitebird Canyon, several engagements occurred between the Army and Nez Percé warriors as they attempted to retreat to the Weippe Prairie, located in present-day northeastern Idaho.

As soon as the Nez Percé arrived at the Weippe Prairie, they convened to discuss plans and a strategy for eluding the Army. Looking Glass, whose band had joined those fleeing the Army, argued that the best strategy lay in crossing the Bitterroot Mountains over the Lolo Trail. He maintained that crossing the mountains would stop Army pursuit and that the Nez Percé could join with their friends, the Crows. Most of the other leaders agreed with Looking Glass, and Joseph deferred to him since he was a more experienced war leader. It is important to note that no one leader was responsible for all the nontreaty Nez Percé during the Long March. Leaders like Joseph, Looking Glass, Lean Elk, and others shared and conferred in decision making during the trek. For Anglo-Americans, Chief Joseph became the central figure of their historical imagination, thereby condensing and simplifying the narrative of the Long March into one person while negating the role of many different leaders and people among the nontreaty bands.

With Looking Glass leading the way, nontreaty people traversed the Lolo Trail. Near present-day Missoula, Montana, they encountered a small force of volunteers who decided not to engage the Nez Percé. After the encounter, believing that they had eluded the Army, the nontreaty bands traveled south to the Big Hole Valley, where they decided to rest, recuperate, and procure food. This area was familiar to many of the Nez Percé because they trav-





eled here on their way to hunt buffalo on the plains of Wyoming and Montana. Feeling secure and celebrating their escape from the Army, they failed to place guards around the camp. Just before dawn on August 9, 1877, Army troops surprised the Nez Percé at their Big Hole Valley encampment. The troops moved quickly into the camp, firing indiscriminately at men, women, and children. As hand-to-hand combat raged through the camp, women, children, and the elderly escaped; the warriors regrouped and forced the troops out of the camp, eventually surrounding and pinning the soldiers down. Between sixty and ninety Nez Percé lost their lives during the battle (Josephy, 1971, 571). Most of the dead were women and children. Joseph and Ollokot both lost wives, and many in the camp lost their lodges and personal possessions.

On the night of August 10, 1877, while Nez Percé warriors kept the soldiers pinned down, the survivors of the battle escaped from the Big Hole Valley. According to Clifford Trafzer, Looking Glass lost much of his support as principal leader of the nontreaty bands after Big Hole. As the people traveled south and east toward the Yellowstone country, Lean Elk assumed much of the leadership role. Hoping to find refuge with their friends, the Crows, the Nez Percé faced bitter disappointment when their friends rejected their pleas for help because they did not want to anger the U.S. government.

With no friends and little hope of support, the nontreaty bands met in council and decided that the only option left open to them was to attempt an escape to Canada. The Nez Percé knew of the Sioux uprising and the subsequent escape of Sitting Bull and many Lakota to Canada. Lean Elk led the nontreaty bands, but he relinquished leadership to Looking Glass once the Nez Percé turned north toward Canada. As the Nez Percé began their escape, Looking Glass and others, not knowing that units under the command of Colonel Nelson Miles were about to cut off their escape route, encouraged the people to slow down and rest before their final push to Canada. Most of the people agreed, since almost all of them suffered from exhaustion, illness, hunger, or wounds.

Only forty miles from the Canadian border, the Nez Percé decided to camp at Snake Creek, located between the Bearpaw and Little Rocky Mountains. Before they started the last segment of the journey, Colonel Miles's force attacked the camp on September 30, 1877, and caught the Nez Percé by surprise. Once again, hand-to-hand combat occurred within

the camp, with women and children fending off soldiers with digging sticks and knives. When the initial attack ended, twenty-two Nez Percé were dead, including Toohoolhoolzote, the leading *tooot* (shaman) of the Nez Percé, and Ollokot, Joseph's brother (Josephy, 1971, 600).

After the initial attack, both sides settled in for a protracted siege. The remaining nontreaty people dug shallow trenches and suffered from the cold and snow. On October 1, Miles proposed a truce and Joseph agreed to talk. At the meeting, Miles demanded that the Nez Percé surrender unconditionally and give up their weapons. As the talks ended, Miles captured and held Joseph prisoner. The Nez Percé retaliated by capturing one of Miles's officers. Joseph and the officer were both eventually released. On October 5, Joseph, the sole surviving leader, prepared to surrender. Joseph based his decision on the plight of the people, who were suffering greatly from the cold, hunger, and injuries sustained in the fight.

Believing that they were offering a conditional surrender, Joseph met Miles and Howard between the two lines. In exchange for their arms, Joseph and the other Nez Percé believed that they would be returned to the Nez Percé reservation in Idaho and that there would be no punishment for warriors who had fought in the war. After the surrender some people, including Whitebird, managed to escape the army and make their way to Sitting Bull's camp in Canada. The remaining 400 Nez Percé survivors were quickly sent to Fort Keogh (Montana), then on to Fort Leavenworth (Kansas). Eventually the Nez Percé were sent to the Indian Territory, where the U.S. government first placed them on the Quapaw Agency and then settled them on a piece of land on the newly created Ponca Agency. During the year and a half after their surrender, many people died from disease, malnutrition, and depression. The survivors of the Long March remained on the Ponca Agency until 1885, when the U.S. government allowed some Nez Percé to return to the Nez Percé Reservation in Idaho. The government forced another group of the exiles, led by Chief Joseph, onto the Colville Reservation in northeastern Washington. Of the 400 survivors after the surrender at Bear Paw, nearly half died during their captivity in the Indian Territory, or, as the Nez Percé called it, *Eekish Pah* ("the hot place").

Robert R. McCoy

See also Joseph, Younger.





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## General Allotment Act (Dawes Act)

Passed on February 8, 1887, the General Allotment Act (otherwise called the Dawes Act or the Dawes Severalty Act) was sponsored by Senator Henry Dawes of Massachusetts. It represents one of the most devastating American Indian policies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It broke up Indian reservation lands into individually owned plots and created a plan for the assimilation of the Indians into the U.S. society.

There really is no one view about this policy. The attitudes and motives for the settlement of the western lands of the United States began eighty years earlier with various military explorations, and with them came hints of the rich natural resources of the west that would undoubtedly lead to disputes with the indigenous peoples who occupied those lands. Beginning with the 1803 Lewis and Clark expedition, President Thomas Jefferson gathered information about the western portions of the United States with an eye to future goals and opportunities for expansion. By the time the political policies of the 1880s came into being, there had been a massive influx of settlers, gold rush enthusiasts, and land entrepreneurs rolling across America. The Indian wars that had begun in the 1850s were coming to an end by the time this Act was passed, and most of the Indian reservations that still exist today

were established during the period from the 1850s to the 1890s. The impact of the Dawes was the final blow to the western lands of the indigenous people and would be the largest land grab in U.S. history.

The fifty years prior to the passage of this bill saw a grand civilization policy that took root and changed the subsistence lifestyle of the American Indian people forever. Some policy makers called it a “civilizing machine” and its methods were ruthless. The first treaties between the United States and the American Indian nations promised friendship and protection of indigenous homelands, and in return the Native peoples promised settlers safe passage through their homelands and allowed for the building of military forts, railways, and roads. Subsequent treaties negotiated for the ceding of Native lands to the United States in return for rations, money, protection, and educational and health benefits. After the treaties were negotiated the “civilizing machine” took American Indian children and placed them in boarding schools hundreds of miles from their homelands. Many died from diseases, fear, and loneliness. They were stripped of their identities and forced to speak only the English language. Families were broken and devastated. An entire generation of Indian children had been removed from their people and that event became part of the racial memories of American Indians forever. That devastation has never healed.

At home on their reserved lands, the parents were robbed of their old ways of securing a livelihood and nothing was offered as a substitute. As a result plans were made without input by American Indians for an allotment policy whose primary aim would be the assimilation of the American Indian.

At the time of the passage of this law, Senator Henry Dawes from Massachusetts was chairman of the Senate Indian Committee and was considered a friend of the Indians. He was convinced that allotting acreage to each Indian person would solve all sorts of economic and racial problems: “. . . at last the restless pioneers could advance unmolested across the Great Plains where once the shaggy buffalo and tawny native had long held sway” (Billington, 1982, 610). Senator Dawes also was a supporter of the Indian Rights Association, which believed that Indian people would be better off living on designated reservation lands. However, white citizens crossing the Great Plains maintained that the Indians should sell unused and unneeded lands and that white people could legitimately settle on the surplus lands. As a way to solve the needs of both groups, he





*The General Allotment Act stated that tribal lands would be allotted to individual Native Americans. Many sold their allotments, opening Indian lands to white settlement. On September 16, 1893, over 6 million acres of the Cherokee Outlet in Oklahoma Territory were opened for settlement. (Bettmann/Corbis)*

further supported the idea of converting the Indian people to Christianity. The Christian reformers at first accepted the idea of lands held in trust by the federal government and reserved for exclusive use by the Indian people (reservations) and worked within the system. In the end, however, they came to view reservations as an abomination and a divider to Americanization and thus threw their support to dividing up the reservation lands among the many individuals.

President Grover Cleveland signed the bill into law. The profits from the sale of the surplus lands would be held in a trust fund for educational purposes. It has been said: "Land sustains the lifestyle of countless tribes, even when little acreage is in production or has productive value. Land sustains far

more than subsistence, and indeed many Indians recognized decades ago the folly of attempting to sustain their daily needs on acreage that is marginal, both in resources and in per capita size. But land has emotional meaning, a psychological significance for the Indian that is far more intense than our nostalgic longing for family farm and a rural way of life" (Sutton, 1975, 2).

In illustration of the psychological tie to the land, the Dakota Sioux people, one of the greatest tribal groups of the Great Plains, had a strong belief in the Sacred Hoop, or the circle that can be found everywhere in nature. This sacred circle, or hoop, corresponds to all the circles found in nature. The earth is a circle; the sun comes up in the east and sets in the west and comes up again in the east, making a





circle in its journey; birds' nests are circular; animals make circles before they lie down; winds blow in circles; water can swirl in circles; tree trunks are circular; and so on. A circle has no ending and it became the symbol of the endless power of the creator, much like the cross is a sacred symbol among Christians. The Dakota Sioux consider themselves the custodians of Mother Earth and, with their Seven Sacred Ceremonies, they believe they have the right to live on the land. It is unthinkable to buy or sell the land or to give it away. Just as one would not give up a human mother, the Earth Mother cannot be given away. Father Peter Powell has said: "Thus title to the Mother Earth can never be transferred to the United States. All that can be transferred is the temporary use of the land. This is not ownership—only use" (Powell, 1977, 107).

In 1792 Secretary of War Henry Knox delivered a speech to northwestern Indians and in it he hinted that individual ownership of land by the indigenous people would bring them countless blessings of a more civilized life. "The United States," he told them, "should be greatly gratified with the opportunity of imparting to you all the blessings of civilized life, of teaching you to cultivate the earth, and raise corn; to raise oxen, sheep, and other domestic animals; to build comfortable houses, and to educate your children, so as ever to dwell upon the land" (Otis, 1973, ix). This seems absurd in light of the fact that the indigenous people of America had been farming and living on the land for thousands of years prior to European arrival—as if the allotment of Indian lands was part of a grand plan.

The Dawes Committee visited all the Sioux reservations on the Plains and favored dividing up what was negotiated in treaties as the large Sioux Reservation and opening part of it to white settlement. Henry Dawes headed up the committee that would look at that option. He considered much of their lands to be useless and unnecessary, and he proposed the sale of any remaining surplus lands and putting that money into a permanent fund. The annual income from the sale of the surplus lands could be spent on "the civilization, education, and advancement in agriculture and other self-supporting pursuits of the Sioux" (Prucha, 1984, 212). This same idea could then be applied to all the other Indian reservations in the West.

In looking at the aims and motives for the allotment policy, an Indian reservation agent for the Dakota Sioux wrote: "As long as Indians live in villages they will retain many of their old dances, con-

stant visiting—these will continue as long as people live together in close neighborhoods and villages . . . I trust that before another year is ended, they will generally be located upon individual lands for farms. From that date will begin their real and permanent progress" (Otis, 1973, 9). By this time, the westward movement of white civilization had occurred in the form of railroads, gold rushes, and settlers.

Political reformers believed that reservations segregated Indians from whites and prevented violent confrontations, but reformers felt that they could be also seeding grounds for civilization. They further believed reservations to be controlled societies from which Indian tribal ways could be more easily destroyed and Indian children removed. As efforts moved forward, reservations soon developed several political groups: There were the treaty signers and nontreaty signers; "progressives" versus the "nonprogressives" or the traditionalists versus the nontraditionalists; Christian converts and worshippers in the sacred ceremonies that espoused protection of the Earth Mother and all her creatures; liberals versus conservatives; and those who were sent to be educated in the "white man's" schools in the East and those who returned home to take back their traditions. If anything, the federal policies created an unsettled society among the American Indian people with opposing opinions about their own welfare. Those divisions still exist today.

Another author of the bill was Senator Richard Coke from Texas and he was enthusiastically supported by Carl Schurz, who had an outstanding career in American politics. Schurz was the first German-born American in the U.S. Senate. He served as U.S. Senator from Missouri from 1869–1875. In 1876 President Rutherford B. Hayes appointed Schurz Secretary of the Interior. When he retired in 1881, he became editor in chief of the *New York Evening Post*, a post that allowed him a greater voice in American Indian politics. He had this to say about the Dawes Allotment Act: "It will inspire the Indians with a feeling of assurance as to the permanency of their ownership of the lands they occupy and cultivate; it gives them a clear and legal standing as landed proprietors in the courts of law; it will secure to them for the first time fixed homes under the protection of the same law under which the white men own theirs; it will eventually open to settlement by white men the large tracts of land now belonging to the reservations, but not used by the Indians . . . It will also by the sale, with their consent, of reservation lands not used by the Indians, create for the benefit of the Indi-





ans a fund, which will gradually relieve the government of those expenditures which have now to be provided by appropriations. . . ." (Prucha, 1984, 225).

Senator Henry Moore Teller from Colorado criticized the humanitarian ideals that were spoken in support of the allotment policy. He served as Secretary of the Interior from 1882 to 1885. In Teller's view, those who advocated that allotment of Indian lands would make the Indian civilized and Christianized had the whole thing reversed. He advocated that first the Indian people should be civilized and Christianized and then they would respect the value of property.

The Act contained four main provisions. The first was to grant 160 acres of land to each head of household, eighty acres to each single person over the age of eighteen and to each orphan under the age of eighteen, and forty acres to each single person under the age of eighteen. Second, as the land was issued, a fee patent title on the land was to be held in trust by the federal government for twenty-five years, and during this time it could not be sold or alienated in any way. If the federal government held the land in trust, it could not be taxed because the federal government cannot tax itself. Third, the Act allowed four years for individuals to make their own selections of land. After that period of time, if no individual selection had been made, then the federal government, under the authority of the Secretary of the Interior, made the selection for the individuals. Fourth, the right of citizenship was also to be conferred on the allottees and on any other Indians who abandoned their traditional habits of life and who adopted a more civilized life. A ceremony was created to recognize the conferring of citizenship, but that did not mean that states wanted American Indians voting. It would take the passage of the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924 before Indians would be allowed to vote on a regular basis or at least to have some clout to push for their right to vote in many states.

The results of the Dawes Act were many, and one of the first results was the massive decrease in the Indians' land base. The indigenous people of America had given up 90 million acres of land as surplus land, and they had lost their psychological connection to those lands. Another result of the Dawes Act was the destruction of their social order. With the loss of many of their children to schools in the East, many of the tribal leaders became disenchanted. The children who returned to the reservations after their days in the white man's boarding

schools wanted their traditions back or came back to attack the traditions of their elders. The transition to assimilation into the white man's society was not an easy one.

A third result was that land once held in total for the common good of all the people was fragmented, and, with individual ownership, different levels of greed and despair developed. A grandfather might have his own 160 acres over twenty miles away from his home and would have to travel many miles by horseback just to improve his lands. The problems with individual ownership became apparent almost overnight. There were people who were invalids, orphans, or unable to work their lands, perhaps because of age or some other infirmity, and who had no way to immediately become self-supporting farmers. Some of the land was not farmable. Many of the individual allotments were desert or mountain land without water. Those who were able to make their lands prosper were not willing to then share the profits.

The issue of the inheritance of land was also not considered. Suppose that a grandfather on the way to his property fell off his horse and was killed. What would happen to his 160 acres? Because the land could not be sold for twenty-five years, his adult sons or daughters would inherit land that was even more distant from their allotments. If the adult son or daughter died, what happened to their allotment and grandfather's inherited land? The problem was enormous. An orphan could inherit his or her grandfather's property and parent's property—and still be too young to work any of it. This is how the checkerboard effect came into existence.

The checkerboarding effect of the Dawes Act was created when the non-Indians who purchased the surplus lands surrounding the reservations utilized their knowledge and expertise in land use laws to take advantage of the new Indian landowners, especially if they were the elderly or orphaned youth. It was the whites who jumped at the opportunity to lease such unencumbered lands and who would then buy the land they leased for years when the twenty-five-year trust period ended. Thus even today there are parcels of land on current Indian reservations with non-Indian ownership alongside parcels of Indian ownership. Looking at a map of an Indian reservation, one can see the checkerboard effect between Indian- and non-Indian-owned lands.

Another problem that remains today is the hundreds of heirs who have ties to original allotments made in the late 1800s. As original land allottees





died, their heirs inherited the land, and sometimes the inheritance might be a tenth of an acre among today's generation of heirs. This means that there are Indian people who are absentee landowners of petty parcels of land. What can people do if they live off the reservation and own twenty parcels of land, but each parcel is no bigger than a postage stamp and the parcels are separated by several miles? Checkerboarding is only one of the administrative nightmares of the allotment policy, and its impact on today's American Indian generation goes on.

As part of the civilization machine's education plan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs J.D.C. Atkins, in his annual report of 1887, argued for the exclusive use of the English language at all Indian schools. He felt that Indian people must acquire the language as rapidly as possible. Issues relating to intermarriage with whites were also topics of federal policy. If a white man married an Indian woman, he could not acquire her property, and if an Indian woman married a white man who was a citizen of the United States, she automatically became a citizen of the United States.

During October 1889, Indian Commissioner Thomas J. Morgan made plans for a national system of Indian schools, using the following justification, among others:

The work of education should begin with them while they are young and susceptible, and should continue until habits of industry and love of learning have taken the place of indolence and indifference . . . Special pains should be taken to bring together in the large boarding-schools members of as many different tribes as possible, in order to destroy the tribal antagonism and to generate in them a feeling of common brotherhood and mutual respect (Prucha, 1975, 180).

As with most Native American policies, no one thought to ask the Indians what ideas they had for a home, a family, or property. Although American Indian people of the lower forty-eight have endured numerous federal Indian policies, it would be unthinkable today not to ask their opinion on a policy that would have such a devastating impact on their livelihood. Let that be a lesson of history. Federal Indian policies change every twenty years. Some of them are pro-Indian and some of them are anti-Indian. The policy of allotment need not be repeated.

Jeanne Eder

*See also* Assimilation; Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Ceremonies, Criminalization of; Citizenship; Domestic Dependent Nation; Economic Development; Genocide; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Plenary Power; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Tribal Sovereignty; Trust, Doctrine of; Wardship Doctrine.

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## Wounded Knee, South Dakota, Massacre at

Since the bitter cold day it happened in 1890, there has been controversy over whether Wounded Knee was a battle or a massacre. It has also been called the last battle of the Indian wars.

Twenty-two years had passed since the 1868 Treaty at Fort Laramie established the Great Sioux





Reservation. It was a desperate time for the Sioux. Their reservation that had once sprawled across portions of what are now several states now consisted of small islands of land surrounded by white homesteaders. Their rich culture was disappearing and being replaced by something both alien and unsatisfying. Their young children were being educated in special schools that taught them to reject their own culture and to replace it with the values and morals of the dominant white culture.

The Sioux were ripe for the coming of the latest Indian messiah, Wovoka, and his message of a return to the old ways. Wovoka was a Paiute, living in Nevada close to Lake Tahoe. On New Year's Day in 1889 there was a solar eclipse in Nevada. The Paiutes called it "the day the sun died." According to historian Rex Alan Smith, on that same day, Wovoka had a vision that he was taken to heaven. He was told the old world was to be destroyed and replaced by a fresh one. The dead would live again and everyone would be young and happy. The buffalo would return and the white man would disappear. All the Indians had to do was to perform the dance of the souls departed—the Ghost Dance (Smith, 1981, 67).

Wovoka's vision was peaceful, but as it radiated out to other Indians it was imbued with the flavor of individual tribes. The Sioux added a strain of militarism. Adding volatility to the mix was the Sioux leader Sitting Bull, who had returned with his people to the United States from Canada in July 1881. Life on the reservation did not suit him and he longed for the old ways. Among his own people, he became a symbol of resistance and a hindrance to the plans of men such as James McLaughlin, agent at Standing Rock Reservation.

With the spread of the new religion, increasing numbers of Indians professed a belief in a Christian God. In addition, Wovoka told his adherents to farm and send all of their children to school. These were all things that should have been desirable to the white man. In fact, one of the primary duties of an Indian agent was to replace Native religious beliefs with Christian dogma. It would seem that the new Indian religion was doing just that. However, Standing Rock Indian Agent James McLaughlin, called it an "absurd craze" and described the dance as "demoralizing, indecent and disgusting" (Jensen, Paul, and Carter, 1991, 6). He found no reason to change his opinion when he finally witnessed a dance a month after submitting his original assessment.

Shortly before 6 a.m. on December 15, 1890, Lieutenant Bull Head, and forty-three other Indian

policemen, arrived at Sitting Bull's cabin to arrest him. According to historian Robert M. Utley, Sitting Bull initially agreed to go peacefully, but as he was leaving his cabin a crowd began to gather. They jostled the policemen and shouted at them to release Sitting Bull, who began to struggle with his captors. Catch the Bear, one of Sitting Bull's followers, shot Lieutenant Bull Head in the leg. As he fell, Bull Head fired a shot into Sitting Bull's chest, and Red Tomahawk, another policeman, fired a shot into the back of the unarmed chief's skull, killing him instantly. A fierce, brutal skirmish erupted, and, when it was all over, Sitting Bull, his young son Crow Foot, and six other tribesmen lay dead. In addition, four Indian policemen were dead and three were wounded, two of them mortally (Utley, 1993, 293).

Frightened that the killing of Sitting Bull might be the first action in an all-out war, a mixed band of Sioux, under the leadership of Minneconjou Chief Big Foot, fled the Cheyenne River reservation. Several fugitives fleeing Sitting Bull's camp joined him en route. Big Foot was headed for the safety of Pine Ridge, hoping that the influential Chief Red Cloud could protect his people. However, some feared he was leading his band into the Badlands to join the hostile Ghost Dancers who were already gathered there. Major Samuel Whitside, with four troops of the Seventh Cavalry, was ordered to intercept and capture him.

Three days after Christmas of 1890, Whitside and the Seventh Cavalry caught up with Big Foot and his band of 120 men and 230 women and children. During the night, Whitside's commander, Colonel James W. Forsyth, assumed command. He told Whitside that the Sioux were to be disarmed and shipped to a military prison in Omaha, Nebraska. The Indians were clothed in rags, and the children were hungry and cold. Big Foot had developed pneumonia during the flight across the Badlands in subzero weather. He was so weak he could barely sit up.

A council was called and Forsyth told the assembled warriors they would be asked to give up their guns. With the recent slaughter at Sitting Bull's camp fresh in their minds, the Sioux were fearful of being unarmed and vulnerable. They decided to give up their broken and useless guns and keep their working guns handy. Forsyth soon surrounded the camp. He had 470 soldiers and a platoon of Indian scouts under his command. Four Hotchkiss artillery pieces ringed the encampment.





*The body of Sioux Chief Big Foot lies dead in the snow following the Battle of Wounded Knee. (Bettmann/Corbis)*

The next day the Indians provided only an assortment of broken and outdated weapons. Forsyth knew there were more guns, so he ordered a search of the camp to gather up all the remaining weapons. Forsyth knew it was a delicate process that could easily lead to a violent reaction. As a precaution, only officers were allowed to enter teepees and search the women.

The tension rapidly increased with the Sioux warriors angrily objecting to the searches of their women. Historian Rex Alan Smith writes that, as the search continued, Yellow Bird, a Minneconjou medicine man, began to dance and chant and throw handfuls of dirt into the air. He called upon the young men to have brave hearts and told them their “ghost shirts” would protect them from the soldier’s bullets. One young man leapt to his feet angrily brandishing his gun saying he had paid good money for it and would not give it up. Some said it was a man named Black Coyote while other witnesses claimed it was a man named *Hosi Yanka*, which means “deaf.” Two soldiers came behind the young man and tried to seize his weapon. In the ensuing scuffle, it went off. At that point, several young warriors threw off their blankets and fired a brief and ragged volley into the

ranks of the soldiers. Lieutenant James Mann remembered thinking, “The pity of it! What can they be thinking of?” Almost simultaneously the soldiers lines erupted with gunfire. Big Foot was one of the first to die (Smith, 1981, 184–186).

After that initial ragged volley, the Sioux began to flee in all directions. Many fled to a nearby ravine that soon became the target of the Army’s Hotchkiss guns on the hills above Wounded Knee. Most who fled to the ravine did not survive. Others were chased down and killed, some more than three miles from the scene of the massacre. In the end, nearly 300 Indians were killed, mostly women and children. Sixty soldiers, many who were victims of “friendly fire,” were also killed.

In a story headlined “Horrors of War,” the *Omaha World-Herald’s* correspondent told of wounded Indian mothers with their babies and the agonies endured bravely by the injured:

There was a woman sitting on the floor with a wounded baby on her lap and four or five children around her, all her grandchildren. Their father and mother were killed. There was a young woman shot through both thighs





and her wrist broken. Mr. Tibbles had to get a pair of pliers to get her rings off. There was a little boy with his throat apparently shot to pieces.

They were all hungry and when we fed this little boy we found he could swallow. We gave him some gruel and he grabbed with both his little hands a dipper of water. When I saw him yesterday afternoon, he looked worse than the day before, and when they feed him now, the food and water come out the side of his neck (*Omaha World-Herald*, January 2, 1891, 1).

Colonel Forsyth was court-martialed, accused of mistakenly placing his men so that they fired into their own ranks, but he was found innocent. In a possible attempt to justify the events at Wounded Knee, the Army awarded nineteen Medals of Honor to participants in the engagement. Five additional Medals of Honor were awarded for skirmishes along nearby White Clay Creek. This represented the largest number of Medal of Honor winners for any single engagement in U.S. history.

Hugh J. Reilly

See also Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868; Ghost Dance Religion; Sitting Bull; Wovoka.

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## Relocation

The federal government's Indian relocation program, established in 1952, sought to move Indians from reservations to urban areas, where there were more job opportunities. Closely tied to the termination of Native reservations, the relocation program was rooted in the government's movement to

improve Indian education, vocational training, and economic development. It also furthered the government's attempt to relieve itself of responsibility for the oversight of Indian affairs.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) patterned the relocation program after a program that it developed in 1948 to assist Navajo and Hopi Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. During the harsh winter of 1947–1948, the federal government airlifted food to the Navajo and Hopi Reservations, and Congress passed Public Law 474 with the expressed purpose of rehabilitating Native peoples by teaching them how to better utilize reservation resources. When the BIA examined the problems, however, it concluded that the available resources could support only a portion of the Indians who resided on the two reservations. Consequently, it implemented an off-reservation job placement program for the two tribes and opened relocation centers in Denver, Salt Lake City, and Los Angeles.

In 1950, Dillon S. Myer, who had directed the War Relocation Authority during World War II, became commissioner of Indian affairs. Upon taking office, Myer proposed that the BIA extend its relocation program to all reservation Indians. Because Native Americans had proven during World War II that they could work effectively with other Americans, Myer recommended that the federal government offer to relocate any reservation Indians who wanted to move to urban areas. He hoped that relocation would improve Native American standards of living, encourage termination, and eventually make Indian reservations unnecessary. Additionally, relocation would ease the strain that returning war veterans placed on reservations that already had high unemployment rates.

Although Commissioner Myer was responsible for implementing the expanded relocation program, the idea of relocating Indians to urban areas was not new. In 1926, Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work requested that a nongovernmental agency conduct a thorough study of Indian affairs. The following year, a team of experts under the direction of Lewis Meriam of the Institute for Government Research initiated a detailed examination of federal Indian policy. In 1928, the team published its findings in a report entitled, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, commonly known as the Meriam Report.

The team concluded that the solution to the government's Indian problem lay in education, and it urged the BIA to teach Indians how to help themselves. One way in which the team thought the BIA





could accomplish this on reservations with severely limited economic conditions was to adopt a policy of encouraging Indians to relocate to cities where they would have better employment opportunities. In fact, by the 1920s, some Indians had already relocated to cities, without encouragement from the federal government.

More than two decades after the publication of the Meriam Report, the federal government implemented an Indian relocation program. At the time, World War II had ended and the tens of thousands of Indians who had either served in the armed forces during the war or worked off-reservation in war industries had returned to their reservations. Because economic resources on most Indian reservations were already inadequate, it was impossible to stretch them far enough to support those who returned after the war effort.

Consequently, in 1952, the BIA expanded the Indian relocation program to include all Indians. Like the Navajo and Hopi Indians before them, participants in the expanded program could choose to relocate to Los Angeles, Denver, Salt Lake City, or Chicago (opened in 1951), where the BIA had established job placement centers. Although relocation was voluntary, BIA officials highly touted the program on reservations and circulated pamphlets highlighting the benefits of urban life.

In the early years of the program, the BIA's primary goal was to make Indians aware of job opportunities that were available outside the reservation and to provide relocation assistance to those who chose to move. Placement workers helped relocatees secure jobs, and they teamed with employment agencies to recruit Indian workers. Most of the jobs were temporary or seasonal, but, as the program grew, the BIA opened more relocation centers and focused on finding permanent jobs for relocatees.

By 1958, the BIA had increased the opportunities available to relocatees by opening relocation offices in Oakland and San Francisco, California; Chicago, Illinois; St. Louis, Missouri; Dallas, Texas; Cincinnati and Cleveland, Ohio; Oklahoma City and Tulsa, Oklahoma; and Waukegan, Wisconsin. Any reservation Indian who was interested in participating in the relocation program could complete an application. The applicant then underwent a physical examination, and the BIA office on the reservation reviewed his job skills and employment records. If accepted into the program, the applicant could select the city to which he wanted to relocate, and the BIA would contact the relocation office there.

After the preliminary details were complete, the applicant traveled by bus or train to the relocation city at the expense of the program.

During its first three years, the relocation program provided participants with limited assistance. After 1955, however, the BIA expanded the services that were available to relocatees. In addition to transportation and job placement, relocation officers briefly schooled program participants in urban life upon their arrival. They helped relocatees find affordable housing, took them to the store to purchase necessities, and gave them money to sustain them until they received their first paychecks. They also provided counseling services, although participants were told that they had to make the transition to urban life by themselves and rely on the relocation office only temporarily.

In 1956, Congress expanded the relocation program with the passage of Public Law 959, which provided vocational training for adult Native Americans. Although this training program was an outgrowth of the relocation program and the problems encountered by unskilled relocatees, participants were not required to leave the reservation for training. Applicants in the program could choose to complete either twenty-four months of on-the-job training or an approved vocational course of study, such as plumbing, carpentry, or cosmetology. The BIA paid for tuition, books, and living expenses, and provided job placement services after students completed their coursework. Program graduates could choose to relocate to urban areas with BIA assistance or remain on the reservation.

By the late 1950s, the BIA had fully developed its relocation program and renamed it the Federal Employment Assistance Program, which helped disassociate the program from the BIA's increasingly controversial termination program. The number and location of relocation centers fluctuated over time, but they remained the centerpiece of the program. In the 1960s, the offices shifted their focus from facilitating the relocation of reservation Indians to helping relocatees adjust to urban life. In addition to the divisions of vocational training, employment, and housing, relocation offices had a community living division, which worked to improve self-sufficiency and family life for program participants.

Despite the BIA's efforts, the Indian relocation program was not an unequivocal success. Critics of the program argued that, instead of improving the situation for Native Americans, it simply moved reservation problems such as poverty, alcoholism,





and limited economic opportunity to an urban setting. To compound this, the outflow of educated Indians created a brain drain on reservations, which affected future leadership.

At its root, the relocation program was too simplistic. Providing job placement services and temporary financial assistance to relocatees was not enough. Neither addressed the cultural shock that program participants experienced in cities. Even the counseling services that the BIA provided were inadequate to help urban Indians overcome language barriers, discrimination, and homesickness. Some relocatees never adjusted to urban life and returned to reservations. Others spent years drifting between reservation and city. The BIA acknowledged a return rate of 30 percent, but other studies indicated that the rate was as high as 60 percent.

Criticisms notwithstanding, the relocation program achieved some success. Between 1952 and 1968, the BIA assisted more than 100,000 Native Americans through its direct employment and adult vocational training programs. Most of the program participants indicated that they relocated for economic reasons, and once in the city they had more opportunities, economic and otherwise, than their reservation counterparts. Additionally, the influx of Native Americans in cities helped increase cultural diversity in urban areas. In the absence of their traditional culture, urban Indians worked together to create a new Indian identity that cut across tribal lines. They strengthened their cultural heritage through the establishment of Indian community centers that offered things the BIA did not, such as legal assistance, social services, and recreational programs. By 1980, half of all Native Americans lived in urban areas.

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*See also* Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Meriam Report; Termination.

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## Occupation of Alcatraz Island

On November 9, 1969, Richard Oakes, a Mohawk Indian, and a group of other young Indian college students put into San Francisco Bay in a chartered boat, *The Monte Cristo*. Their aim was to circle Alcatraz Island and claim the island for Indian people. This symbolic claim turned into a full-scale occupation that lasted until June 11, 1971, and that focused the attention of the American people on the government treatment of American Indians. Public sympathy, fanned by an outpouring of newspaper and magazine articles, lay with the Indians. The newly formed supratribal organization, Indians of All Tribes, kept their situation and demands before the public by starting their own radio program, "Radio Free Alcatraz," which was broadcast daily on Berkeley radio station KPFA, in Los Angeles on KPFX, and in New York City on WBAI. As a result, letters and telegrams inundated government officials, including President Richard M. Nixon. The mood of the public could be summed up in a telegram sent to Nixon on November 26, 1969, that read: "For once in this country's history let the Indians have something. Let them have Alcatraz."

Pressure began to build. Legislators entered statements into the *Congressional Record* emphasizing the need for a review of the federal government's Indian policies. Representative Jerome R. Waldie (Democrat-California) identified Alcatraz as a symbol of Indian unity and strength, a rallying point, a place of pride in Indian heritage and ideals. More to the point was the appeal made by California Congressman George E. Brown on December 23, 1969, when he called on President Nixon to negotiate with the Indian people to grant them title to the island to be used as a cultural center and an educational complex. It was in the midst of growing Indian activism and public awareness of the plight of Indian people that President Nixon faced the task of formulating his Indian policy. He stated in his message to Congress:

It is long past time that the Indian policies of the Federal Government began to recognize and build upon the capacities and insights of the Indian people. Both as a matter of justice and as a matter of enlightened social policy, we must begin to act on the basis of what the Indians themselves have long been telling us. *The time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which*





*A teepee is erected on Alcatraz Island to symbolize the claim to native lands during the Native American occupation of the island in November 1969. A group called the Indians of All Tribes occupied the island until 1971. (Bettmann/Corbis)*

*the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions. [Author's emphasis]*

The U.S. policy of termination of the recognition of American Indian tribes, in force roughly from the early 1950s through the 1960s, was the ultimate extension of assimilationist policy under which the Indian future was created by government acts and government decisions. Termination supporters argued for tribes to become subject to state laws in all respects. Since the trust status of tribal lands would end, that land would become taxable and transferable without BIA approval. All federal health, education, and other benefits to individuals would cease. Indian people across the nation began to voice disapproval of the termination policy once it became evident that the end result would be a loss of federal protection and the further loss of Indian lands. During this period, 109 tribal groups, including the Menominees, the Klamaths, the Ottawas, and thirty-six California *rancherias* were terminated. Some groups attempted joint suits to recover lost

lands and rights. Some, such as the Menominees, were partially successful. Others regained nothing at all. Indian people, however, were taking note of the success of national movements such as the black power movement and the La Raza movement, and leaders began to emerge from different tribal backgrounds to assert Indian nationalism. This awareness was coupled with the rapid expansion of Indian education in off-reservation boarding schools.

It was in part a result of the boarding schools' experience, as well as a new common consciousness stemming from experiences such as fighting in World War II and the growing youth/activist movements of the 1950s and 1960s, that the Indian leaders arose who would lead the 1969 occupation of Alcatraz Island, the 1972 march on Washington, DC, and the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973.

The list of leaders reads like a who's who of Indian leaders: Richard Delaware Dior McKenzie from the Rosebud Reservation; Allen Cottier, president of the American Indian Council, Inc.; Martin Martinez; Garfield Spotted Elk; Walter Means, father





of the well-known Indian activist Russell Means; and Dennis Banks and George Mitchell, founders of the American Indian Movement. Richard Oakes, the founder of Indians of All Tribes, led the main occupation of Alcatraz Island. These young American Indians formed the nucleus of the first Indian supratribal organizations. As Stephen Cornell points out in his book, *The Return of the Native: American Indian Political Resurgence*, "their politics was often confrontational and explicitly supratribal" (Cornell, 1988, 198).

Alcatraz Island soon materialized as a place with which all Indians could identify. In a proclamation presented to T. E. Hannon, director of the California division of the General Services Administration (GSA), the occupiers stated that "it [Alcatraz Island] was isolated from modern facilities and without adequate means of transportation, it had no fresh running water, inadequate sanitation facilities, no oil or mineral rights, no industry, and no health care facilities. The soil was rocky and non-productive, the land would not support game. There were no educational facilities, the population exceeded the land base, and the population had always been held as prisoners and kept dependent upon others. The Island was therefore equivalent to reservations set aside by the federal government for Indian people." The occupiers' intent was to claim unused Federal land based on the provisions of the Sioux Treaty of 1868 (which allowed the Sioux to occupy any abandoned military base but did not specify where those bases had to be, although later court action found that the treaty applied only to unused federal land adjacent to the Sioux Reservation in South Dakota) and to construct a university for American Indians as well as an Indian cultural center.

After the start of the occupation, Indians began to arrive from all across the United States, Canada, Mexico, and South America. At one point, the number of Indians living on the island grew to approximately 250. In November 1969, some 13,000 Indians visited the island. For the vast majority of Indian visitors, it was the first interaction they had had with Indians from other tribes, the first time they had felt a supratribal unity with other Indians.

The non-Indian private sector responded to calls for assistance from the Indians on the island. Non-Indian citizens, particularly the Asian American community of San Francisco, responded to the needs of the occupiers. They provided clothing, food, water, medical supplies, and school supplies

for the children, despite a U.S. Coast Guard blockade of the island. Celebrities such as Jane Fonda, Robert Redford, and Marlon Brando visited the island and encouraged private parties to support the effort not only by donating usable items but by contacting politicians as well.

It was this pressure, coupled with the continuing radio, TV, and press coverage, as well as the art, theater, and other activities of the occupiers themselves, that forced political figures to take a stand on the issue of the future of Alcatraz Island. In addition to California Congressmen George E. Brown, Jr. and Jerome R. Waldie, and Congressman Robert W. Kastenmeier of Wisconsin, others went on record as supporting the Indian occupiers. Congressman Brown's remarks before the House of Representatives calling for a review of the federal government's policy in dealing with Indian people carried the signatures of ten additional congressmen. The comment of President Nixon himself that "the time has come to break decisively with the past and to create the conditions for a new era in which the Indian future is determined by Indian acts and Indian decisions" reflected the changing attitude, both public and private, regarding the need for radical policy change. (This change of attitude eventually led to meaningful, if inconsistent and partial, reform.)

Alcatraz Island had actually been the site of a previous Indian occupation. In 1964, a small group of Sioux Indians made the first attempt to claim the island. The Bay Area Chapter of the American Indian Council sponsored this action. Their attorney, as well as some twenty supporters and newspeople, accompanied the Indians. The *New York Times* gave full coverage of the 1964 occupation and explained the Indian rationale for the occupation. Wearing their tribal regalia, the five men conducted a victory dance and then planted a large American flag. Each then proceeded to physically stake his claim to a portion of the island. Talking with reporters, the Indians then offered to purchase Alcatraz at the price of 47 cents per acre, the price per acre equivalent to that of a settlement being debated for the taking of Indian land from the California Indians. McKenzie and his fellow Sioux Indians claimed homestead rights to the island based on the provisions of the Sioux Treaty of 1868. Reading from a typewritten document, the Indians stated that under the U.S. Code "we as Sioux Indians are settling on Federal land no longer appropriated." Elliott Leighton, San Francisco attorney for the Indians, explained that under the 1868 treaty the Sioux claimants had every





right to stake a claim to federal property “not used for a specific purpose.” According to the treaty, said Leighton, “any Sioux male, over eighteen not living on a reservation could claim federal government lands not used for specific purposes.” This same right had been granted in the 1887 Allotment Act. Congress revoked the 1887 Allotment Act in 1934 but the Sioux were specifically excluded. The only requirement was that they make improvements worth \$200 or more during the first three years of occupancy. This, stated Leighton, “they were prepared to do.” The *San Francisco Chronicle* reported that the Bay Area Indian Association wanted a university for American Indians established on the Island. While this “occupation” lasted for only three hours, it received nationwide newspaper coverage and doubtless inspired Indians of All Tribes five years later. After these events, federal authorities made a variety of proposals concerning the disposition of Alcatraz Island. Richard McKenzie and other members from the landing party attended the President’s Commission on Alcatraz hearings held in San Francisco on April 24–25, 1964, McKenzie proposed at this meeting that an Indian cultural center and university be built on Alcatraz. The President’s Commission met again on May 15, 1964, in executive session in Washington, DC. According to Assistant Attorney General Ramsey Clark, “old treaties aside, Alcatraz does not qualify as available public land and therefore was not open to homesteading or public allotment.” It is interesting to note that the findings held not that the Sioux could not homestead under the Treaty of 1868, but rather that Alcatraz did not qualify as available land. McKenzie filed suit on September 13, 1965, in U.S. District Court, seeking to restrain the federal government from disposing of the island. He asked the court to recognize his right to settle upon and improve the island or, in lieu thereof, to be awarded \$2.5 million. On June 5, 1968, McKenzie’s suit was dismissed for lack of prosecution by McKenzie.

It was in the midst of these various proposals concerning the future of the island that Indians of the Bay Area decided it was time to take action. This second occupation originated as an idea during a discussion at the Native American Studies Program at San Francisco State College in February 1969. Members of the program were discussing the proposals being made for disposition of Alcatraz, and Richard Oakes announced to the students that taking Alcatraz would “be a good thing.” Initially received with laughter, the idea remained in the

minds of many students. Several months later, at a meeting in the American Indian Center in San Francisco, Oakes found a more receptive audience. Initial plans were made for a symbolic occupation in the summer of 1970. The plan was for the group to dress up in their “television costumes” and just make a pass around the island, to symbolically claim Alcatraz Island for the Indian people.

The symbolic intent of the occupation was overcome by the political and social pressures and frustration felt by the American Indian youth. A growing political and social consciousness on the part of Indians and non-Natives alike was heightened by the publication of books such as N. Scott Momaday’s *House Made of Dawn*, Vine Deloria’s *Custer Died for Your Sins*, and Harold Cardinal’s *The Unjust Society*, not to mention the popular stage show by Arthur Kopit, *Indians*, and the movie, *Little Big Man*. Embodying the activist, politically aware ethos of the time, Richard Oakes and his supporters set out in their chartered boat. Suddenly, Oakes and four others jumped from the boat and swam to the island, claimed it “by right of discovery” in the name of Indians of All Tribes. Prior to jumping, Oakes stated that he “felt a sense of urgency,” he “felt he had to do it.” Later that same day Oakes and his followers were removed from the island by the U.S. Coast Guard. However, LaNada Boyer, a Shoshone/Bannock woman, urged Oakes and his group to return to the island that night and after nightfall they did so, unopposed.

It was this night, November 9, 1969, that they spent their first night on Alcatraz. The following day, GSA Regional Director T. E. Hannon asked the Indians to leave, which they agreed to do. Prior to leaving, however, they read a proclamation, claiming the island in the name of Indians of All Tribes by “right of discovery,” the same authority used by Christopher Columbus for claiming the Americas for the king and queen of Spain. In a prepared statement, Oakes claimed that the Indians had a claim to Alcatraz under an 1868 treaty. Oakes then proceeded to offer to purchase the island for twenty-four dollars in glass beads and red cloth. Oakes and his followers then left the island for the second time. Later the same day in San Francisco, a spokesperson for the group said that the Indians planned to use Alcatraz as an Indian cultural and education center.

After the removal from the Island on November 10, Oakes went to the campus of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) to think, plan, and gather supporters for a more organized occupation.





Oakes appealed for support and as a result recruited eighty supporters from the UCLA campus. Oakes and his supporters then began plans for a November 20th occupation, "this time to stay."

On the night of November 20, the most famous of the Indian occupations of Alcatraz began. Traveling by boat from Sausalito, the Indians were met by a blockade set up by the U.S. Coast Guard. The blockade proved unsuccessful even with the assistance of Coast Guard helicopters, and the landing party put ashore. The Coast Guard continued their blockade for two additional days in an attempt to stop any further occupation of the island and to stop the delivery of supplies to the Indians on Alcatraz. In the words of Oakes "the blockade was completely ineffective . . . we needed food and supplies . . . we couldn't have survived without all the people who ran that blockade."

On the day following the landing, Oakes and an attorney representing Indians of All Tribes presented a list of demands to the regional coordinator of the Department of Interior. Among the demands was the expectation that the federal government would give the Indians full title to the island within two weeks and provide ongoing funds for a major university and cultural center to be built on the island, to be administered by the Indian people. The prevailing national climate of protest against the ongoing war in Viet Nam, combined with the support received from the large number of individual Indians occupying the island, as well as moral and financial support from entire tribes and reservations, soon transformed these proposals into non-negotiable demands.

On the island, however, the occupation force began to lose cohesiveness as time passed. Jealousy developed as the press identified Oakes as the leader of the occupation and the "mayor of Alcatraz." Oakes's twelve-year-old stepdaughter, Yvonne, was killed accidentally on January 7, 1970, when she fell three stories through an open stairwell in one of the island's apartment buildings. For some, including Oakes, this accident seemed to foretell the end of the occupation. Yvonne's death cast an air of gloom over the whole island. A few days later, having left the island for his daughter's funeral, Oakes announced that he would not return to Alcatraz. Factions had already begun to form among the seven-member elected council on the island.

As the occupation wore on, boredom also increased, and the more militant and vocal Indians began to seize control of the Indian occupation force.

Daily life on Alcatraz began to deteriorate sharply. Hygiene on the island was extremely poor, from sewage disposal to the preparation of food. Reports also began to surface that the sale and use of drugs was very much in evidence. In May 1970, San Francisco newspapers carried reports of Indian plans to begin destroying some of the buildings on the island. On June 1, three buildings were destroyed by fire. Government spokespeople, while making no direct charges, hinted that Indians had started the fires. On the island, the Indians charged that the fires had been started by a group of non-Indians to increase hostility toward the Indians. In November, some ninety Indians remained on Alcatraz, only three of whom were from the original landing party. Fewer than thirty Indians remained on the island by spring. On June 11, 1971, federal marshals removed the last fifteen Indians from Alcatraz Island without incident.

The occupation of Alcatraz Island produced lasting and important changes on the policy of the U.S. government toward Indian people. In response to President Nixon's call for a thorough evaluation of Indian policy, the historian Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. produced a hard-hitting document that established what many Indian experts already knew: The Bureau of Indian Affairs and indeed Indian policy were in need of a new direction. Although influenced by the Josephy recommendations, the cornerstone of the Nixon Indian policy was taken from the new voice of the Indian people and from the public concern about the treatment of Indian people. With this in mind, President Nixon laid the foundation for a federal policy of Indian self-determination. He acknowledged that the condition of Indian people was the heritage of centuries of injustice, from the time of first contact with European settlers to the ineffective and demeaning termination programs of the 1950s and 1960s. In this spirit, he also moved to honor some treaty provisions that had been ignored over the years. This new respect for treaties and self-determination resulted in part in the return of significant land to various tribes, including 48,000 acres containing the sacred Blue Lake to the Taos people; 40 million acres to the Dene nation; 21,000 acres to the Yakima nation; and 60,000 acres to the Warm Springs nation.

The occupation of Alcatraz Island was only the beginning of collective action by supratribal organizations, most notably the American Indian Movement (AIM). The large increase in such events in the early 1970s marked a shift from specifically tribal





issues, such as land usage or fishing rights, to issues involving Indians generally, and the events were engaged in primarily by urban Indians and Indian nationalist organizations. The occupation of Alcatraz Island was followed by a number of attempted and successful takeovers and occupations by supratribal urban groups: Fort Lewis and Fort Lawton in Washington; Ellis Island in New York; federal land in Santa Rosa and Shasta, California; abandoned missile sites and military installations in Davis and Richmond, California, Minneapolis, Milwaukee, and Chicago; and Mount Rushmore and the Badlands National Monuments. Actions such as the 1972 Trail of Broken Treaties, the occupation of the BIA offices in Washington, D.C., and the 1973 occupation of the village at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, had direct antecedents in the Alcatraz occupation.

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*See also* American Indian Movement; Banks, Dennis; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Means, Russell; Oakes, Richard; Pan-Indianism; Red Power Movement.

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## Red Power Movement

"Red Power" was the term given to a generally post-1960 succession of highly visible, often confrontational Native American protest movements and actions that had as their goal the affirmation of American Indian identity and the reclaiming of power—political, social, and economic—over the people's lives. The movement grew out of years—centuries—of Indian poverty and political and cultural repression on reservations and, more recently, in urban environments. Characteristic of the Red Power Movement (RPM) were charismatic leaders, a conscious building on past resistance and social movements, the tactic of property seizure, the assertion of a pan-Indian identity, the formation of national activist organizations such as the American Indian Movement (AIM), and an agenda of self-determination for Indian people and communities.

Early national Indian reform movements, led by organizations such as the Society of American Indians (SAI), were composed of well-educated Indian professionals who favored assimilation as the solution to the poverty and misery of reservation life. These people were involved in the Indian policy debates of the 1920s and 1930s. The SAI and other reform groups laid the groundwork for a modern national Indian policy and an Indian lobbying force in American politics, which came to fruition with the formation of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) in 1944.

In the 1950s, in an early representation of Red Power, the people of the Iroquois League used passive resistance and militant protests to block various New York State projects. They demonstrated their opposition to the building of power projects such as the Kinzua Dam in upstate New York that required the displacement of Indians and the flooding of Indian land. Localized activism began to build during this period, as Indian people orchestrated more than twenty major demonstrations or nonviolent protests. These were aimed at ending further reductions of the Indian land base, stopping the termination of Indian tribes, and halting brutality and insensitivity toward Indian people. This rise in Indian activism was largely tribal in nature, how-





ever; very little, if any, pan-Indian or supratribal activity occurred at this time.

The 1960s witnessed a continuation of localized Indian protest actions such as the brief Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island in 1964. Preceding this event, however, were two major events. One was the American Indian Chicago Conference in 1961. Held on the campus of the University of Chicago, this conference was the first major modern pan-Indian event. Roughly 500 people from ninety tribes and bands from across the country met to share information, discuss issues, and formulate a vision for Native America. Dr. Sol Tax, professor of anthropology at the University of Chicago, originated the idea of the conference. Among the conference's major achievements were the publication of a Declaration of Indian Purpose and a dramatic advance in pan-tribal consciousness and activism.

The other major Red Power event in the 1960s consisted of the "fish-ins" along the rivers of Washington state. The fish-in movement began when tribal members and their supporters fished in waters that were protected by federal treaty rights but restricted by state and local law enforcement. In the mid-1950s, Washington authorities tried to control Indian fishing in off-reservation areas on the Puyallup River. The Indians argued that these were "usual and accustomed grounds and stations" within the meaning of the 1854 and 1855 treaties. In 1963, the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the rights of Indian people to fish in accordance with the guaranteed treaty rights. In 1964, in defiance of the Supreme Court decision, Washington State courts closed the Nisqually River to Indian fishermen in areas off of the Nisqually Reservation. In the same year, the Survival of American Indians Association (SAIA) was formed as a protest organization and achieved success in asserting and preserving off-reservation fishing rights.

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, Native Americans had a rich and long legacy of social movements. Most were tribally centered on treaty or land issues. Others were multitribal, led by groups such as the NCAI, and composed of loose coalitions of tribal groups or members allied temporarily to struggle against a common external threat, such as termination. Most Indian social movements were aimed at issues of injustice, deprivation, or suppression, and the RPM was not unique on this score. It was not unusual for the RPM to rely on a history of past incidents to inform and organize their members and leadership. The RPM drew selectively on many ele-



*American Indian Movement members, involved in "The Longest Walk" to protest anti-Indian legislation, walk along the Mall in Washington, DC, going to Capitol Hill to draw attention to their cause. (Wally McNamee/Corbis)*

ments of Indian history, especially symbols of resistance. Geronimo, the Apache leader who fought against U.S. control over reservation communities in the 1880s, was a special symbol for the Alcatraz Island occupiers. Custer's defeat in 1876 was used as a symbol of Indian victory and defiance, and the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890 became a major symbol of Indian repression during the Wounded Knee seizure in 1973.

The RPM was very different from earlier and contemporaneous Indian social movements. The members of the RPM sought change and inclusion in U.S. institutions, while preferring to retain Indian cultural identity. This was a form of nonassimilative inclusion that was not well understood at the time, but which later helped form the contemporary vision of a multicultural society. The defining characteristics of the RPM were its emphasis on





a supratribal identity and the tactic of property seizure, which was used only sparingly by other Indian social movements. Most Indian social movements, while often multitribal, were temporary alliances in opposition to a common threat or issue, and they did not strive to build a nationwide supratribal identity. While there had always been Indian activism, the Red Power Movement broke new ground in terms of tactics, new identity formation, visibility in U.S. society, and bringing attention to Indian issues.

The 1960s and early 1970s were a time of urban unrest across the nation. The Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was founded in April 1960, as a nonviolent group consisting of black-led sit-in activists. SNCC provided a powerful paradigm, and, combined with Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), founded in 1962, it formed a new movement that came to be called the New Left. Young African Americans were hearing an angrier and more militant voice, a voice coming from former members of SNCC and participants in the Civil Rights Movement. Many Indian activists observed the Civil Rights Movement and contemplated how this activity could be brought to bear on Indian issues. At the same time, the United States was deeply involved in an unpopular war in Vietnam. All of these currents, plus the Black Power Movement, the rise of Latino movement *La Raza*, and the stirring of the new feminism were sweeping the nation, particularly college campuses. Ubiquitous demonstrations raised the level of consciousness of college students. People of all ages were becoming sensitized to the unrest among minority and gender groups, who were staging demonstrations and proclaiming their points of view, many of which were incorporated by student activists. Sit-ins, sleep-ins, teach-ins, lockouts, and boycotts became everyday occurrences on college campuses.

By the late 1960s, more than 50 percent of American Indians lived in cities. This trend toward urbanization of the American Indian population began during World War II as a result of wartime industrial job opportunities, federal Indian urban relocation programs, and the general urbanization of the U.S. population as a whole. In the San Francisco Bay Area, which was one of the largest of more than a dozen relocation sites, newly urban Indians formed their own organizations to provide the support that the government had promised but failed to provide. Eventually, some thirty Bay Area social clubs were

formed to meet the needs of the urban Indians and their children—children who would want the opportunity to go to college and better themselves. These people represented a population that was poised on the brink of activism: disillusioned Indian youth from reservations, urban centers, and universities who called for Red Power in their crusade to reform the conditions of their people. These discontented urban Indians were speaking out against the treatment they were receiving from the local, state, and federal governments, both in the cities and on the reservations. The Alcatraz occupation came out of the Bay Area colleges and universities and other California college campuses where young, educated Indian students joined with other minority groups during the 1969 Third World Liberation Front strike and began demanding that colleges offer courses relevant to Indian students. Indian history written and taught by non-Indian instructors was no longer acceptable to these young students, awakened as they were to the possibility of social protest to bring attention to the shameful treatment of Indian people. Despite the failure to achieve their immediate objectives, the Alcatraz occupiers created a watershed moment in Native American protest that resulted in an escalation of Indian activism around the country. The occupation, which caught the attention of the entire country, provided a forum for airing long-standing Indian grievances and for the expression of Indian pride. Indianness would now be judged on whether or not one was present at Alcatraz, Fort Lawson, Mount Rushmore, Detroit, Sheep Mountain, Plymouth Rock, Pitt River, or other protest sites. The RPM controlled the language, the issues, and some of the nation's attention.

The underlying goals of the Indians on Alcatraz were to awaken the American public to the reality of the situation faced daily by Native Americans and to assert the need for Indian self-determination. In this they succeeded. Additionally, the occupation of Alcatraz Island was a springboard for the RPM, inspiring the large number of takeovers and demonstrations that began shortly after the initial landing and that continued into the late 1970s. These included the Trail of Broken Treaties, the BIA headquarters takeover in 1972, and Wounded Knee II in 1973. Many of the approximately seventy-four occupations that followed Alcatraz were either planned by or included people who had been involved in the Alcatraz occupation or who had gained their strength from the new "Indianness" that grew out of that movement.





During and after the occupation of Alcatraz Island, RPM activists spread across the country using the protest tactic of occupying mainly federal property. There were dozens of Alcatraz-type occupations undertaken by Indians from a variety of tribes sharing a common interest in Indian and tribal rights broadly conceived. RPM protest events were sited initially in urban centers and at national monuments and landmarks, but later activism spread to Indian reservations as well. Red Power activists took their early tactical cues from the Alcatraz occupation. An example was the event of November 3, 1970, in Davis, California, in which scores of Indians scaled a barbed wire fence and seized an old Army communications center. Raising a big white tepee on the surplus government property, seventy-five Indians occupied it for use in development of an Indian cultural center.

These RPM occupations represented a tactic designed to draw attention to American Indian historical and contemporary grievances: unsettled land claims, conditions on reservations, recognition of cultural and social rights, tribal self-determination. Most occupations were short-lived, lasting only a few days or weeks, such as those that occurred during 1970–1971 at Fort Lawton and Fort Lewis in Washington, at Ellis Island in New York, at the Twin Cities Naval Air Station in Minneapolis, at former Nike missile sites on Lake Michigan near Chicago and at Argonne, Illinois, and at an abandoned Coast Guard lifeboat station in Milwaukee.

A number of protest camps were also established during the early 1970s, including those at Mount Rushmore and the Badlands National Monuments. During the same years, government buildings, including regional Bureau of Indian Affairs offices in Cleveland and Denver, as well as the main headquarters of the BIA in Washington, DC, also became the sites of protests. Many of these protests and occupations included celebrations of Indian culture and ethnic renewal, while others included efforts to provide educational or social services to urban Indians.

As the 1970s proceeded, American Indian protest occupations lasted longer, and some took on a more serious, sometimes violent tone, revealing the depth of grievances and the difficulty of solutions to the problems confronting Native Americans after nearly five centuries of non-Native contact. An example was the November 1972 weeklong occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, DC. This unplanned occupation occurred at the end

of the Trail of Broken Treaties, a protest event involving caravans that traveled across the United States to convene in Washington at a large camp in order to dramatize and present Indian concerns at the national BIA offices. The breakdown of arrangements resulted in the occupation of BIA offices and the seizure of BIA files by protesters; the protest ended a week later after a series of negotiations with federal officials.

Beginning in 1972, the Alcatraz-style takeovers and occupations ceased as the RPM strategy shifted. The reasons for the clustering of Alcatraz-like events and the reasons for the shift from occupations of federal property to a different form and terrain of contention after 1972 are linked to the organizational underpinning of supratribal collective action, its urban population base, and the major Red Power movement organization, the American Indian Movement (AIM).

The prominence of AIM in Red Power protest after Alcatraz makes inclusion of this important and influential organization important in any discussion of the Red Power Movement. The nineteen-month occupation of Alcatraz demonstrated beyond all doubt that strong actions by Indians could not only result in broad public exposure of the issues and substantial national/international support for Indian rights, but also could potentially force significant concessions from the federal government.

This observation suggests that the Alcatraz occupation marked not only a turning point in American Indian protest and ethnic identity; it also had an important impact on the future course of AIM. Before Alcatraz, AIM was essentially an Indian rights organization, mainly concerned with monitoring law enforcement treatment of Native people in American cities. However, Alcatraz captured the imagination of AIM as well as the rest of the country, and as a result AIM embarked on an historic journey into Indian protest activism.

AIM influenced the direction of the RPM in several ways. First, networks of urban Indian centers, Indian churches, and Indian charitable organizations helped plan and support collective actions by AIM. Also, protest activities and strategies moved through Indian communities via Indian social and kin networks, and through the “powwow circuit,” which passed information along to Indian families engaged in travel between the cities and reservations. A third, and perhaps the most important factor contributing to AIM’s informal influence on the RPM, was through the news media. AIM leadership





was particularly skillful at encouraging the various news media—newspapers, radio, magazines, and television—to dramatize Indian problems and protests.

AIM's first attempt at a national protest action came on Thanksgiving Day, 1970, when members seized the *Mayflower II* in Plymouth, Massachusetts, to challenge a celebration of colonial expansion into what then was mistakenly considered to be the New World. During this action, AIM leaders acknowledged the occupation of Alcatraz Island as the symbol of a newly awakened desire among Indians for unity and authority in a white world. From this beginning, AIM mounted actions both off the reservations and on them.

The involvement of urban Indian individuals and groups, such as AIM, in protest actions situated on reservations revealed tensions inside Indian communities. These tensions were not only between urban and reservation Indians, or between AIM and tribal governments, or between different age cohorts. They also took place among the political divisions on the reservations themselves. All of these tensions became magnified as the activism of the 1970s progressed. The tone of protest became less celebratory and other-directed and more harsh and inward. No single event of the RPM era more clearly illustrated the combination of Indian grievances and community tensions than the events on the Pine Ridge Reservation in the spring of 1973, a ten-week-long siege that came to be known as Wounded Knee II.

The conflict at Wounded Knee, a small town on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, involved a dispute within Pine Ridge's Oglala Lakota (Sioux) tribe over the controversial tribal chairman, Richard Wilson. Wilson was viewed as a corrupt puppet of the BIA by some segments of the tribe, including those associated with AIM. For his part, Wilson viewed AIM as no less than a group of Communist stooges. An effort to impeach Wilson resulted in a division of the tribe into opposing camps that eventually armed themselves and entered into a two-and-one-half-month-long siege that involved tribal police; government, AIM, reservation residents; federal law enforcement officials; the BIA; local citizens; nationally prominent entertainment figures; national philanthropic, religious, and legal organizations; and the national news media.

The siege began with the arrival of a caravan of approximately 250 AIM supporters, led by Dennis Banks and Russell Means, on the evening of Febru-

ary 27, 1973. Although the armed conflict that followed AIM's arrival is generally characterized as a standoff between AIM and its supporters and the Wilson government and its supporters, the siege at Wounded Knee was really only one incident in what had been a long history of political instability and factional conflict on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The ensuing weeks were characterized by shootouts, roadblocks, negotiations, visiting delegations, and the movement of refugees out of various fire zones. When the siege ended on May 9, 1973, two Indians were dead and an unknown number were wounded on both sides. Many of the AIM members involved in the siege spent years in litigation, exile, and prison as a result of the siege and the several armed conflicts that followed in its wake. Although the action at Wounded Knee was inconclusive in terms of determining the balance of power in the Oglala Lakota tribal council, the long siege became an important component of the RPM repertoire of contention.

In the next few years there ensued a number of long- and short-term occupations. Many, but not all, of these occupations were similar to Wounded Knee in that they occurred on reservations and involved tribal factions associated with AIM or urban tribal members. These events included the six-month occupation of a former girls' camp on state-owned land at Moss Lake, New York, in 1974; the five-week armed occupation of a vacant Alexian Brothers noviciary by the Menominee Warrior Society near the Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin in 1975; the eight-day takeover of a tribally owned Fairchild Electronics assembly plant on the Navajo reservation in New Mexico in 1975; an occupation of the Yankton Sioux Industries plant on the reservation near Wagner, South Dakota, in 1975; and the weeklong occupation of a juvenile detention center by members of the Puyallup tribe in Washington in 1976.

As the 1970s proceeded, the RPM protests were increasingly enacted in an atmosphere of heightened confrontation. The last major event of the RPM occurred in July 1978, as several hundred Native Americans marched into Washington, DC, at the end of the Longest Walk, a protest march that had begun five months earlier in San Francisco. The Longest Walk was intended to symbolize the forced removal of Native Americans from their aboriginal homelands and draw attention to the continuing problems of Indian people and communities. The event was also intended to expose and challenge the backlash movement against Indian treaty rights that was





gaining strength around the country and in Congress. This backlash could be seen in a growing number of bills before Congress to abrogate Indian treaties and restrict Indian rights. Unlike the events of the mid-1970s, the Longest Walk was conceived as a peaceful event that included tribal spiritual leaders and elders among its participants; the protest event ended without violence. Thus, Red Power had come full circle, from the festive Alcatraz days, through a cycle of violent confrontation, to the traditional quest for spiritual unity that marked the end of the Longest Walk.

Troy R. Johnson

See also Alcatraz Proclamation: A Proclamation from the Indians of All Tribes; American Indian Movement; Fishing Rights; National Congress of American Indians; Relocation; Society of American Indians; Trail of Broken Treaties.

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## Trail of Broken Treaties

Conceived in South Dakota by members of the nascent American Indian Movement (AIM), the Trail of Broken Treaties strove to unite Indians from reservations all over the country in a protest "march" from the West Coast to Washington, DC. Planned as a peaceful demonstration to confront the government with long-held Indian grievances stemming from broken treaty agreements, the protest is best remembered for its finale—the six-day occupation of the headquarters of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA).

The idea of the march emerged following the annual Sun Dance on the Rosebud Reservation in August 1972 during discussions at the home of AIM's spiritual leader, Leonard Crow Dog, about the future of the movement. Robert Burnette, former two-time chairman of the Rosebud Sioux tribe, articulated the plan and suggested the demonstration be timed to coincide with the upcoming presidential election, thereby compelling presidential candidates to address issues of concern to Indian Country.

Those in attendance at Crow Dog's Paradise decided to hold a formal meeting in Denver the following month to craft a clear strategy and work out logistical details for the event. Accordingly, on September 30, AIM leaders met at the New Albany Hotel in the Colorado capital. In addition to Burnette, those in attendance included Russell Means, Dennis Banks, George Mitchell, Clyde and Vernon Bellecourt, and Reuben Snake.

Outside of AIM, representatives from National Indian Leadership Training, the National Indian Brotherhood from Canada, the National Indian Lutheran Board, the National Indian Youth Council, the Native American Rights Fund, and the National Indian Committee of Alcohol and Drug Abuse, many of whom were already in town for their annual conferences, also attended, along with members from various local activist groups. In three days,





Dennis Banks (left) and preacher Carl McEntire during the 1972 "Trail of Broken Treaties" occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs headquarters in Washington, DC. (Bettmann/Corbis)

the gathering organized eleven committees and elected Burnette and Snake as cochairs of the event they chose to dub either the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan or the less provocative Pan American Native Quest for Justice. Anita Collins and LaVonna Weller served respectively as secretary and treasurer of the group.

As envisaged in Denver, the plan called for three caravans to leave different points on the Pacific coast and travel through Indian communities in the West on their way to an October 23 rendezvous at the Twin Cities in Minnesota. Each caravan would be led by a spiritual leader carrying a sacred pipe. Drums were to be beaten day and night as a reminder to the American people of the broken treaties with Indian nations. Once in St. Paul, leaders of the march planned to craft a document outlining Indian demands of the federal government. The document would then be taken by a single caravan to

Washington, DC, and delivered to the White House. Burnette, emphasizing the need for order, self-discipline, and sobriety on the march, stated, "The Caravan must be our finest hour" (Smith and Warrior, 1996, 143).

In early October, the three caravans set out on the Trail of Broken Treaties. From Seattle, Washington, three cars and a van headed east under the direction of AIM leader Russell Means. Sid Mills, a decorated Vietnam veteran, and Hank Adams, founder and president of the Survival of American Indians Association, also provided leadership for this northernmost column. Both Mills and Adams were active in the struggle for Native American fishing rights in the Pacific Northwest. Traveling through Indian communities in Washington, Idaho, and Montana, the procession stopped often to raise money for gas and food and to attract more participants. On Columbus Day, Means and his





compatriots stopped on the Crow Reservation in Montana at the site of the Battle of Little Bighorn, leaving behind a plaque honoring the warriors who fought there in 1876 against the U.S. Seventh Cavalry.

While Means, Mills, and Adams made their way across the Rockies and onto the northern Great Plains, a second caravan composed of five cars departed San Francisco, California, bound for Nevada and Utah. Led by AIM cofounder Dennis Banks, the cavalcade of vehicles slowly increased in size as it approached Salt Lake City, where Vernon Bellecourt unsuccessfully sought financial assistance from the Mormon Church. The Mormons did, however, provide aid in the form of food and gas. Then heading first toward Denver via the Ute Reservation in southern Utah, Banks ultimately led his group north through Wyoming toward the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, where he linked up with Russell Means at Wounded Knee.

The third, and last, caravan set forth from Los Angeles, California, under direction of Bill Sargent and Rod Skenandore. After a slow start, the procession traveled through the Southwest before turning north toward Minnesota. In Lawton, Oklahoma, Carter Camp, a member of AIM, made a vain attempt to take over the Fort Sill Indian School. A report of Camp's actions dismayed local and federal BIA officials and provided precisely the kind of publicity Burnette hoped to avoid. As with the other two caravans, this southernmost group depended on local support and hospitality for sustenance and shelter. On October 23, they rendezvoused with the already combined caravans under Means and Banks and merged into one procession as they entered Minneapolis. All told, the three groups visited over thirty-three reservations and garnered nearly 600 participants on their way to Minnesota.

As designed, the caravan paused at the state fairgrounds in St. Paul for four days as the group's leadership, chaired by Reuben Snake, held workshops to develop position papers for collation into a final document outlining Indian demands of the federal government. Owing to his experience in treaty litigation in the Pacific Northwest, the responsibility for drafting the final manuscript fell to Hank Adams. Isolated in a motel room for almost two days, Adams created the Twenty Points—essentially a list of reforms calling for, among other things, the sovereignty of individual Indian nations, the restoration of the authority of existing treaties, the resubmission of unratified treaties to the U.S. Sen-

ate, mandatory federal injunctions against state agencies or non-Indians who contravene treaties, protection of Indian religious freedom and cultural integrity, and the abolishment of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. With the Twenty Points in hand, the assembly prepared to depart for the nation's capital and dispatched Robert Burnette, George Mitchell, and Anita Collins in advance to secure accommodations for the members of the caravan and to make local arrangements for their week of planned events in the District.

With ever-increasing numbers, the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan left St. Paul bound for Washington via Milwaukee and Indianapolis. Arriving at their destination in the late evening of November 2, five days before the presidential election, the nearly 1,000 participants in the four-mile-long procession soon sought shelter for their stay. Burnette's professed arrangements for food and housing with local churches and civil rights supporters all over the city failed to materialize (there even had been some talk of using RFK Stadium), and the tired travelers wound up in the rat-infested basement of St. Stephen and the Incarnation Church. The following morning, vowing to improve accommodations, AIM leaders took their demand for better housing to what proved to be the final stop on the Trail of Broken Treaties—the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

On November 3, 1972, the caravan of cars, pickup trucks, vans, and buses that had set forth on the West Coast more than four weeks earlier pulled into parking lots and side streets around the intersection of Constitution Avenue and 19th Street in Washington, DC. Ushered into the BIA building's auditorium to await discussion of their grievances with officials, Indian activists found themselves growing steadily frustrated at the lack of a satisfactory resolution to their demands. As the day wore on, AIM leaders sensed duplicity in the government's intentions, and, when U.S. General Services Administration (GSA) police tried to force their eviction at 5 p.m., the activists chose to take control of the building and proclaim it the Native American Embassy. The BIA occupation lasted until November 8, after White House officials agreed to create a task force within sixty days to consider the Twenty Points, to guarantee no prosecution of individuals for the seizure of a federal building, and to provide \$66,650 in travel funds to help the participants return home. Before leaving, many of the occupiers (much to the chagrin of some of their leaders) expressed their personal frustration and overall dis-





satisfaction with the government's handling of their grievances by vandalizing the building's interior and confiscating BIA documents and files.

While at its outset a remarkable demonstration of Indian unity, the Trail of Broken Treaties failed to accomplish its goals and broke down in the end. By the beginning of November, the outcome of the presidential election was never in doubt and the caravan's presence in Washington provided no incentive for the incumbent Nixon administration to direct additional attention toward Indian concerns. The administration did, however, respond to the Twenty Points in January 1973, but only in very general terms and by highlighting the president's successful endeavors for Indian peoples during his first term. The petition for treaty reform was denied. Without a doubt, however, the Trail of Broken Treaties helped set the stage for AIM's next major confrontation with the federal government—the occupation and subsequent siege of Wounded Knee in February 1973.

Alan C. Downs

*See also* American Indian Movement; Banks, Dennis; Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Means, Russell; Occupation of Wounded Knee.

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## Pine Ridge Political Murders

Following the occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973, more than sixty American Indian Movement (AIM) members and supporters were killed on and near the Oglala (Lakota) reservation at Pine Ridge for political reasons. Two FBI agents also lost their lives in the tense aftermath of the occupation, deaths for which the Anishinabe activist Leonard Peltier was convicted on what his many defenders around the world contend was falsified

evidence. For three years, the Pine Ridge reservation was essentially devoid of law enforcement or prosecution for the Indian murders, the best known of which involved the Micmac activist, Anna Mae Pictou Aquash.

From the early 1970s until his defeat by Al Trimble in 1976, Pine Ridge tribal chairman Richard Wilson (Oglala Lakota, 1936–1990) outfitted a tribal police force that was often called the GOONs (Guardians of Oglala Nation) squad. This police force, which terrorized the local community, was financed with money from the federal government. The local context of the Wounded Knee occupation included an effort to confront Wilson's policies, which often favored non-Indian ranchers, farmers, and corporations, and to try to end the violence plaguing the community. Wilson answered his detractors by stepping up the terror, examples of which were described in a chronology kept by the Wounded Knee Legal Defense-Offense Committee. One of the GOONs's favorite weapons was the automobile. Officially, such deaths could be reported as traffic accidents. Wilson had a formidable array of supporters on the reservation, many of whom criticized AIM for being urban-based and insensitive to reservation residents' needs.

The struggle between AIM and Wilson also took place within the realm of tribal politics. Russell Means, an Oglala who had helped found AIM, challenged Wilson's bid for reelection in 1974. In the primary, Wilson trailed Means, 667 votes to 511. Wilson won the final election over Means by fewer than 200 votes in balloting that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights later found to be permeated with fraud. The Civil Rights Commission recommended a new election, which was not held.

Following the occupation of Wounded Knee, AIM cofounders Dennis Banks and Russell Means were charged with three counts of assault on federal officers, one charge each of conspiracy and one each of larceny. Banks and Means, facing five charges each, could have been sentenced to as many as eighty-five years in prison. For several months in 1974, the defense and prosecution presented their cases in a St. Paul, Minnesota federal court. On September 16, Judge Fred J. Nichol dismissed all the charges. The judge said that the FBI's agents had lied repeatedly during the trial while under oath and had often furnished defense attorneys with altered documents. Judge Nichol said that R. D. Hurd, the federal prosecutor, had deliberately deceived the court. "The FBI," said Judge Nichol,





*A scene at the Wounded Knee takeover at the Pine Ridge reservation in North Dakota in 1973. (UPI/Bettmann/Corbis)*

“has stooped to a new low” (Johansen and Maestas, 1979, 91). To the chagrin of the judge and jurors, the Justice Department responded by presenting Hurd with an award for “superior performance” during the trial.

An activist in the American Indian Movement during the 1973 confrontation at Wounded Knee, Leonard Peltier (born 1944) was caught in a shootout with Federal Bureau of Investigation agents and state police at the Jumping Bull Compound on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in June 1975. He was later convicted of killing two FBI agents, Ronald Williams and Jack Coler. The trial, which was held in Fargo, North Dakota; Federal District Court in 1977, has since become the focus of an international protest movement aimed at obtaining a retrial.

Even before Peltier’s trial opened, the prosecution’s case began to fall apart. Discovery proceedings produced an affidavit, signed by government witness Myrtle Poor Bear dated February 19, 1976, stating that the woman had not been on the scene of the June 25 gun battle in which the two FBI agents had

been shot to death. This information, contained in an affidavit that had not been sent to Canada by the U.S. government during Peltier’s extradition hearing, contradicted two other statements attributed to Poor Bear.

More importantly, Poor Bear herself recanted her testimony. On April 13, out of earshot of the jury, Poor Bear told the court (having been called by the defense) that she had never seen Peltier before meeting him at the trial. Furthermore, Poor Bear said that she had not been allowed to read the three affidavits that bore her name and implicated Peltier in the murders and that FBI agents David Price and Bill Wood had threatened her and her children with physical harm if she did not sign them. Despite this and other highly irregular proceedings, Peltier was convicted for the agents’ deaths and received two life sentences. He remains in prison today.

Dennis Banks eluded capture during the FBI dragnet that followed the shooting deaths of two agents at Pine Ridge for which Peltier was convicted. Banks went underground before receiving amnesty from California Governor Jerry Brown. Banks went





on to earn an associate of arts degree at the University of California (Davis) and during the late 1970s helped found and direct Deganawidah-Quetzacoatl University, a Native-controlled college. After Jerry Brown's term as California governor ended in 1984, Banks was sheltered by the Onondagas on their reservation near Syracuse, New York.

Anna Mae Pictou Aquash (MicMac, 1945–1976) was one of the most noteworthy of more than sixty people who were killed for political reasons on the Pine Ridge reservation during the three years following the Wounded Knee occupation. Aquash, from Nova Scotia, Canada, became involved in the American Indian Movement during its peak of activity shortly after 1970; she was a close friend of Peltier, Banks, Means, and others who were arrested and charged in connection with the Wounded Knee occupation in 1973 and other events. Following the shooting deaths of FBI agents Coler and Williams in 1975, Aquash was pursued and arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a possible material witness to the crime. At the height of the violence at the Pine Ridge reservation in 1976, she was found murdered near a Pine Ridge highway.

On February 24, 1976, Roger Amriott, a rancher, found Aquash's body near Wanblee, in the north-eastern section of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. Dr. W. O. Brown, a pathologist who performed autopsies under contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, arrived the following day. After examining the body, Brown announced that the woman, who still had not been officially identified, had died of exposure to the brutal South Dakota winter.

The FBI decided that the only way to identify the woman was to sever her hands and send them to the FBI's crime laboratories in the Washington, DC area. Agents on the scene reasoned that the body was too badly decomposed to take fingerprints at Pine Ridge. Ken Sayres, BIA police chief at Pine Ridge, would say later that no one had been called to the morgue to attempt identification of the body before the hands were severed.

A week after the body was found, Aquash—now missing her hands as well as her identity—was buried at Holy Rosary Catholic Cemetery, Pine Ridge. On March 3 the FBI announced Aquash's identity. Her family was notified of the death March 5. They did not believe that she had died of natural causes. At thirty-two years of age, Aquash had been in good health and was trained to survive in cold weather. She did not drink alcohol or smoke tobacco. Her friends remembered that she had

smuggled food past federal government roadblocks into Wounded Knee during another brutal South Dakota winter, almost three years to the day before her body had been found. A new autopsy was demanded.

In the midst of the controversy, Aquash's body was exhumed. Her family retained an independent pathologist, Dr. Gary Peterson of St. Paul, Minnesota. Dr. Peterson reopened the skull and found a .32-caliber bullet, which he said had been fired from a gun placed at the base of Aquash's neck. The bullet was not difficult to find; "It should have been discovered the first time," Peterson said (Johansen and Maestas, 1979, 106). Asked about the bullet he had not found, Dr. W. O. Brown, the BIA coroner, replied, according to an account in the *Washington Star* (May 24, 1976), "A little bullet isn't hard to overlook" (Johansen and Maestas, 1979, 106).

Following identification of Aquash's decomposed body, the Canadian government and the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights demanded an investigation. The U.S. Justice Department announced that it would look into the case, but the "investigation" languished in bureaucratic limbo. Aquash's friends refused to let her spirit pass away. On March 14, Aquash's body was wrapped in a traditional star quilt as several women from the Oglala village mourned her passing for two days and two nights.

On April 2, 2003, twenty-seven years after Aquash's murder, federal agents arrested a man and charged him with the death. Arlo Looking Cloud, forty-nine, was arrested in Denver and pleaded innocent to a charge of first-degree murder. Looking Cloud worked as a security guard for AIM, checking people at the gates of events and patrolling the grounds, said Paul DeMain, editor of the bimonthly newspaper, *News From Indian Country*. AIM was beset by internal disputes (and infiltrated by FBI informers) at the time, DeMain said (Walker, 2003). On February 6, 2004, Looking Cloud was convicted of the murder.

Using only documented political deaths, the yearly murder rate on Pine Ridge Reservation between March 1, 1973, and March 1, 1976 was 170 per 100,000. By comparison, Detroit, the reputed "murder capital of the United States," had a rate of 20.2 in 1974. The U.S. average was 9.7 per 100,000, with the range for large cities as follows: Chicago, 15.9; New York City, 16.3; Washington, DC, 13.4; Los Angeles, 12.9; Seattle, 5.6; and Boston, 5.6. An estimated 20,000 persons were murdered in the United States in 1974. In a nation of 200 million persons (the





population of the United States in 1974), a murder rate comparable to that of Pine Ridge between 1973 and 1976 would have left 340,000 persons dead for political reasons in one year and 1.32 million in three years.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also American Indian Movement; Aquash, Anna Mae Pictou; Banks, Dennis; Means, Russell; Peltier, Leonard; Wilson, Richard.

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## Occupation of Wounded Knee

The 1973 occupation of the Pine Ridge Reservation town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, took place in the midst of a national backlash against the war in Vietnam and the Black Power and La Raza movements in the United States, and followed the nineteen-month American Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island (December 1969–July 2001). Whereas the occupation of Alcatraz Island had been carried out by a nonconfrontational group, Indians of All Tribes, the occupation of Wounded Knee involved a new group on the national activist scene, the American Indian Movement, better known as AIM.

The American Indian Movement was founded in 1968 by Clyde Bellecourt, Dennis Banks, and Mary Wilson, all Chippewas from Minnesota. AIM arose out of the concerns of Native Americans in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and focused on improving the life of Indians in the urban environment. Members coordinated a neighborhood patrol to circumvent unjust arrests and police mishandling of American Indian residents. They ultimately extended their concerns to include the reform of relations between Indians and the federal government. AIM attracted a new generation of Indian youth to its more activist, confrontational style. The group's initial actions included an occupation of Mount Rushmore, a symbolic Thanksgiving Day occupation of a mock-up of the Mayflower sailing ship at Plymouth Rock, and the Trail of Broken Treaties caravan to Washington,

DC, which ended with the occupation of the BIA building. Most notable, however, was the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee village in South Dakota that lasted seventy-one days.

In February 1972, Raymond Yellow Thunder, a Lakota Indian, was abducted by two white men in Gordon, Nebraska. After forcing Yellow Thunder to drink alcohol, they stripped him naked from the waist down and threw him in an American Legion Hall where a dance was in progress. He was forced to dance for those in attendance and was then thrown out of the hall and beaten. His body was found two days later stuffed into a car trunk. Such attacks on Indian people by white racists were not uncommon on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The police largely ignored the situation, and white judges refused to try whites for crimes against Indians. Following Yellow Thunder's death, AIM was called on to bring national attention to the cruel nature of the murder, and justice to Indian reservations and for Indian people. AIM answered the call and led a caravan of 200 cars to Gordon, where they forced the authorities to file serious charges against the murderers and urged that the local police chief be dismissed. During the protest, AIM supporters took over the Gordon community hall. Leaders declared a victory after local officials agreed to investigate the circumstances of Yellow Thunder's death.

On January 21, 1973, manslaughter charges were filed in Buffalo Gap, South Dakota, against Harold Schmidt, the murderer of another Indian named Wesley Bad Heart Bull. In Custer, South Dakota, AIM members protested against the relatively light charges. During the protest, the courthouse and chamber of commerce buildings burned to the ground. The FBI now considered AIM to be an armed, subversive militant group, and it increased the number of surveillance teams that were assigned to monitor AIM activities and the movements of its leadership.

Meanwhile, in the spring of 1972, the BIA had backed the questionable election of Richard "Dickey" Wilson as tribal chairman of the Oglala Lakota nation. Wilson, a fierce anti-Communist, saw his election as an affirmation of reform and a defense against groups he viewed as radical and pro-Communist, such as AIM. His election split the nation along the lines of progressives and traditionalists, the latter preferring the old form of Indian tribal leadership. Wilson practiced nepotism in his doling out of jobs and tribal funds. Traditionalists





had no voice in tribal government and were left jobless and even more destitute than most Pine Ridge residents. They turned to AIM for support. In response, Wilson used tribal funds to hire thugs, forming a vigilante police force called GOONs (Guardians of the Oglala Nation) who began a reign of terror against AIM and its supporters. Hundreds of people were threatened, beaten, and killed. The homes of Oglala traditionalists and AIM supporters were burned to the ground. Wilson told AIM leader Dennis Banks that he would cut Banks's hair braids off if he set foot on the Pine Ridge Reservation. By February 1973, a major confrontation was brewing.

On February 27, 1973, AIM leaders and about 200 Indian supporters were en route to Porcupine, South Dakota. Wilson and his GOONs were armed and waiting for their entrance into the town. Rather than entering Porcupine, one of the Indian women suggested that the Indian caravan drive directly to the village of Wounded Knee, the sight of the 1890 massacre of 250 Lakota men, women, and children. Wilson and his GOONs were left armed and waiting while AIM members and supporters occupied the Wounded Knee trading post, museum, gas station, and two churches. Wilson soon requested federal assistance. The occupation marked the beginning of an armed conflict between AIM and the U.S. government that lasted until May 8, 1973.

The goals of the occupation, as outlined by AIM leaders, included reforming tribal government and bringing attention to Native American grievances. Russell Means requested a congressional investigation into conditions on all Indian reservations as well as the corruption Indian people believed was rampant in the BIA. AIM leaders specifically wanted a hearing to take place concerning treaty violations and the reinstitution of treaty making that had formally ended in 1871.

Because the land was Indian Country, the federal government held jurisdiction over the reservation, and therefore state and local forces were not authorized to assist in law enforcement. The Nixon White House, the Department of Defense, and the Department of Justice coordinated efforts throughout the Wounded Knee occupation. Whereas the occupation of Alcatraz Island had been nonviolent, the Wounded Knee occupants were armed and considered dangerous. The government decided that it could not assume a waiting posture as it had at Alcatraz. By March 26, some 340 FBI agents and U.S. forces surrounded Wounded Knee village. (Some Indians in the military were allowed to go on leave

so as not to have to participate in what came to be called Wounded Knee II.) Among the weapons supplied by the Defense Department were seventeen armored personnel carriers, 130,000 rounds of M-16 ammunition, 4,000 of M-1 ammunition, 24,000 flares, twelve M-79 grenade launchers, 600 cases of C-S gas, 100 rounds of M-40 high explosive rounds, as well as helicopters and Phantom jets. This type of equipment was also being used simultaneously by U.S. forces in Vietnam. Government security forces and members of the Oglala GOONs squads manned roadblocks at entrances to Wounded Knee to prevent access to the area. Their primary objective was to isolate the occupiers and to stop food, ammunition, and reinforcements from reaching the occupation force, while preventing injuries or deaths if possible.

Government forces and AIM security exchanged gunfire throughout the occupation. AIM, relying on the experience of American Indian Vietnam veterans, fortified the area by digging trenches, setting up roadblocks, and establishing day and night foot patrols. During the occupation, U.S. Marshal Lloyd Grimm received a wound that paralyzed him from the waist down. Two Indian men were killed during the occupation. During one period of gunfire exchange, a Cherokee man, Frank Clearwater, received a fatal wound while asleep on a cot in an occupied church. Lawrence Lamont, a Lakota resident of the Pine Ridge Reservation, received a fatal gunshot wound on April 26. Following the two deaths, both sides agreed on a tenuous cease-fire. Tensions between the occupiers and the federal authorities grew while the situation worsened. Both groups established, violated, and reinstated cease-fires. AIM security, U.S. forces, and, on occasion, the GOONs squads all were guilty of instigating gunfire exchanges.

Negotiations had begun during the first days of the takeover and continued throughout the seventy-one days that AIM occupied Wounded Knee. The negotiations often stopped due to both sides' interjection of new demands or rejections of proposals. Several factors pressed AIM to end the occupation, including a lack of food, ammunition, and medical supplies, and a complete absence of electricity. Ultimately, the two sides agreed on a disengagement timetable for government forces to enter Wounded Knee, collect all weapons, and transport remaining AIM supporters to a government roadblock, where a team of Defense Committee lawyers would be present to witness the processing procedure. Out of the 129 people processed, 110





were American Indians. Federal forces destroyed AIM security bunkers along with government bunkers and completed the evacuation of Wounded Knee by the end of the day. The occupation had lasted seventy-one days.

South Dakota Senator James Abourezk, under the authority of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee of Indian Affairs, conducted hearings on the events that led to the confrontation and the occupation at Wounded Knee. After hearing evidence by tribal chairman Richard Wilson and AIM leader Russell Means, Abourezk proposed a Senate Joint Resolution to establish an Indian policy review committee. Its purpose included a review of the legal relationship between Native Americans and the U.S. government and to provide support for the development of more effective policies.

The Nixon White House subsequently broke the agreement that had ended the occupation. On May 13, an aide to President Richard M. Nixon read a statement that "treaty making with the Indians ended in 1871, 102 years ago. . . ." AIM demands that the government investigate the FBI's actions never materialized. Tribal chairman Wilson and his GOONS squad members were never prosecuted. Instead, a new reign of terror was carried out against AIM members and their supporters. While the FBI claims that all deaths have been investigated, many residents of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation still live in fear of government forces.

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**See also** American Indian Movement; Banks, Dennis; Means, Russell; Peltier, Leonard; Pine Ridge Political Murders; Wilson, Richard.

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## Navajo–Hopi Land Dispute

The Navajo–Hopi land dispute has continued for more than 100 years. In order to understand the dispute, it is important to consider the people involved, the history, and the involvement of the United States.

The Navajo nation (or Dine in the Navajo language) is one of the largest of the indigenous nations living in the United States, in terms of both population and land ownership. Relative latecomers to the Americas, the seminomadic Navajo traditionally made their living by farming and by herding sheep, goats, and horses. Between 1863 and 1868, the U.S. Army forcibly relocated the Navajo to Fort Sumner, New Mexico. When the Navajos signed a peace treaty with the U.S. government in 1868, they began to return to the newly created Navajo reservation. The present-day Navajo reservation extends over 25,000 square miles and is located in an area where

the states of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado meet (an area also known as the Four Corners). Between 1868 and 1991, the Navajo reservation increased in size approximately fifteen times (University of Virginia, 1997).

The agricultural Hopis, often viewed as a peaceful people, did not enter into a treaty relationship with the United States. In 1882, however, the United States set aside a 2.5-million-acre rectangle of land for a reservation for the Hopis by way of an executive order. According to the Hopis, this did not include all of their traditional territory (including villages, farmland, and sacred sites), and they have continually complained about Navajo families settling on Hopi lands without obtaining their permission.

The terms of the executive order contain in part the beginning of the land dispute between the Navajo and Hopi nations. The terms provided that the land in question would be "... set apart for the use and occupancy of the Moqui [Hopi] and such other Indians as the Secretary of the Interior may see fit to settle thereon (*Healing v. Jones*, p. 48, n1)." This wording did not protect the rights of the Hopis to exclusive use and occupation of the lands being set aside for them, but rather left the question open to interpretation as to which Native American nations might use the lands described in the order.

In the meantime, the population of the Navajos continued to grow. Being a seminomadic people, the Navajos moved around to different areas on a seasonal basis. This movement encroached on lands that the Hopis considered their own. An area of 8 million acres in the town of Moencopi that was the subject of a claim by the Hopis in 1934 had been settled by Navajo families and was eventually added by an Act of Congress to the Navajo reservation. This addition also included all of the traditional lands of the San Juan Band of southern Paiutes (Giese, 1997). There are also several hundred Navajo families living in the Big Mountain area, which is located inside the executive order boundaries of the Hopi Reservation (Giese, 1997).

During the 1930s, the U.S. government divided the Hopi Reservation into eighteen land management grazing districts in an effort to reduce livestock overgrazing. Navajo and Hopi people continued to argue over who had rights to these districts. The Hopis went before the U.S. District Court for the District of Arizona in an attempt to have their land dispute with the Navajos resolved. In 1962, in the case of *Healing v. Jones*, the Court held that all but one of





the eighteen districts were areas of joint use for both the Navajos and the Hopis. The only district reserved for the exclusive use of the Hopis was District 6. The Court explained that since the Department of the Interior had never removed the Navajo, the Navajo had acquired squatters' rights and were entitled to a one-half share of all surface and subsurface resources.

In the interim, the Secretary of the Interior placed a freeze on any construction or development in any area that was being jointly used by the Navajos and Hopis. In 1974, the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act served to partition the joint use lands. In an amendment to this Act, the Navajo were allocated 400,000 acres of replacement lands. A federal Navajo and Hopi Relocation Commission was formed and Navajo families were supposed to be moved off the Hopi Reservation and onto these new lands. Approximately 11,000 Navajos were relocated. However, the families located at Big Mountain refused to move and continue to reside there (Giese, 1997).

Finally, in an attempt to resolve the years of litigation and turmoil over land ownership and land use, Congress passed the Navajo-Hopi Settlement Act of 1996, under which the parties agreed that all ongoing lawsuits would be dropped and the Navajos would either move from the Hopi partitioned lands or enter into a lease with the Hopi nation for a term of seventy-five years, with rent being paid to the Hopi tribe. These leases would set clear definitions of ownership and land use for grazing. Reparation, restoration, and enlargement of existing structures on the land would be permitted, and new construction would be permitted subject to application for a permit from the Hopis. The Hopis reserved the right to terminate a lease for cause.

Despite federal legislation, litigation, and a negotiated settlement, the fact remains that both the Navajos and the Hopis consider the land in question to be theirs. Part of the historic problem must be attributed to federal government policies of relocating American Indian nations in an arbitrary fashion to areas that best suited the government rather than the tribes themselves. Since land is such a vital part of the lives of the American Indian people, the dispute may never be resolved to everyone's satisfaction (Lapahie Jr., 2005).

*Lysane Cree*

*See also* Long Walk; Mining and Contemporary Environmental Problems.

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## Ward Valley, Hazardous Waste Controversy

A village of tents and teepees grew in the desert twenty-two miles west of Needles, California, during the last half of February 1998, as several hundred Native American and non-Indian environmentalists put their bodies on the line in an attempt to stop construction of a dump for low-level nuclear waste on land they regard as sacred.

By the third week of February, roughly 250 people were camped at "ground zero" of Ward Valley, eighty acres of federally owned land designated for the waste site. The encampment prevented the soil testing necessary for the planning of the dump, which had been proposed to receive waste from hospitals, nuclear plants, and other industries that cannot dispose of radioactive materials in other landfills.





*Iona Dock, right, and other American Indian elders perform a ceremonial dance in 1995, in front of the Federal Building in Los Angeles, during a protest rally to stop Ward Valley, California, from becoming a radioactive dump site. (AP Photo/Rhonda Birndorf)*

By February 19, occupants of the encampment had defied two sets of federal orders to leave the site and had blocked roads leading to it. A fifteen-day order that had been issued in late January expired February 14. A new, five-day eviction order issued that day expired February 19, with protesters still eyeball-to-eyeball with a circle of Bureau of Land Management (BLM) vehicles that had surrounded their camp. Protesters said that BLM and other federal agents had been rumbling around the camp in large land rovers and flying over it in small aircraft and helicopters at odd hours of the night in an attempt to intimidate the campers and deprive them of sleep. Religious ceremonies continued in the camp amid the glare of headlamps and the drone of aircraft overhead. Some of the protesters chained themselves together. After complaints (and the arrival of news media reporters), the vehicles were withdrawn from the perimeter of the camp.

Steve Lopez, a Fort Mojave Native spokesperson, said that, in addition to being the habitat of an endangered tortoise species, Ward Valley is central

to the creation stories of many Native American peoples in the area. "Taking away the land is taking away part of ourselves. They used to use bullets to kill our people off. Now it's radioactive waste," Lopez said (Johansen, 1998, 7). Ward Valley is sacred to many Native people in the area because of its proximity to Spirit Mountain, the birthplace of their ancestors.

The protesters included a number of elders affiliated with five Colorado River basin tribes: Fort Mojave, Chemehuevi, Cocopah Quechan, and Colorado River Indians. The elders also refused to move. Instead, people in the encampment sent out appeals for supplies and more visitors, asking, according to a Colorado American Indian Movement (AIM) posting on the Internet, "for the physical presence of anyone willing to travel to Ward Valley and participate in the protection of this sacred land and the people defending it" (Johansen, 1998, 7). Donations of food, water, blankets, batteries, and rain gear were requested. Wally Antone of the Colorado River Native Nations Alliance said, "Our ceremonies will





continue here and our elders will not move. You will have to drag us out, and I say those words with honor" (Johansen, 1998, 7).

On February 18, as the BLM's second deadline was set to expire, leaders of the camp invited five BLM officials to their central fire for a religious ceremony, after which the officials were told that the protesters would not move. Andy Mader of Arizona AIM said via the Internet that all the cellular phones in the camp were malfunctioning. Some suspected that the government had shut them down. Meanwhile, supporters of the protest outside the camp had received phone calls indicating that several other AIM chapters were sending people to Ward Valley.

Tom Goldtooth (National Director, Indigenous Environmental Network) reported from the camp via Internet that the protest had become so vigorous not only because the land is regarded as sacred by Native peoples, but because many southern California and Arizona urban areas rely on the Colorado River for water that could be polluted by the proposed waste dump. The same water is used to irrigate crops in both the United States and Mexico.

A position paper circulated by Save Ward Valley, an environmental coalition, stated that the proposed dump lies above a major aquifer, eighteen miles from the Colorado River. Furthermore, the report asserted that all six of the presently active nuclear waste dumps in the United States are leaking. U.S. Ecology, the contractor selected for the Ward Valley site, presently operates four of those six dumps, the position paper said. The coalition also asserted that all the waste buried at such sites is not low-level. As much as 90 percent of the radioactivity proposed for burial would come from nuclear power plants, including cesium, strontium, and plutonium, the statement said.

Speaking on behalf of the coalition, Goldtooth, who coordinated protests by non-Native supporters, evaluated the protest, which eventually caused plans for the dump to be shelved:

Incorporating the importance of your traditional ways and the use of the sacred Fire as the foundation for guidance and resistance as we fight for environmental justice and Native rights has proven successful at Ward Valley. I applaud the many non-Natives from the peace movement to the anti-nuclear movement and the global human family that raised the consciousness of the world that the sacred tortoise and the ecology of a desert environment must not be sacrificed anymore by the whims of the nuclear waste industry. I witnessed the coming together of the non-Native supporters and the Colorado River tribal communities and Tribal Nations in an historical moment where everyone agreed to fight together with one mind and one spirit to defend the sacredness of the Mother Earth and to defend the sovereignty of the Fort Mojave Tribal Nation (Goldtooth, 2001).

Bruce E. Johansen

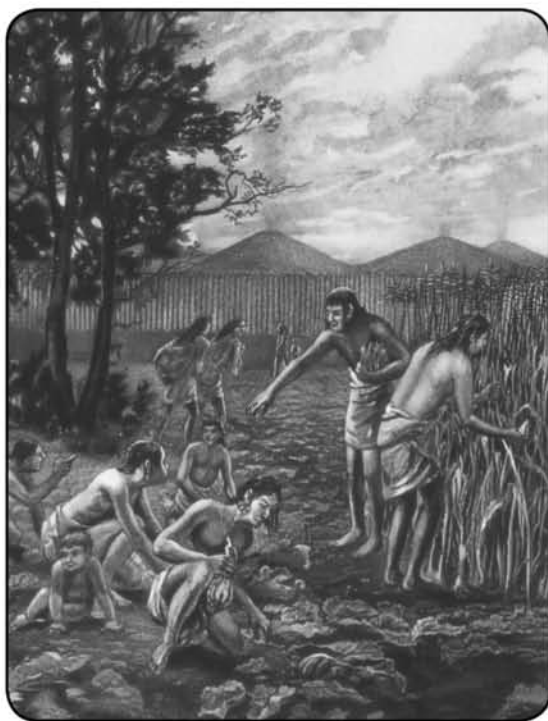
*See also* American Indian Movement; Mining and Contemporary Environmental Problems; Uranium Mining.

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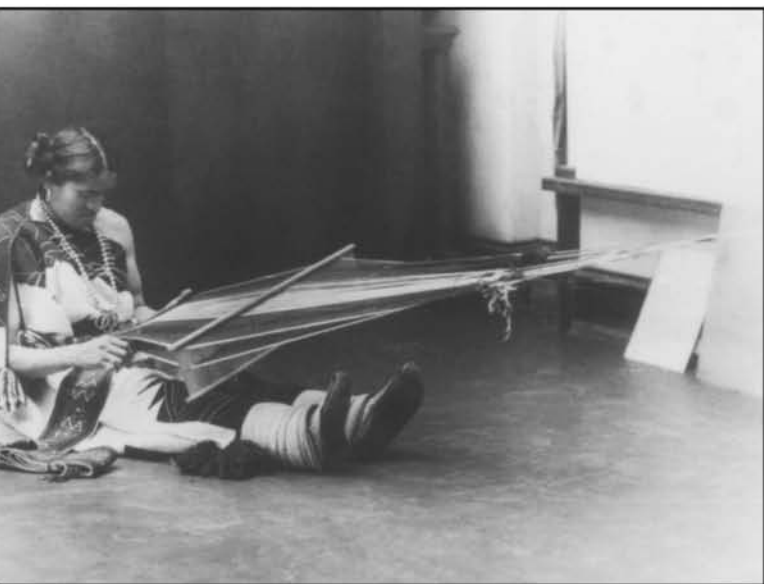
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# *Culture and American Indian History*



## **Adena Civilization**

The Adena, an early eastern Woodlands civilization, existed from about 1000 BCE to 500 CE. Best known for the mounds they built, the Adenas left a substantial number of artifacts as well as evidence of early agricultural practices. The Adena homeland extended from southeastern Indiana to southwestern Pennsylvania and from central Ohio to central Kentucky and West Virginia. Adena migrants, presumably later displaced by the Hopewell, could also be found as far east as the Chesapeake Bay and as far south as Alabama.

The Adena civilization is named after the estate of Thomas Worthington, the sixth governor of Ohio. Worthington's estate, near Chillicothe, Ohio, stands near a large Adena burial mound. At the time that Worthington built his mansion in the early nineteenth century, the Adenas were not recognized as worthy of importance. For this reason, many of the Adena mounds and the artifacts within them were plowed under by farmers, destroyed to build roads, and dismantled to construct buildings. Much of the Adena legacy has thus been lost.

The Adena legacy that remains is chiefly in the form of mounds. Although the Adenas had been present in Ohio for some centuries, they apparently began constructing mounds only after about 500. These mounds, found in and around Adena villages, were conical and dome-shaped structures of earth and stone. Mounds served as territorial and perhaps diplomatic markers. Topographic prominence appears to have been an important objective in placement, although the topography has likely changed somewhat since the era of the Adenas. Mounds built by the Indians in upland locations are typically located on ridge crests, hilltops, bluff lines, and the tips of promontories so that they could be easily seen. Mounds in lowland locations are usually found on higher terraces of flood plains, sites that would allow them to be visible from the waterways or the adjacent uplands, yet secure from all but the largest floods.

Many of the surviving Adena mounds are burial mounds. These structures are normally conical in







*The Great Serpent Mound in Ohio was a product of the Adena civilization. (Richard A. Cooke/Corbis)*

shape and can be found in either lowland or upland locations. The burial mounds are located on the former sites of Adena wooden structures. The ground at a burial site has been ritually modified by clearing the surface vegetation or soil layer, adding sand or clay, or other sediments, and building a circular or rectangular wooden enclosure. The structures were once believed to be Adena houses but archaeologists now believe that the buildings were related to some ceremonial use, perhaps a mortuary ritual, and were never intended for habitation.

To construct a mound, the Adena began by preparing a special floor. Then, they ritually prepared the deceased for burial and interred the body in a chamber beneath or on the surface. The deceased was buried with a variety of goods. Lastly, a mound was built over and around the grave. In the early stages of the culture, low earthen hillocks were built up, basketful by basketful, over the burial pits of honored individuals. Later, high mounds were constructed of mostly earth and some stones over multiple burials, the corpses usually placed in log-lined tombs. With each new burial, another layer of dirt was added to

the mound. Often these earthen monuments were surrounded by other earthworks—rounded walls or ridges of earth, usually circular in shape. Stone mounds were built in upland locations in the Appalachian and Interior Low plateaus but the purpose of these mounds is not yet well understood.

The mounds indicate that the Adenas had a high degree of social organization. Burial mounds were repositories for the dead, but they were also monuments to the dead whose bodies they covered and enveloped. The fact that the burial mounds required special effort to construct indicates that the deceased were sufficiently respected by their group to warrant the investment of time and labor required to erect the memorial. The Adena grave goods that have been found indicate the social inequalities in the culture: engraved stone tablets, often with raptorial bird designs; polished gorgets of stone and copper; pearl beads; ornaments of sheet mica; tubular stone pipes; and bone masks.

The Adenas also constructed earthen effigy mounds—totemic animals or symbols. The best-known Adena mound is the Great Serpent Mound





on Brush Creek near present-day Peebles, Ohio. It is an example of an effigy mound. It consists of a low, rounded embankment that extends 1,348 feet in the shape of a snake with open jaws and coiled tail, with what is thought to be its medicine bag within the jaws. (The object in the snake's mouth may have represented the sun, since there is a Native American legend that the sun was once swallowed by a snake.) When it was first measured in 1846, the body was close to 5 feet high and 30 feet wide, but, due to erosion and plowing, its height is now about 4 feet and its width about 20 feet.

Aside from their mound building, the lifestyle of the Adenas differed relatively little from that of their late Archaic period predecessors. Most Adena people apparently lived in small, widely scattered, and probably seasonally occupied sites that were ephemeral. A typical dwelling most likely was a simple and expendable wood-framed structure, perhaps formed of bent or upright saplings covered with woven branches, hides, or herb mats. Structures inhabited during the winter appear to have been more substantial, befitting the harsh winters in the area inhabited by the Adenas. The framework of Adena houses had a unique construction. Outward sloping posts, set in pairs, formed a circle. Four vertical center posts supported the high ends of the rafter poles that extended downward, beyond the wall posts, to form generous eaves. The walls were wattled and the roof was matted or thatched. There is also evidence that the Adena periodically occupied rock shelters and caves, features that are relatively numerous in the Appalachian Plateau and Interior Low Plateau.

The Adena people were primarily hunters, gatherers, and collectors. The region inhabited by the Indians was sufficiently lush enough to support a fairly sedentary lifestyle. There is some evidence of incipient agriculture in Adena culture—the cultivation of sunflowers, pumpkins, gourds, and goosefoot as food sources. It is also known that Adena Indians grew tobacco for ceremonial use.

The Adenas lived close to a number of major waterways and apparently participated extensively in trade. Adena products were apparently much sought after. They made cigar-shaped and tubular pipes of siltstone (also known as pipestone), a material that was easily drilled and easily carved and that had a nice sheen when polished. The pipes were in great demand and have been found as far away as the Chesapeake Bay area in Maryland, in New England, and in the Saint Lawrence River Valley in Canada. The pipes, as well as projectile points made

of Vanport flint, were apparently exchanged for copper from the Great Lakes region and mica from the southern Appalachian Mountains. The Adena used these materials to make copper ornaments and mica crescents. They also made unique carved stone tablets. These items were small, flat rectangles, delicately carved with abstracted snake and bird designs. Since traces of pigment have been found on some, they apparently were used to stamp designs on some flat surface, perhaps bark cloth or deerskin. In addition to these objects, the Adena also crafted a wide range of stone, wood, bone, and copper tools, as well as incised or stamped pottery and clothes woven from vegetable fibers.

As is the case with so many prehistoric cultures, it is not known for certain what became of the Adena civilization. The Hopewell Indians, a subsequent mound-building people, somehow came to displace them. The Adena and Hopewell Indians shared many cultural traits, including an affinity for designing the same sort of pipes. They coexisted for five centuries but their exact relationship is not known—whether Adena peoples, or some among them, were ancestral to Hopewell, or whether Hopewell Indians invaded from elsewhere.

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*See also* Archaeology and the First Americans; Cahokia; Hopewell Culture; Mississippian Culture; Mound Cultures of North America; Ohio Valley Mound Culture; Trade.

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## African Americans

Mixed genealogy between African Americans and Native Americans is not unusual. For example, Crispus Attucks, son of an African American father and a Massachusetts Indian mother, was the first casualty of the Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770, the first death in the cause of the American Revolution. Attucks' father was a black slave in a Framingham, Massachusetts, household until about 1750, when he escaped and became a sailor. Attucks' mother lived in an Indian mission at Natick, Massachusetts.

Poet Langston Hughes, singer Tina Turner, actor James Earl Jones, and civil rights activist Jesse Jackson all have some black–American Indian ancestry, although their specific tribal affiliations are not known. The Pequot founders of Foxwoods, in Connecticut, the largest Indian casino in the United States, are mixed African-Indian, a fact that has provoked some critics to challenge their Indian bona fides (Benedict, 2000).

The notable abolitionist Frederick Douglass was born Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey on a farm on Lewiston Road, Tuckahoe, near Easton, in Talbot County, Maryland, in February 1818. He was the son of an unknown European-American father and Harriet Bailey, a slave who may have been partially Native American. No traces remain of the Native tribe or nation with which he may share ancestry. As a boy, Douglass's owner, Aaron Anthony, referred to him as his "little Indian boy."

In some cases, Native Americans and escaped slaves made common cause with Native Americans in sizable groups. One such example is the black Seminoles, who are sometimes called Seminole maroons by ethnologists, who live today mainly in Oklahoma, Texas, the Bahamas, and Coahuila, Mexico. Their ancestors were runaways from the plantations of South Carolina and Georgia between the late seventeenth and mideighteenth centuries who sought refuge in Spanish-controlled Florida. The name "Seminole," derived from the Spanish word *cimaroon*, meaning "fugitive" or "wild one," was incorporated into the Native language. The word "maroon," in English, stems from the same Spanish word.

Fugitive slaves from Charleston arrived in Spanish St. Augustine, Florida, as early as 1687, where many began new lives as free men and women in a multicultural community. Some of the men worked as cartwrights, jewelers, butchers, and innkeepers, while women were employed as cooks



*A black Seminole named Abraham, one of many escaped black slaves absorbed into the Seminole nation. (Library of Congress)*

and laundresses. Some owned small businesses. In 1838, the Spanish authorities established a settlement for escaped slaves, Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, where roughly 100 men, women, and children came into contact with various bands of Native Americans living nearby.

The Seminoles, originally one of the five Civilized Tribes (the others being the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Creek) were chased into Florida in 1818 by armed forces under the command of General (and later U.S. President) Andrew Jackson. Florida was under Spanish jurisdiction (the area was ceded to the United States in 1821), and the invasion provoked a diplomatic furor. The Seminoles, many of whom were descended from Creeks, had elected to ally themselves with the Spanish rather than the United States, an act of virtual treason in General Jackson's eyes.

Jackson's pretext for invading Florida (over Spanish diplomatic objections) was the pursuit of freed slaves as well as the Seminoles. For several decades, escaped slaves made common cause with the Seminoles, sometimes mingling and at other times establishing a separate identity and preserving their own cultures and traditions. In the meantime,





the Seminoles fought the U.S. Army to a stalemate. To avoid capture, the black Seminoles developed skills at guerilla warfare. They also became very adaptable, finding ways to survive in new environments, such as the Florida Everglades, that other people regarded as uninhabitable or marginal.

In addition, the Seminoles gave shelter to escaped slaves. The pretext of Jackson's raid thus was the recovery of stolen human property. After the U.S. purchased Florida from Spain, slave-hunting vigilantes invaded the area en masse, killing Seminoles as well as blacks. Later, in the 1830s, when President Jackson proposed to remove the Seminoles to Indian Territory, they refused. Moving deep into the swamps of southern Florida (an area that ironically was being used as a removal destination for other Native peoples), the Seminoles fought U.S. Army troops to a bloody stalemate during seven years of warfare. They were never defeated, and they never moved from their new homeland.

In 1823, Seminole leaders agreed to the Treaty of Moultrie Creek that ceded land and created reservations for the Seminoles. Later, as a result of U.S. removal policies, the Treaty of Payne's Landing (1832) required all Seminoles to leave Florida for Indian Territory within three years. According to the treaty, Seminoles with African American blood were to be sold into slavery.

Escaped slaves joined the Seminoles during the Second Seminole War (1835–1842), a guerilla campaign during which the blacks served prominent roles as advisors, spies, and intermediaries. At one point, General Thomas S. Jesup said it was "a Negro and not an Indian War." Jesup eventually promised the former slaves freedom if they would emigrate to the Indian Territory as part of the Seminole nation.

The war against the Seminoles was one of the most expensive Indian campaigns that the U.S. Army had waged to that time. In addition to the 1,500 soldiers killed (one for every two Seminoles eventually removed to Indian Territory), the government spent an average of \$6,500 for each Native person transferred to Indian Territory. At a time when the average job paid less than \$1,000 a year, this amount represented a small fortune.

Following the First and Second Seminole Wars (1817–1818 and 1835–1842), some of the black Seminoles escaped to the Bahamas. Others were separated from their Native American allies and transported to the Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma), where they became known as Freedmen. Some moved to Mexico where their descen-

dents, known as *Indios Mascogos*, still live. After the Civil War, some black Seminoles moved to Texas, where, during the 1870s and 1880s, they served with the U.S. Army on the Texas frontier as the Seminole Negro Indian Scouts. Today, members of the black Seminole community in Texas refer to themselves as Seminoles to set themselves apart from other blacks and to emphasize the pride that they have in their unique history of having escaped slavery.

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*See also* Black Seminoles; Slavery.

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## Agriculture

While popular imagination sometimes stereotypes them solely as nomadic hunters, many, if not most, of North America's Native peoples practiced agriculture, or the domestication of plants for human consumption. At least half of the earth's staple vegetable foods, the most important being corn (maize) and potatoes, were first cultivated by American Indians, who often drew their sustenance from hunting, gathering, and agriculture. By the year 800, agriculture was an established way of life for many Native peoples in North America.

At first sight, many immigrating Europeans did not recognize Native American agriculture, because it did not resemble their own. Indians did not domesticate draft animals and only rarely plowed their fields. Sometimes crops were grown in small clearings amid forest. When Europeans first laid eyes on North America, it was much more densely





*This hand-colored engraving depicts Native American farmers in Florida, circa 1562. Native American agriculture introduced many foods, including corn, squash, and chocolate to European palates. (Bettmann/Corbis)*

forested than it is today. The park-like appearance of many eastern forests was a result of Native American peoples' efforts to manage plant and animal life.

Some Native peoples used fire to raze fields for farming and to drive game while hunting. These were not fires left to blaze out of control, however. For instance, Navajos who used range fires customarily detailed half of their hunting party to contain and control the fire and to keep it on the surface, where the flames would clear old brush so that new plant life could self-generate instead of destroying the forest canopy.

### **Agricultural Contributions to the World**

Native Americans first cultivated many of the foods that today are taken for granted as everyday nourishment. The main ingredients of Crackerjacks (peanuts and popcorn), for example, are both indigenous to the Americas, as are all edible beans except horse beans and soybeans, all squashes (including pumpkins), Jerusalem artichokes, the "Irish" potato,

the sweet potato, sunflowers, peppers, pineapples, watermelons, cassava, bananas, strawberries, raspberries, gooseberries, and pecans.

Native American agriculture has influenced eating habits around the world so completely that many people forget their foods' culinary origins. Before the voyages of Columbus, the Italian food of today (with its tomato-based sauces) was unknown. The Irish cooked their food without potatoes. Europeans satisfied their desire for sweets without chocolate. Corn was unknown outside the Americas. These crops were produced by experimentation by many Native American cultures over thousands of years. Knowledge of plant life was passed along from generation to generation with other social knowledge, usually by the elder women of a Native tribe or nation.

### **Food Production and Spiritual Life**

The production of food is woven into Native American spiritual life. Among the Iroquois and many





other Native peoples, for example, festivals highlight the key role of the three sisters (corn, squash, and beans). Archaeologists tell us that the food complex of corn, beans, and squash was transferred northward from Mexico as a set of rituals before it was an agricultural system. By practicing the rituals, Native Americans in the corn-growing areas of North America became farmers. Corn requires a one-160-day frost-free growing season; the northern limit of corn cultivation also often marks the limit of intensive Native agriculture.

Agriculture among Native American peoples enabled higher population densities. According to William Cronon, the Indians in Maine, who did not use widespread agriculture, sustained an average density of about forty people per 100 square miles, while Native Americans in southern New England, who raised crops (corn being their major staple), averaged 287 people (seven times as many) on the same amount of land (Cronon, 1983, 42).

Native American agriculture often seemed disorderly to European eyes, accustomed as they were to large monocultural fields of one crop. Native fields showed evidence of thought and practice, however. Samuel de Champlain described how Indians planted corn on small hills mixed with beans of several types. "When they grow up, they interlace with the corn, which reaches to the height of five to six feet; and they keep the ground free from weeds," Champlain wrote (Cronon, 1983, 43). John Winthrop, describing Indian fields in Massachusetts within a generation of the Pilgrims' arrival, said that their agriculture "load[ed] the ground with as much as it will beare" (Cronon, 1983, 44). Indian farming methods (usually the responsibility of women, except when growing tobacco) not only kept weeds at a minimum but also preserved soil moisture.

Many Native peoples offered their thanks to the plants as well as to the animals that they consumed, out of a belief that the essence of life animating human beings also is present in the entire web of animate and inanimate life and objects. Long before a science of "sustained yield" forestry evolved, Native American peoples along the Northwest Coast harvested trees in ways that would assure their continued growth, as part of a belief that trees are sentient beings. Some Native Americans charted farming cycles through complicated relationships with the sun and moon. In addition to domesticating dozens of food plants, they also harvested the wild bounty of the forests for hundreds of herbs and other plants used to restore and maintain health.

## Mayan Agriculture

While the Mayas are known for their temples in such places as Tikal, Copan, and Palenque, the commoners who supported the small elite that maintained the temples, spent most of their time cultivating food, principally corn. Most of the Mayan ceremonial centers were surrounded by very large earthworks, which were used for agriculture. These artificial ramparts were not discovered by modern archaeologists until they started using satellite images of the land, because today the earthworks often are submerged in jungle and thus very difficult to see from ground level. The earthworks included complex irrigation channels and raised fields, often hewn from reclaimed swampland. The Maya dredged nutrient-rich soil from the bottoms of the irrigation ditches to fertilize fields that they raised above the flood level of the rainy season. The fields were so rich that they produced several crops a year to feed the people of the urban ceremonial centers.

The discovery of complex agricultural earthworks among the Maya caused scholars to question earlier assumptions that the Maya had practiced slash-and-burn agriculture that was said to have deforested the land, exhausted and eroded the topsoil, and played a role in the collapse of the "classic" age of the Maya. Today, the collapse of the Maya is usually ascribed not to deforestation caused by agriculture, but to ecological damage and social disorganization caused by escalating warfare between city-states. Not all of the Mayas' earthworks were constructed to aid agriculture. Some ramparts were defensive, and, as war became more common and deadly, the Mayas' complex agricultural system suffered immensely.

## Pueblo Agriculture: Water Is Life

About the same time that the Mayan civilization collapsed, the ancestors of today's Pueblos were building a corn-based culture in the Chaco Canyon of present-day New Mexico. The Pueblos of the Rio Grande are cultural and economic inheritors of the Mogollon, Ancestral Puebloan, and Hohokam communities to the west and southwest of the upper Rio Grande Valley. The cultivation of corn was introduced into the area about 3000 BCE. About 2000 BCE, beans and squash were added. Cotton later became a third staple crop.

Also about 2,000 years ago, irrigation was introduced to supplement dry farming in the area. The





Pueblos used brief, heavy precipitation to advantage by constructing some of their irrigation works at the bases of steep cliffs that collected runoff. The residents of this area constructed roads that often ran for hundreds of miles to provide a way to share food surpluses; if one pueblo had a bad harvest, others would make it up. The cultivation of corn in Chaco Canyon supported a civilization that constructed the largest multifamily dwellings in North America. Such a high degree of agricultural organization supported a culture that dominated the turquoise trade in the area. Turquoise was important as a liquid asset, a medium of trade. Pueblo centers such as Pueblo Bonito became centers of trade, manufacturing, and ceremony.

The vital role of water and irrigation in Pueblo agriculture is illustrated by the fact that the great classic Pueblo civilizations were destroyed by a drought so severe that not even ingenious water management could cope with it. In the thirteenth century, residents abandoned most Pueblo settlements outside the Rio Grande Valley after fifty years of nearly rainless drought that destroyed their agricultural base.

Following the Spanish colonization of New Mexico, access to water became a crucial cause for conflict. Land without water is worthless in the arid Southwest. Paradoxically, the Pueblos in 1680 used the waters of the Rio Grande to defeat the Spanish; they staged their revolt while the river was flooding to keep Spanish reinforcements out.

The irrigation of farmland is *the* key factor in Pueblo agricultural land use. To plan, construct, and maintain elaborate land systems, cooperation between several villages was crucial. The irrigation systems needed routine maintenance that rendered clans inefficient, so nonkinship associations were created to cope with the work. This organizational framework had other community functions, and it revolved primarily around the spiritual life of the Pueblos. The basic rationale for the nonkinship associations was irrigation, however.

### The Importance of Corn

Corn, the major food source for several agricultural peoples across the continent, enjoyed a special spiritual significance. Corn and beans (which grow well together because beans, a legume, fix nitrogen in their roots) were often said to maintain a spiritual

union. Some peoples, such as the Omahas of the eastern Great Plains, “sang up” their corn through special rituals. Some groups cleaned their storage bins before the harvest, “so the corn would be happy when they brought it in” (Brandon, 1961, 116). The Pawnees grew ten varieties of corn, including one (called holy or wonderful corn) that was used only for religious purposes and never eaten. The Mandans had a Corn Priest who officiated at rites during the growing season. Each stage of the corn’s growth was associated with particular songs and rituals, and spiritual attention was said to be as important to the corn as proper water, sun, and fertilizer. Among the Zuni, a newborn child was given an ear of corn at birth and endowed with a corn name. An ear of maize was put in the place of death as the heart of the deceased and later used as seed corn to begin the cycle of life anew. To Navajos, corn was as sacred as human life.

Corn is intertwined with the origin stories of many Native American peoples. The Pueblos say that corn was brought to them by Blue Corn Woman and White Corn Maiden, who emerged to the surface of the earth from a great underground kiva (sacred place). At birth, each infant is given the seed from an ear of corn as a fetish, to carry for life as a reminder that the Corn Mothers brought life to the Pueblos. The corn fetish has a practical side as well: Should a harvest completely fail for drought or other reasons, the fetishes may become the seed corn for the next crop.

Corn’s biological name is *Zea Mays*, from which the name “maize” is derived. The first distant relatives of today’s foot-long ears of corn were probably grown in central Mexico, in caves near Teotihuacán, about 7,000 years ago, from a wild grass called *teosinte*. Early corn was small, perhaps three to four inches long, with two rows of mismatched kernels. Utilization of corn spread to South America as well as to the Ancestral Puebloan country in present-day Arizona and New Mexico, first as a wild grain, then as an agricultural product, gradually gaining length and kernels along the way. Corn was firmly established as a staple in the Southwest by about 1,500 years ago. By 1,000 years ago, corn had spread over all of North and South America having the requisite warmth and growing season and had become a staple crop of many Native peoples across the hemisphere. As the use of maize spread north and south from Mexico, Native peoples domesticated hundreds of varieties and bred them selectively so that the edible kernels grew in size and numbers.





Corn was introduced in eastern North America shortly after the birth of Christ in the Old World (about 200) and had become a dominant food source across much of the region (from southern Ontario to northern Florida) by about 800. During this time, Native American farmers took part in the selective breeding of several strains of corn to increase production as well as hardiness in the face of freezes and drought. By 900, a major advance in breeding, commonly called flint or eastern eight row, secured corn's dominance of agricultural food production throughout the East because it was even harder than earlier strains. The spread of corn as a staple crop did not reach its greatest extent until a hundred years before Columbus's first voyage.

When colonists arrived in eastern North America, many of the Native peoples they met farmed corn in large tracts. John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, admired abandoned Native cornfields and declared that God had provided the epidemic that killed the people who had tended them as an act of divine providence, clearing the way for the Puritans. Native Americans taught the Puritans which seeds would grow in their territory. Most of the seeds that the Puritans had brought from England did not sprout when planted in the area that the colonists called "New England."

Corn also enhanced the role of agriculture in many Native American economies. The Iroquois' oral history, for example, holds that corn had a key role in establishing agriculture as a major economic enterprise. The Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) adopted corn as a staple crop and developed large-scale architecture shortly after 1000. Their ability to produce a surplus of corn played a role in the political influence of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, which reached, through a chain of alliances, from their homelands in present-day upstate New York across much of New England and the Middle Atlantic regions.

The Iroquois' adoption of corn-based agriculture, along with cultivation of beans and squash (called the three sisters) played an important role in their adoption of a matrilineal social structure and a consensus-based political system. Before roughly the year 1000, the Iroquois were less prone to alliance and more frequently disposed to murder for revenge. An older confederacy to the north, probably the Wyandot (Huron), are said to have sent an emissary, Deganawidah, to persuade the Haudenosaunee to make peace with each other and outlaw the blood feud, which was threatening social stability.

Deganawidah and Hiawatha, the Mohawk cofounder of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, spent most of their adult lives persuading the feuding Haudenosaunee to accept their vision of peace. According to calculations by Barbara Mann and Jerry Fields, the Confederacy was finally accepted in 1142, within living memory.

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*See also* Adena Civilization; American Indian Contributions to the World; Ancestral Puebloan Culture; Archaeology; Environment and Pollution; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Hohokam Culture; Hopewell Culture; Mississippian Culture; Squanto; Thanksgiving Holiday, Origins; Trade; Water Rights; Women in Native Woodlands Societies; Women of All Red Nations.

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## American Indian Contributions to the World

For many years, immigrants to the continent they came to call North America studied history as if they had shaped its First Peoples—it was *their* westward movement, *their* religion, *their* civilization, *their* conquest. Often left unexamined until recent years are the many ways in which the more recent immigrants absorbed Native foods, sports, and social and politi-





cal ideas. Assertions also have been made that Indian contributions helped shape non-Native folk-songs, the locations for railroads and highways, ways of dying cloth, and even bathing habits (Frachtenberg, 1915, 64–69; Edwards, 1934, 255–272).

The U.S. Army did more than subjugate the Plains Indians. As troops chased the Lakota, they also learned from them. Many Plains people used sign language, their smoke signals could be seen for many miles in open country, and the Sioux later devised a system of signaling by mirrors. The Army adopted some of these signaling systems (in some cases, symbol-bearing blankets became flags), and they became the basis of the techniques used in the modern U.S. Army Signal Corps.

Even after more than five centuries in America, non-Natives are still discovering the lands and inhabitants of a place their ancestors called the New World. Felix Cohen, author of the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, a basic reference in that field, compared Native American influence on immigrants from abroad to the ways in which the Greeks shaped Roman culture: “When the Roman legions conquered Greece, Roman historians wrote with as little imagination as did the European historians who have written of the white man’s conquest of America. What the Roman historians did not see was that captive Greece would take captive conquering Rome [with] Greek science [and] Greek philosophy . . .” (Cohen, 1952, 180). Cohen wrote that American historians had too often paid attention to military victories and changing land boundaries, while failing to see that “in agriculture, in government, in sport, in education, and in our views of nature and our fellow men, it is the first Americans who have taken captive their battlefield conquerors” (Cohen, 1952, 180). American historians “have seen America only as an imitation of Europe,” Cohen asserted. In his view, “[t]he real epic of America is the yet unfinished story of the Americanization of the white man” (Cohen, 1952, 180).

Cohen published his essay in 1952. His idea was not invented by a new generation of scholars, however. It was being rediscovered. Such an understanding had always existed, as evidenced by a letter that the poet Walt Whitman wrote to the Santa Fe City Council in 1883, four years after General Pratt started his Carlisle School under the slogan “Kill the Indian and save the Man” (i.e., “assimilate or die”). “As to our aboriginal or Indian population . . .,” wrote Whitman, “I know it seems to be agreed that they must gradually dwindle as time rolls on, and in

a few generations more leave only a reminiscence, a blank.” He continued: “But I am not at all clear about that. As America develops, adapts, entwines, faithfully identifies its own—are we to see it cheerfully accepting . . . all the contributions of foreign lands from the whole outside globe—and then rejecting the only ones distinctly its own?” (Moquin, 1973, 5–6).

Many borrowings are indirect and so deeply engrained in present-day culture that we have forgotten, for the most part, where they came from. The word “tuxedo,” for example, is anglicized from the Delaware (Leni Lenápe) word for wolf, *p’tuksit*. Neither wolves nor most American Indians wore tuxedos when this borrowing took place during the 1880s, of course. The tuxedo was first worn in a New York village by the name of Tuxedo, however. In our time a “tux” is taken to be very conventional dress, but, in the 1880s, young men wore it as an alternative to the older fashion of jackets with tails.

## An Encyclopedia of Borrowings

An entire encyclopedia devoted to this idea is evidence that the idea of two-way communication has reached a degree of maturity in the academy. Such an idea has brought us a long way from the boarding school days of forced one-way acculturation. As its title suggests, Keoke and Porterfield’s *Encyclopedia of American Indian Contributions to the World* is the first attempt to compile a wide array of such material under one cover. It is a wide-ranging effort, one that may surprise even the most diligent student of ways in which Native American cultures have shaped others worldwide.

The *Encyclopedia of American Indian Contributions to the World* is a groundbreaking compilation of Native American contributions to sciences, technology, foods, lifeways, government, and other aspects of history and modern life. It is also, at the same time, a monument to cultural amalgamation, a reminder that everything ultimately finds itself mixed with everything else. This was as true 500 years ago as it is in today’s world of accelerated communication and transportation. Consider “Indian” (that is, Indian as in the subcontinent) curry. The spices that comprise it actually began as a chili in what is now Brazil. They were transported to India by Portuguese seafarers and then mixed with Asian spices to produce the mixture we know today. Democracy developed similarly: a piece from Greece, a dash from Rome, a sprinkle of Iroquois





law, all brought together in a common porridge of English legal precedent, spoken now in English, and often served to the world as a uniquely American tradition. One wonders what the Italians ate before tomato sauce, what the Irish consumed before potatoes, and what Jewish celebrants of Hanukkah used in lieu of potatoes for their latkes.

The idea of playing a game with a bouncing ball is indigenous to the Americas, particularly to Mesoamerica, where the Aztecs and Mayas played a game that had the attributes of basketball, American football, and soccer. Europeans had no rubber before Columbus and thus no rubber balls. The Olmecs, who lived in the Yucatan Peninsula, invented a way to treat raw latex to make usable items from rubber. They used it to make balls, soles for sandals, hollow bulbs for syringes, and water-proofed ponchos. This process was similar to vulcanization, which was patented by Charles Goodyear in 1844. Many present-day ball games share both European and American Indian precedents. Baseball, for example, shares attributes of English cricket and a Choctaw game.

Many of Native America's contributions have become so familiar for so long that many of us have forgotten their origins. When we "sleep on it," for example, we forget that we are invoking an Iroquois custom, in which chiefs in council are implored to let at least one night intervene before making important decisions. The passage of time was said to allow the various members of a Haudenosaunee council to attain unanimity—"one mind"—necessary for the consensual solution of a problem. Similarly, to "bury the hatchet" refers to the Iroquois practice of sequestering weapons under the Great Tree of Peace.

### Native American Sciences

Pre-Colombian American Indian astronomers (notably the Maya) used a sophisticated system to calculate celestial events such as solar eclipses. The Maya also created calendar systems that were based on detailed observations of the sun and moon. Mayan astronomers' observations were so accurate that by the fifth century they had calculated a year's length to within a few minutes of today's calendars.

Keoke and Porterfield assert that indigenous Americans employed technology that was, in some respects, more advanced than non-Native techniques. They write, for example, that American Indian metallurgists invented electroplating of met-

als hundreds of years before its discovery in Europe. The Moche, who lived on the coast of northern Peru, utilized electroplating between 200 BCE and 600 CE. Europeans did not discover the process of electroplating until Sir Humphrey Davy's experiments during the late 1700s (Keoke and Porterfield, 2002, 98).

### Native Medicines in the Pharmacopoeia of the United States

Several American Indian medicines have come into use among European-Americans. By the late twentieth century, more than 200 drugs first used by American Indians were listed in the *United States Pharmacopoeia*, an official listing of all effective medicines and their uses. These include quinine, laxatives, muscle relaxants, and nasal remedies, as well as several dozen drugs and herbal medicines. To this day, scientists are discovering more beneficial drugs in plants once known only to Native Americans. One reason that many people are concerned at the demise of the Amazon rainforests is that such destruction could keep us from learning more about the Native American uses of plants there.

Native Americans in the North American Northeast used foxglove (*Digitalis purpurea*) to treat heart problems. They administered it with extreme care because high doses were needed and the plant is highly toxic. Keoke and Porterfield maintain that pre-contact American Indian healers had developed a sophisticated system of medical treatment compared to European healers of the time, who relied on bloodletting, blistering, and religious penance, as well as concoctions of lead, arsenic, and cow dung to treat disease. In addition to performing surgery, American Indians from several culture groups understood the importance of keeping wounds sterile and used botanical antiseptics. They made syringes out of bird bones and animal bladders to administer plant medicine.

Native peoples in the Americas had developed so many botanical medications by the time of contact that the Spanish King Philip II sent physician Francisco Hernando to the Americas in 1570 to record Aztec medical knowledge and bring it back to Europe. As early as 1635, after less than a generation in America, English colonists were using herbal medicines introduced to them by the Native peoples. "A Relation of Maryland," written to give prospective immigrants information on the new colony, included this passage:





This Countrey affords naturally, many excellent things for Physicke and Surgery, the perfect use of which, the English cannot yet learne from the Natives: They have a roote which is an excellent preservative against Pyson, called by the English the Snake roote. Other herbes and rootes they have wherewith they cure all manners of wounds; also Saxafras, Gummes, and Balsum. An Indian seeing one of the English, much troubled with the tooth-ake, fetched of the roote of a tree, and gave the party some of it to hold in his mouth, and it eased the pain presently (Birchfield, 1997, 5: 705–706).

By the eighteenth century, European-American observers, many of them missionaries, were compiling lists of Native herbal remedies, some of which were published in several European languages. One of these lists carried to Europe the knowledge that the bark of a particular tree that grows in North America could alleviate toothache. The Canada shrubby elder could be used to combat agues and inflammations. The Jalap root could be used as a laxative and also to relieve the pain of rheumatism; the Ipecacaunha also functioned as an enematic, as well as an antidote to snakebite. Peter Kalm, the Swedish botanist, visited the Middle Atlantic states between 1748 and 1750 to catalogue Native medicinal herbs.

Captain John Smith learned through Pocahontas that her people applied a root that she called *wighsacan* to wounds for its healing power. John Lawson, visiting the Carolinas about 1700, observed that Natives there chewed a root (which he did not name) to soothe stomach ailments. European observers also wrote of Indians who committed suicide by eating certain roots and mushrooms. William Penn wrote that a Delaware woman who had been betrayed by her husband “went out, plunk’t a Root out of the Ground, and ate it, upon which she immediately died” (Birchfield, 1997, 5: 706). Native peoples often warned Europeans which plants, if eaten, could make them ill, produce skin rashes, or kill them. In some cases, Native peoples also provided antidotes. The Delaware, for example, dealt with the rash produced by contact with poison sumac by preparing a tea from the inner bark of the sour gum tree, which gave off a distinctive odor that caused Native peoples to compare it to raw fish.

Some Native plant remedies became popular among Europeans based on their biological record,

while others took Europe by storm on the basis of unsupported health claims. Use of sassafras root (the “saxafras” in the “Relation of Maryland”) was noted as early as Shakespeare’s time. The use of sassafras tea spread throughout Europe as a general health tonic, and a trading network grew up across the Atlantic specializing in its harvest, sale, and transport. At about the same time, all sorts of extravagant claims were being made for the tonic effects of tobacco that now do not stand up to scientific scrutiny. Tobacco was said to aid digestion, cure toothaches, kill nits and lice, and even stop coughing. The advocates of tobacco seemed to draw their advice from Native peoples who often used tobacco as a ceremonial herb and who only very rarely became addicted to nicotine.

Tobacco was one of many herbal weapons in the arsenal of Native “medicine men,” or shamans, across the continent. The role of the medicine man had no direct counterpart in Europe. The various Native names for the persons who performed these functions can be translated as shaman, juggler, conjurer, sorcerer, priest, and physician, as well as medicine man. Even the translation of Native words that correspond to “medicine” in English can be tricky, because Western culture has no single term that incorporates all the aspects of the shaman’s work. Whereas “medicine” in English connotes the treatment of a disease with a drug or other specific remedy, a medicine man was a spiritualist, as well as a person who had learned the basics of physical medicine and herbal cures. Native shamans combined the art of mental suggestion with physical cures as well; the mental attitude of the “patient” was often considered as important as any physical cure. The casting of spells (and other kinds of sorcery) had as much to do with a person’s state of mind as with physical and biological reactions.

Most Native American peoples used the by-products of animals, as well as plants, for medicinal and cosmetic purposes. English immigrants in Virginia and Massachusetts learned early that an emollient of bear grease allowed Native people to range in the woods wearing a minimum of clothing on hot summer days without being bitten by mosquitoes and other stinging insects. Goose grease and bear fat were widely used as hair dressings, and skunk oil was sometimes applied to the chest and throat to relieve the symptoms of colds, including chest congestion. The Delawares sometimes slowed the flow of blood from a cut by inserting





spider webs, which probably helped with the clotting of blood.

Witch hazel is a commonly used Native botanical remedy that has been adopted generally by non-Natives in America. Used as a first-aid treatment for insect bites and cuts, witch hazel is the distilled extract of the witch hazel bush combined with alcohol. The shrub grows commonly in the eastern United States; its leaves were boiled and applied to bites and cuts by many Native peoples in that area. The root and leaves of the wintergreen contain methyl salicy-

late, which is used today in creams and in other forms to treat rheumatic pain, muscular aches, and similar ailments. Salicylic acid is the main active ingredient of aspirin, probably the most widely used relief for minor pain in modern times. The inner bark of the white pine (the national symbol of the Iroquois Confederacy) today is used in cough syrups. Terpin hydrate, a prescription drug used to treat coughs and colds, is derived from the sap of pine trees (turpentine). The Indians also were the first people to utilize caffeine as a stimulant.

### Native American Vegetal Remedies

<b>Balm of Gilead</b>	Mixed with cream to form a balm for sores.
<b>Blackberry</b>	Root as tea; said to cure dysentery.
<b>Black haw</b>	Liquid boiled from bark; relieves stomach and menstrual cramps.
<b>Black walnut</b>	Tea boiled from bark relieves severe colds.
<b>Catnip</b>	Tea from the leaves may quiet a restless baby.
<b>Corn silk</b>	As tea, to combat pain caused by kidney trouble.
<b>Dogwood</b>	Tea from the roots serves as a general tonic.
<b>Elder</b>	Tea made from flowers relieves colic in children.
<b>Elm (American or white)</b>	Liquid from steeping the inner bark in water relieves symptoms of flu, such as coughs and chills. Elm is also used as a poultice for gunshot wounds. (General Washington's army used it during the Revolutionary War.)
<b>Fish weed (Jerusalem artichoke)</b>	A tea made from its leaves may rid children of worms.
<b>Flannel mullein</b>	Heated leaves in a compress provide relief from rheumatic pains.
<b>Hog weed (ragweed)</b>	The root is a strong laxative.
<b>Hops</b>	In a tea, leaves serve to relieve symptoms of a cold or, as a compress, to relieve pain.
<b>Jimson weed</b>	Heated leaves relieve the pain of burns; not to be taken internally.
<b>Morning glory</b>	A tea of the leaves relieves some types of stomach pain.
<b>Peach</b>	Crushed leaves used as a compress reduce swelling.
<b>Peppermint</b>	Boiled leaves sometimes relieve stomach pains.
<b>Prickly ash</b>	Tea made from the bark relieves the symptoms of colds; the bark and root can be used to relieve toothache pain.
<b>Sassafras</b>	A tea may reduce high blood pressure.
<b>Tobacco</b>	A soft wad of chewed tobacco will reduce the pain of a bee sting.
<b>Watermelon</b>	Tea from boiled seeds may relieve the pain of kidney trouble.
<b>Wild grape</b>	The juice conditions the hair and scalp.
<b>Wild strawberry</b>	Crushed fruit, applied to face, may improve complexion.
<b>Yarrow</b>	Crushed, boiled roots boiled as tea reduce excessive menstrual flow.
<b>White oak</b>	The liquid steeped from bark helps heal cuts and scratches.





## American Gold and European Capitalism

Jack Weatherford's *Indian Givers* (1988) takes the influence of Native American contributions to European capitalism beyond individual products. It begins with the birth of money capitalism, fueled by Indian gold and silver, which provided the necessary capital for the rise of industrial capitalism. Spain, England, and France did not set out to America as empires. Each acquired much of its riches in America and elsewhere around the world.

England's industrial revolution provoked urbanization, which also created a need for an agricultural revolution to feed the populations of burgeoning cities. Weatherford argues that, without Native American corn, potatoes, and other crops, many increasingly urbanized Europeans could have starved to death. Some scholars may argue that Weatherford has something of an intellectual love affair with the potato. How greatly any one contribution shaped history as a whole often has been a point of departure for debate. Regardless of possible differences regarding emphasis, Weatherford makes his point for the appreciation of Native precedents.

In Weatherford's *Native Roots* (1991), ancient Native ingenuity is described in ways that bear on present-day problems. Read, for example, how the Ancestral Puebloans fashioned their dwellings to take advantage of passive solar energy, as well as the shading of overhanging cliffs, blunting the seasonal extremes of the Southwest and reducing the amount of precious firewood they had to burn. Weatherford also describes how the Inuit created a kayak that fits its occupant like a wetsuit, a boat so watertight that its occupant can turn upside down, then right side up again, without getting wet.

## Ideas of Freedom

Europe didn't discover America, but America was quite a discovery for Europe. For roughly three centuries before the American Revolution, the ideas that made the American Revolution possible were being discovered, nurtured, and embellished in the growing English and French colonies of North America. America provided a counterpoint for European convention and assumption. It became, for Europeans in America, at once a dream and a reality, a fact and a fantasy, the real and the ideal. To appreciate how European eyes were opened on the "New World," we must take that phrase literally, with the excite-

ment evoked in our own time by stories of travel to other planets. There was one electrifying difference: The voyagers of that time knew that their New World was inhabited. They had only to look and learn, to drink in the bewildering newness and enchanting novelty of seeing it all for the first time.

The idea of personal equality in the societies of many Native peoples pervades both of Weatherford's books, especially as he contrasts Native concepts of liberty with European notions of hierarchy. Weatherford sometimes describes architecture to make his point: nowhere did Native peoples of the Americas create the cathedrals or palaces commissioned by European elites. Instead, the Ancestral Puebloans (for example) built relatively comfortable housing for the average person that European peasants might have envied. In the world of ideas, liberty and equality have a long American lineage: Over time and space, the roomy homes of the Ancestral Puebloans could be imagined as the precursor of Jefferson's freehold farmer in his snug log cabin and the tract housing suburbs of modern-day American urban areas. Could it be argued that the Ancestral Puebloans helped create the type of housing that characterizes the "American dream"?

Europeans didn't bring liberty and prosperity to America; they sought it here, meanwhile forcing on Native people its antithesis—slavery and indentured servitude. Weatherford, in *Native Roots*, reveals that Native Americans were forced into slavery in large numbers. The Spanish, French, and English all enslaved Native peoples. Indeed, the name of Labrador, for example, may have been handed down from a Portuguese term for "slave coast," Weatherford writes (1991, 138).

## Who Invented Scalping and Introduced Syphilis?

Keoke and Porterfield also weigh into the debate regarding who invented scalping. Their verdict: Native Americans didn't do it. They rely on pre-contact records indicating that Europeans took scalps centuries before they offered money for Native American scalps. This book describes the practice as a well-established tradition for Europeans as early as 440 years before the common era, when the Greek historian Herodotus noted the practice. Much later, according to the authors of this book, the English paid bounties for Irish scalps because scalps were easier to transport and store than entire heads. They display records indicating





that the English Earl of Wessex scalped his enemies during the eleventh century.

Something else that Native Americans did not introduce to the world was syphilis, according to Keoke and Porterfield. They point to archaeological evidence that they say provides strong evidence that syphilis was present in Europe before the voyages of Columbus. They describe excavations at a friary in Hull, England, that have uncovered at least a dozen skulls displaying evidence of syphilis that have been carbon dated to between 1300 and 1450. The authors write that pre-Columbian skeletons with syphilis also have been found elsewhere in Europe, including Ireland, Naples, and Pompeii, as well as Israel.

### Names and Semantic Confusion

The communication of names between cultures goes both ways, of course, and often involves some semantic confusion. The names that we most often use to describe various Native tribes and nations are a linguistic mishmash. One could generally tell whose enemy was whose. "Iroquois" is French for people who called themselves Haudenosaunee, meaning People of the Longhouse. The Algonquians called the Iroquois the Nation of Snakes. It has been said that "Mohawk" is an Algonquian derivation for man-eater. "Sioux" is an archaic French derivation for snake or enemy. "Huron" is French for lout or ruffian, used to describe people who called themselves Wendat ("dwellers on a peninsula"). "Huron" actually comes from an archaic French term that describes the bristles on the snout of a wild boar—not the type of image that most peoples would cultivate for themselves.

Native American languages have left their linguistic tracks all over English, and not only in thousands of geographical place names. Many of the following words come from the Algonquian languages spoken over much of what is now the eastern United States: hickory, hominy, moose, succotash, terrapin, tomahawk, totem, woodchuck. "Blizzard" is a Native American word, although we don't know which language it came from. The first published reference to a blizzard was handed down to us by Davy Crockett, who, according to Weatherford, used it in 1834. Crockett himself was a walking cultural amalgam, of course, from his coonskin hat to his leggings and moccasins. He was not, however, in the habit of giving credit to Native peoples for much of what he borrowed from them.

As they acquired new foods and tools from Native Americans, early colonists also adopted Native American place names. Twenty-six of the states in the United States of America today bear names first spoken (at least in part) before non-Natives immigrated here in large numbers. Thousands of words have entered English and other European languages from American Indian sources; they are too numerous even to survey in this brief overview.

Non-Natives also adapted to their own needs many Indian articles of clothing and other artifacts, including hammocks, kayaks, canoes, moccasins, smoking pipes, dog sleds, and parkas. Most European and American arctic explorers borrowed extensively from the clothing of the Inuit, whose sleds often were pulled by the "husky," also an Inuit word. "Muckamuck" (applied in derision to someone in authority) comes from trading jargon Chinook, as does the slang term "hootch," for alcoholic beverages. Other Native words now used in English include cigar (Mayan), tobacco (Arawakan), potato (Taino), and tomato (Nahuatl).

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*See also* Albany Congress, Native Precedents; Cohen, Felix; Franklin, Benjamin, Native American Influences; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Lacrosse; State Names, United States, Native American Derivations; Thanksgiving Holiday, Origins.

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## Ancestral Puebloan Culture

The American Southwest (the current states of Arizona, New Mexico, southern Utah, and Colorado) and northwestern Mexico (Sonora, Chihuahua, and parts of Sinaloa) have been the homes of indigenous peoples since time immemorial. Contemporary indigenous communities and societies recognize ancestors who correspond to archaeologically recognized and named cultures. The Ancestral Pueblos, agricultural peoples who resided on the Colorado Plateau, are the ancestors of the contemporary Puebloan groups (Acoma, Cochiti, Hopi, Hopi-Tewa, Isleta, Jemez, Laguna, Nambe, Pecos, Pojoaque, Picuris, Sandia, San Felipe, San Ildefonso, San Juan, Santa Ana, Santa Clara, Santo Domingo, Taos, Tesuque, Zia, Zuni). The Hopi say sites designated by archaeologists as Ancestral Pueblo are "the footprints of the ancestors." Most Puebloans prefer the term "Ancestral Pueblo" to Anasazi, an Anglicized Diné (Navajo) term that means enemy ancestors who resided in the area.

Archaeologists use the term "Anasazi" to designate three things: a culture (with internal variation), a geographical region, and a time period. This means that the label "Anasazi," like that of other major





Southwestern cultural configurations (Mogollon, Hohokam, and Patayan), reflect patterns of material culture remains or constellations of cultural traits (such as distinctive settlement patterns) that form a recognizable pattern different from similar configurations in time and space. They are recognizable tangible markers of cultural similarity and difference that reflect adaptations to specific geographical and ecological zones. Unfortunately, they do not and cannot mark all the spiritual and kinship features that Native peoples today use to define themselves as distinct peoples. The typological categorization terms thus obscure as much as they reveal.

## Culture

Archaeologist Alfred V. Kidder first proposed the term “Anasazi” in 1936 as a solution to problems that had arisen from the 1927 Pecos Classification. The Pecos Classification was designed initially as a single cultural developmental sequence of stages that would apply to the entire Greater Southwest. It was based on changes in Puebloan architecture: from pithouses to aboveground structures to cliff dwellings to the contiguous multiroom settlements seen at the time of European contact. When archaeologists who were excavating extensively in lowland desert and mountain areas discovered that these regions showed strikingly different housing patterns, Kidder broke the region into three units: Anasazi, Hohokam, and Mogollon. The Pecos Classification had also delineated a break between Basketmaker and Pueblo periods to reflect the transition from pithouses to aboveground structures. Despite this bifurcation, Kidder felt that continuity rather than a dramatic break was the hallmark of all the Ancestral Pueblo peoples—agriculturalists who lived on the southern half of the upland Colorado Plateau (from southeastern Nevada near present-day Las Vegas, across southern Utah and Colorado to the Pecos River, from the Colorado River in Utah, south through northwestern New Mexico and communities along the Rio Grande and its tributaries, and northeastern and north central Arizona down to the Mogollon Rim and the San Pedro Valley). Groups on the northern Colorado Plateau have been distinguished as Fremont and Largo-Gallina peoples; groups to the south as Mogollon and Hohokam. Groups to the east are categorized under the Great Plains categorization.

Anasazi peoples are a heterogeneous mix of agriculturalists who have a marked cultural continu-

ity to contemporary Puebloan peoples. Continuities can be seen in a broad material culture complex that includes architecture (pithouses transformed into contiguous masonry and adobe habitations and storage room); basketry; clothing; ceramics (coil-and-scratch technology, plain, corrugated gray utility wares, and black-on-white, black-on-red, and polychrome painted wares); community structure and settlement patterns (changing through time from small family-based settlements to large towns); iconographic symbolism; petroglyphs; specialized religious and social structures (kivas, great kivas, towers, and plazas); and textiles. Variability in the specifics of these basic patterns has led archaeologists to group the Anasazi into branches: Chaco, Cibola, Mesa Verde, Kayenta, Little Colorado, Winslow, Tusayan, Virgin, and Rio Grande. These branches flourished at slightly different times reflecting the migrations of different groups and the acceptance of culture change at any given time.

## Geographical Region

One reason there has been regional variability was the need for flexibility in agricultural practices due to differences in local environments and the availability of permanent water supplies that could be used for irrigation and rainfall variations for dry farming. The Anasazi region is generally divided into three large physiographic provinces: the Great Basin, the Rio Grande Valley, and the southern Colorado Plateau. The Colorado Plateau is characterized by sandstone and shale sedimentary deposits that have been eroded into canyon-mesa topography. The regions become increasingly drier and lower in elevation as one travels south. These broad differences resulted in an east-west cultural dichotomy that can be seen archaeologically for over 6,000 years and resulted in different developmental histories. All these patterns can be seen in contemporary Puebloan communities, as can cultural distinctions based on local environmental adaptations.

## Time Period

Anasazi as a time period is a designation that isolates ancestral indigenous peoples during certain times in their history. The region was occupied in the Paleo-Indian period (which is generally defined as before 8,000 BP (prior to 6000 BCE), followed by an Archaic period (8,000–3,000 BP/ 6000–1000 BCE). These designations reflect changes in tool types,





economic/food procurement activities, settlement patterns, housing types, and group size. Following this, Anasazi history is divided into seven basic developmental stages, defined by the 1927 Pecos Classification, although there is variation by branch. These stages should be considered generalized approximations. Problems arise when these stages are given definitive chronological dates or time ranges. In general, it appears that recognizable changes that marked new stages occurred earlier in the eastern than in the western groups.

The Paleo-Indian period is sparsely represented in many regions, characterized by Clovis and Folsom projectile points that were used on spears to hunt game animals. More sites are known for the Archaic period, which some archaeologists have called the Oshara subtradition, a widespread cultural pattern of hunting and gathering that was remarkably stable. The Archaic time period is characterized by an emphasis on the local use of plants and the development of horticulture and ceramics. In many ways these two broad time periods correspond to Puebloan traditions of the first two worlds through which their ancestors traveled.

The first defined stage of Ancestral Pueblo/Anasazi cultures, Basketmaker I, is generally considered a hypothetical preagricultural stage. It is now subsumed into the Archaic. Early maize and squash cultivation, added to a seasonal subsistence base of hunting and plant gathering, marks the beginning of Basketmaker II, which is evident in sites dated around 2,950 BP (ca. 1000 BCE) to around 1,450 BP (500 C.E.) in the eastern areas and 1,250 BP (700 CE) farther west. This time period is considered by scholars to contain the first archaeologically recognizable transition to agriculturally based communities with the beginnings of regionally distinctive architectural styles. Housing shows a transition, over 1,000 years, from the intermittent occupation of rock shelters to dispersed hamlets housing a small group of related people. These were composed of one or two shallow pithouses and storage units or cists. The hamlets were not occupied year-round because mobility was needed to gain access to seasonal food sources. Because mobile peoples need light and nonbreakable containers, baskets and woven and hide bags were common. Pottery (brownware ceramics) was not developed until around 1,650 BP (300 CE). Most likely the first pieces came via trade with the Mogollon peoples to the south. The introduction of pottery marks the transition to the next developmental phase.

Basketmaker III (1,450–1,250 BP, 450–700 CE) is characterized by the appearance of cultural traits that indicate a food procurement strategy based on a greater reliance on farming and a more sedentary lifestyle. The items archaeologists use to make this assessment include the introduction of beans and domesticated turkey to the diet, ground stone axes, more efficient grinding stones, less reliance on basketry and more on pottery as containers. Hunting patterns also shifted, as reflected by new styles of bows and arrows. True circular pit structures (around 2–7 meters or 6.6–23 feet) are evident for living spaces. There are also surface structures to store food and goods as well as communal outdoor work areas. Archaeologists have surveyed and excavated a large number of these settlements. They vary in size from small housing clusters for an extended family (hamlets) to medium-sized villages of ten or more structures. In the east, the settlements are integrated around larger sites that include communal ceremonial structures, called kivas. There is now evidence of strong regional variability because this type of housing and village organization is absent in the west. There is also greater variability in pottery with distinctive ceramic styles emerging. For example, in the Mesa Verde region women produced primarily gray wares, some of which were decorated with black paint, while in southeastern Utah, women made orange pottery painted with red designs.

The Pueblo I stage began around 1,250 BP (700 CE) in the east and 1,100 (800 CE) in the west, evidenced by a marked increase in population and some migrations between river drainage systems. It was a time of increasing cultural and social diversity in the eastern region with evidence of greater social complexity. This pattern seems to be absent in the western region, which continues to follow the traditions of the Basketmaker III period. Change there appears to have been slower and less dramatic. In the east Pueblo I is first marked by a gradual transition to jacal surface houses. These were primarily rectangular rooms with slab-based foundations to support jacal walls. These rooms formed a linear or curved room block, some of which were quite long (up to 75 meters or 246 feet). Pithouses seem to be increasingly reserved for communal ceremonial activities. In both the eastern and the western regions, however, settlements varied in size from small hamlets to large villages. Some communities were quite large; the McPhee Village in the Dolores (Mesa Verde) region was home to over 100 households. In the east, villages were integrated into larger





community systems by a network of great kivas. Great kivas were extremely large pit structures that probably served as sites of ritual integration for the dispersed communities. These seem to be absent in the western region. Ceramic types continued to vary by region with orange and red wares being produced in southern Utah, gray and white wares in the northern San Juan basin, and black-on-white pottery in the Cibola region around Zuni.

Archaeologists think that Pueblo I transitioned into Pueblo II around 1,050 BP (900 CE) in the east and 950 BP (1000 CE) in the west. This was a period of great population growth and geographical expansion for the Ancestral Puebloan peoples, manifested by a profusion of sites of many sizes. Peoples were now able to live in more elevation zones and on more types of land. Most communities in the Mesa Verde region built small, multi-unit pueblos (called Prudden sites after archaeologist T. M. Prudden), composed of a block of surface rooms, a kiva, and a trash area located to the south or southeast. Buildings now had both jacal and masonry architecture, and the kivas had more formal features and layout compared to earlier structures. Each unit pueblo probably belonged to a larger community of pueblos related through kinship ties.

Pueblo II is notable for the development of the Chacoan system, which encompassed most of the San Juan Basin and neighboring areas and culturally influenced other communities through trade. The Chaco system began around 1,000–1,050 BP (850–900 CE), growing out of the eastern Pueblo I cultures, possibly because the people needed to tap outside resources to maintain their large communities. They developed a regional system around 1,000 BP (900 CE) that dominated the eastern Puebloan area for several hundred years until it fell apart or transitioned to a less centralized system around 750 BP (1200 CE). At this time people from the Chaco Canyon area moved into the area near the Aztec and Salmon ruins in northern New Mexico. In the past archaeologists have labeled this a collapse and have speculated about why the people abandoned the region: drought, resource overuse, microenvironmental and climatic change in rainfall patterns, internal dissension and fighting, and incursions of nomadic raiders, i.e., the southern Athapascans. Pueblo peoples say the migrations reflect their ancestors' ongoing search for their proper places in this world.

The features that denote the Chacoan peoples include great houses (with hundreds of rooms and

dozens of kivas), very large carefully planned settlements, great kivas, a complex system of engineered and maintained roads, well-designed masonry building styles, a wealth of exotic materials obtained through trade, and increased ritual activity with panregional implications. At its height, the Chaco system had large villages in the Chaco areas and in outlying local communities. Each had a hierarchy of settlements that were integrated by an intricate road system with signaling stations. Each community group was integrated around a great house in Chaco Canyon, which was evidently a center for the accumulation and distribution of goods and services for its community network and a spiritual and ritual center. The Village of the Great Kivas in the Nutria Valley is perhaps the best-known outlier community. There is also evidence of the long-distance trade of turquoise south into Mesoamerica, with parrot feathers and other goods flowing north in return. This extended community system required a greater coordination and formal political organization that archaeologists feel was never matched in subsequent time periods. Neo-evolutionists categorize this as the attainment of a chiefdom level of social complexity.

The western Anasazi were only minimally affected by the Chacoan phenomenon. There is little evidence for multiple, hierarchical settlements forming an intricate regional system or of a large-scale regional road system. Instead, the large Pueblo I pit-house villages were replaced by small, scattered, extended family settlements. These were composed of a block of living and storage rooms in front of a kiva and a trash mound. Such settlements are found across an extremely large region until 800 BP (1150 CE), when the population began to contract toward a center on the Little Colorado River Basin. People migrated from huge areas, like the Virgin River Basin, and again archaeologists have speculated about why, usually positing the same range of reasons that led to the eastern migrations. Most today think families and communities moved as a result of serious environmental deterioration that necessitated cultural adaptations. Hopi sacred origin texts, however, consider this further evidence of clan migrations in their search for their proper places in their homelands.

These population shifts in both the eastern and western regions mark the beginning of the Pueblo III phase. This phase is characterized by more regional variations but is best-known as the time of the cliff dwellers. The famous and well studied ruins in Mesa Verde and nearby Montezuma Valley draw





hundreds of thousands of tourists a years. In the east, the Cibola and Mesa Verde regional systems blossomed (beginning 1,300 BP, 1100–1050 CE) as a result of significant population growth; each region became home to complex interaction networks evidenced by multifaceted hierarchies of settlement types. More intensive agriculture was practiced to support the aggregated villages, and there is an increase in the number and scale of water collection and water diversion features. In the west, there was a different pattern. After the Kayenta and Tusayan branches experienced a period of marked settlement flux, by 700 BP (1250 CE) a strong Tsegi-phase pattern emerged. Information from Tsegi Canyon sites points to hierarchical settlements that were comparable to those in the eastern ancestral pueblo area a 150 years earlier. At the same time, different patterns flourished in the middle Little Colorado River drainage, marked by distinctive ceramic styles and settlement patterns.

The Pueblo III phase is thought to have ended about 700 years ago (ca. 1300) following another series of migrations. The Mesa Verde, Chaco, and Kayenta peoples moved away from their areas; other communities left the San Juan Basin. Reasons for these moves probably included lowered rainfall levels from climatic change, a scarcity of resources like arable land, internal social problems that often arise in large villages, or a need for peoples and clans to continue to search for their proper homes. The people moved south and east to join other Puebloan groups; the people from Mesa Verde immigrated to the Rio Grande River Valley and were probably Keresan speakers. The Chacoans seem to have dispersed to the south, although there is little archaeological evidence of that to date; some probably joined the Cibola peoples in the Zuni region seen in the larger settlements in higher elevations in the El Morro Valley. In the western region some Kayenta people moved south to join Tusayan branch peoples in the Hopi area, while others traveled south into the Mogollon area of east central Arizona near present-day Safford.

Pueblo IV, the period between the migrations from the San Juan Basin to the arrival of the Spanish in the Rio Grande Valley, occurred around 1550–1600 (400 BP). The phase's primary characteristics include major population aggregations along the Rio Grande River (down to the Gulf of Mexico) and its western tributaries and along the Pecos River in the east and on the Hopi Mesa and along the Zuni River in the west. Traditions from the Pueblo II and Pueblo III time periods continued, but the large villages

remained autonomous. There is no evidence of large regional systems of communities. Puebloan sacred origin texts describe this period as the one during which each community found its proper place, that is, the land where they should reside and over which they should serve as stewards. It was also a time of social and religious change, which may have been the result of increasing contact with peoples and influences from Mesoamerica on the south and groups residing on the north and east or from different Apachean groups continuing to move into the areas between Puebloan communities.

The last Anasazi period, called Pueblo V, is used to designate the Puebloan groups after the arrival of Spanish and other European and American colonists. Settlement patterns reflect the contemporary communities already noted, as well as groups of eastern Pueblos who were forced to abandon their villages due to Spanish colonial policies and raiding by other Native American groups. Communities continued to grow, although epidemics of communicable diseases lowered population figures significantly. Groups of Pueblos, like the seven major communities at Zuni, continued to coalesce into one group, in this case the village of Halona:wa. Each remained autonomous with continuations of the regional cultural variations expressed in earlier times. Some Pueblos, like Taos, became regional trade centers for groups on the Great Plains, and all participated in extensive trade networks.

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*See also* Agriculture; Archaeology and the First Americans; Basketry; Environment and Pollution; Hohokam Culture; Katsinas; Mogollon Culture; Pottery; Sacred Sites; Trade.

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## Anglicans

The Anglicans, the predominant Protestant denomination in Canada, played a major role in white-Indian relations, especially in western Canada.

Clergy as well as members of the Church of England (known generally as the Anglican Church) accompanied British imperial involvement throughout the world. In each country within the British empire, the colonial period laid the basis of an Anglican Church that emerged at independence as separate national churches reflecting different historical experiences but sharing common doctrinal principles. In the United States, Anglicanism was transformed into the Episcopal Church within a few years of national independence. Although this denomination retains membership in the worldwide community of Anglican churches, it developed an organizational structure different from England's model.

The closer ties between Canadian and English Anglicans are partly the reflection of the fact that Canada was a mission field of the Church of England until Canada became a self-governing dominion in 1867. This later, peaceful attainment of independence for Canada, the absence of a single, unified Canadian Anglican Church until the 1890s, and closer ongoing relations between Canada and England combined to create a denomination that closely paralleled the practices of the Anglican Church in England. Practical physical unification of Canada occurred only with the establishment of

Canada's transcontinental railway in 1885, which facilitated the creation of a national governing body for Canadian Anglicans in 1893. For all of these reasons, Anglicanism in Canada relied on missionary societies rather than on central, national coordination in its relations with the indigenous people of Canada until the late twentieth century.

A succession of mission societies dominated Anglican work with indigenous people. Prior to the American Revolution, Anglican missionary efforts throughout British North America rested in the hands of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), which worked with both white and Native peoples. When the United States became independent, SPG missionaries accompanied the exodus of Loyalists northward. Because the SPG sought to create self-sustaining churches, it began a withdrawal from Canada in the midnineteenth century in reaction to continuing Canadian reluctance to finance their own churches. This decision opened the door for the Church Missionary Society (CMS), whose interest was the implementation of a program to convert Native peoples. Their approach included the development of a cadre of ordained Indian clergy and education in residential boarding schools. The CMS left Canada in the early twentieth century when Canadians established the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada. Founded in 1902, it was Canada's first significant Anglican missionary society.

The reliance of missionary societies on government funding for residential schools was an intended result of the Davin Report of 1879. This report called for the "aggressive civilization" of Indian people and recognized that missionary societies had the experience to implement this plan. Government funding rather than charitable donation became the predominant financial source for the educational work of Anglican and many other missionary groups. In return for providing funds, the government hoped that the boarding schools would end the political problems inherent in the management of Indian affairs.

These residential schools had several impacts. The isolation of children from their families and traditional cultures, as well as the imposition of alien dress, routines, and ideas, often led to significant psychological damage. These practices were made public in a series of lawsuits in the 1990s that jointly blamed the government and the denominations that managed the residential schools. In 2003 Canadian Anglicans and the national government agreed to





legally cap Anglican liability at \$25 million (Canadian) for abuses in their residential schools.

The other major effort of Anglican missionaries was the creation of Native clergy. This effort was successful in the nineteenth century in the sense that Anglicans developed a number of indigenous clergy for Native churches. The efforts failed, however, when measured by the subsequent incorporation of these clergy into the national Anglican clerical hierarchy. Hayes cites several accomplished Native clergy in the early twentieth century who were clearly suited to serve as bishops. Two of these men, Robert MacDonald (1829–1913) and Thomas Vincent (1835–1907), were not elevated to the position of bishop in part because they were of mixed-blood heritage. Anglicans did not select a bishop of Indian heritage until the 1980s.

In the 1960s, Anglicans modified the denomination's relationship with indigenous people by replacing the emphasis on civilization and conversion with a social work-based program to alleviate poverty and related social problems. This effort, based on the Hendry Report, was formally published as *Beyond Traplines*. This report itself met much criticism because it portrayed Indians as people separate from the rest of the society. A second edition of the report in 1998 called for the full incorporation of indigenous people into the Anglican Church in all roles.

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See also Canada, Indian Policies of.

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## Athapaskan Languages

One of the largest of indigenous language families in North America, the Athapaskan language family, spans from Alaska through western Canada and into the American Pacific Coast and Southwest. The Athapaskan language family is a relatively cohesive group of languages spread out in distinct geographi-

cal regions of North America. The languages are known for being difficult to learn due to their rich and highly inflected verbs. One of the most well-known members of the family, the Navajo language, was used as a World War II code, which was never broken. Other linguistic features that Athapaskan languages are known for include the development of tone in some of the languages from syllables originally closed with glottalization, as well as incidents of sibilant harmony where *s*-like sounds affect the pronunciation of certain words. The languages are also known for a set of verb stems called classificatory verbs, which classify an object according to its shape or manner. Linguists tend to direct the greatest attention, however, to the complex verb morphology of Athapaskan, where numerous prefixes attach to the verb stem in a very specific way, which has been likened to a template.

The family comprises three geographic groupings within four cultural areas and includes the language of Navajo, the largest Native American tribe in the United States. The three general geographical groupings are referred to as Northern Athapaskan, Pacific Coast Athapaskan, and Apachean (aka Southern Athapaskan).

The Northern Athapaskan group consists of between twenty-three and thirty languages spoken in a large continuous area in western Canada and the interior of Alaska, through the western Subarctic and the northern Plains. The number of languages calculated depends on how divisions are made within the family. No Northern language or dialect has been completely isolated from the others for very long, and this constant contact creates mutual influence between languages.

The majority of the well-documented Athapaskan languages are among the Northern group. A number of the Athapaskan-speaking peoples in this area, especially those in Northern British Columbia and Southern Northwest Territories, prefer the term "Dene" to "Athapaskan" as a classificatory identity. The term "Dene" is recognized to mean "person" or "people" by most speakers of Athapaskan languages. The official body of the Dene nation belongs to the Northern Athapaskan group and includes the Gwich'in, Bearlake, Hare, Dogrib, Slave, Chipewyan, and Mountain people.

The other Athapaskan languages are found farther south on the continent. The Pacific Coast languages number about eight and are spoken by river-oriented peoples in southwest Oregon, on the coast of northern California, and in northwestern Califor-





nia. There was also a language spoken on the Columbia River on both the Washington and the Oregon sides. Many of the languages of this group are not as well documented as most other groups. A list of all the names of the languages in this group and the others is given at the end of this entry.

The Apachean languages make up the southernmost geographical division of the Athapaskan family. The languages of the Apachean group are spoken in the Southwest and in the southern Plains, and they number between four and eight. This group, including Navajo, Western Apache, Mescalero-Chiricahua, Kiowa Apache, Lipan, and Jicarilla, are thought to come from a common ancestral language that separated from the Northern group in approximately 1000 CE. These languages are relative newcomers to the Southwest.

The origin of the Athapaskan-speaking peoples is considered to be in the north, according to comparative studies of the languages. The mother language, Proto-Athapaskan, is thought to have been a single language until approximately 500 BCE, when splits and migrations diversified it. There is more diversity found among the Northern group than among the Southern languages, and so the Proto-Athapaskan homeland is likely to be in the specific areas of oldest differentiation: somewhere in the area of the eastern interior of Alaska, northern British Columbia, and the upper drainage of the Yukon River (Krauss and Golla, 1981, 68).

One theory about the splits of the mother language, Proto-Athapaskan, and the separation of the daughter languages, postulates an enormous volcanic eruption that may have created a considerable ashfall in the southern Yukon that spread east (Workman, 1979, 352). Oral traditions among the Northern peoples uphold this idea, although it is not yet supported archaeologically. Whether or not they were driven by natural disaster, three major migrations may explain the widespread distribution of the Athapaskan languages. The first migration was probably to the west, farther into Alaska, and south into central and southern British Columbia. The second was east into the McKenzie River drainage area and as far as Hudson Bay. The last migration was likely south along the eastern Rocky Mountains and into the Southwest (Krauss and Golla, 1981, 68). There is likely a connection between the two later movements, since there are closer ties between the Southern Apachean languages and the Albertan language, Sarcee, than with the Athapaskan languages in British Columbia. The movement into the Plains

by Kiowa and Lipan in the Southwest and the Sarcee in the North occurred within the last few hundred years.

Linguistic historical methods indicate the time of separation of the Apachean group from the Sarcee at approximately 1000, while archaeological evidence indicates that at least one Apachean group had arrived in the Southwest by 1500 (Young, 1983, 393). These ancestral peoples moved into the area slowly, eventually spreading to occupy much of southeastern Colorado, New Mexico, western Texas, northern Mexico, and central and southeastern Arizona.

Links between the Pacific Coast group and the most recent relations elsewhere in the family are not as clear. This suggests that these languages separated earlier from the Northern languages than the Apachean group. One possible route the ancestors of the Pacific Coast Athapaskans may have taken is across the Columbia River Basin through Oregon to northern California. Another possibility is a course along the eastern coastal ranges, which would have offered more environmental continuity. It is possible that Athapaskan speakers were the latest arrivals in prehistoric California, arriving around 1000–1300 (Foster, 1996, 75).

Athapaskan is a branch of an even larger genetic grouping of languages that also includes Eyak, a single language from the south coast of Alaska, called Athapaskan-Eyak. This grouping has also been linked to the Tlingit language, spoken along the Alaskan Panhandle, due to similarities in grammar and phonology. There is a possibility that Haida, a language isolate spoken off the northwest coast of British Columbia, may also be related to this group, in a grouping referred to as Na-Dene by Sapir in 1915. However, many linguists doubt this relationship, and even the relationship between Tlingit and Athapaskan-Eyak is still undetermined.

There are several spellings of the Athapaskan language family name, but the most common are Athapaskan and Athabaskan. The first was assumed by the Smithsonian Institute and the National Museum of Canada, and the second was adopted by the Alaska Native Language Centre, responsible for much of the documentation of the Northern languages.

The table on page 334 is a list of the languages in the Athapaskan language family (adapted from Mithum, 1999, 346).

*Aliki Marinakis*





## Athapaskan Languages

### Northern Athapaskan

#### *Alaska - Yukon*

Ahtna  
 Tanaina (Dena'ina)  
 Ingalik (Deg Xinag)  
 Holikachuk (Innoko)  
 Koyukon  
 Upper Kuskokwim (Kolchan)  
 Tanana  
     Lower Tanana  
     Tanacross  
     Upper Tanana  
 Tutchone  
     Northern Tutchone  
     Southern Tutchone  
 Kutchin (Gwich'in)  
 Han

#### *Southern Yukon - Northern BC*

Tagish  
 Tahltan  
 Kaska  
 Sekani  
 Beaver  
 Tsetsaut

#### *Northwest Territories*

Slave-Hare  
     South Slavey  
     Mountain  
     Bearlake (Sahtu Dene)  
     Hare  
 Dogrib (Tlicho)  
 Chipewyan (Dene Suline)

### Pacific Coast Athapaskan

#### Kwalhioqua-Clatskanie

#### *Oregon*

Upper Umpqua  
 Tututni  
 Galice-Applegate  
 Tolowa

#### *California*

Hupa  
 Mattole  
 Eel River  
 Cahto

### Apachean Athapaskan

#### *Western Apachean*

Navajo  
 Western Apache  
 Mescalero  
 Chiricahua

#### *Eastern Apachean*

Jicarilla  
 Lipan  
 Kiowa Apache

*See also* Athapaskan Peoples; Language, Written in America, Pre-Contact; Na-Dene Peoples.

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## Athapaskan Peoples

Athapaskan peoples dwell in a vast territory covering several ecological zones, both above and below the Arctic Circle, from tundra to boreal forest and subarctic mountains and plateaus, stretching across Alaska, the Yukon Territory, and the Northwest Territories, and south into northern British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. The Apache and Navajo are Athapaskan-speaking peoples who live far to the south of the northern forests in California, Arizona, Utah, and New Mexico.

In Alaska, the various Athapaskan groups are known as the Koyukuk, Ingalik, Kolchan, Tanacross, Ahtna, Han, Tanana, Denaina, Gwich'in, Holikachuk, and Nabena; while in Canada they include the Dogrib, Sahtu, Kaska, Tagish, Gwich'in, Witsuwit'in, Dunne-za, Slavey, Dene Tha, and Chipewyan. Many northern Athapaskans call themselves Dene or Dena, which means "human beings," and speak languages that belong to the Athapaskan branch of the Na-Dene family of languages (in general usage, "Athapaskan," or "Athabaskan," or "Athabaskan" is a linguistic label for these related languages). In the Northwest Territories, Dene nation has become the preferred self-designation to refer to Athapaskan peoples collectively.

Archaeologists generally say that Athapaskan-speaking peoples probably crossed the Bering Strait from Siberia to Alaska between 10,000 and 15,000 years ago. These people moved into North America as the great glaciers and ice sheets of the Pleistocene period receded. Most Athapaskan artifacts, however, can be dated to only about 2,000 years ago, and there are many gaps in the archaeological knowledge of Athapaskan prehistory. Much of what is known about Athapaskan origins comes from both archaeology and linguistic research.

The archaeological view of Athapaskan origins is at odds with Athapaskan oral traditions and religious beliefs, which express the view that all Athapaskan peoples emerged from the same spot at the beginning of time. Like the hazy archaeological knowledge as to the emergence of Athapaskan culture on the North American continent, the exact time of this creation is difficult to pinpoint. Athapaskans say this happened in the Distant Time. Although the Distant Time is a remote, ancient time, oral histories nonetheless recount its events in incredible detail, reflecting an immensely rich spiritual and cultural heritage. The stories of the Distant Time provide accounts of Athapaskan origins and the place of peo-



*Athapaskan mother and children. (Library of Congress)*

ple in relation to the world around them. Distant Time stories provide indigenous accounts of the origins of the world, the elements, and the animals. These stories also reveal how, like other northern peoples, the Athapaskans live in an aware world, where everything (humans, animals, rivers, lakes, trees, thunderstorms, etc.) has consciousness. Athapaskan oral history describes how features of the landscape or the elements—the wind, the sun, the moon, stars, and so on—were originally human beings whose spirits are now embodied in aspects of the natural world. The Raven (or Raven Man) is a central figure in Athapaskan origin stories: Before the beginning of time—in fact even before the beginning of Distant Time—there existed only darkness until Raven created the world by revealing the daylight. Having revealed the daylight, Raven then created the first people.

The forests, rivers, and lakes of Alaska and northern Canada have provided Athapaskan peoples with a rich variety of resources that have





formed the basis for diverse economies and modes of subsistence. Traditionally and in modern times, life in Athapaskan communities has revolved around an annual seasonal round of hunting, fishing, and gathering. Athapaskan peoples have traditionally exploited a wide ecological niche and have hunted, when the need has arisen, almost every species of animal in their traditional areas. Moose and caribou are especially important animals for many communities in providing a source of meat for the entire year. Smaller animals, birds, and fish also provide an important part of the Athapaskan diet. In the Alaskan interior, especially for communities on the banks of the Yukon, Tanana, and other rivers, although the hunting of large animals is a vital part of local economies, fishing has given particular stability to the Athapaskan way of life throughout the year. The Gwich'in of northeast Alaska and northern Yukon have depended almost entirely on the porcupine caribou herd, while the Denaina of Cook Inlet and the Kenai Peninsula in southern Alaska have depended a great deal on sea mammal hunting. In the past, settlement patterns corresponded to the annual subsistence cycle, and even winter dwellings were either temporary or semipermanent. Today, although Athapaskan hunters and fishers travel great distances in search of game and often spend the summer in camps, they live in permanent villages and their daily lives are influenced heavily by the institutions of North American society.

Traditional social organization was based on kinship groups, with northern Athapaskans living in autonomous bands with their own hunting, fishing, and gathering territories. Athapaskans carried out potlatch-type ceremonies, similar to those of the Alaska and British Columbia coast. Athapaskan culture was affected initially by contact with Russians in Alaska and with British fur traders in the Canadian Northwest in the eighteenth century. As well as economic, cultural, and ideological influences, explorers and traders brought new diseases to Athapaskan lands to which the indigenous peoples had little or no immunity. The historical record shows that, in some places, entire communities were wiped out by diseases such as smallpox, influenza, tuberculosis, measles, and typhoid. Missionary activity also had a profound effect on the Athapaskan worldview. The lives of Athapaskan peoples changed as a result of their involvement with the fur trade; most noticeably, the trapping of fur-bearing animals meant that hunting became

more specialized and concentrated on only a few species.

However, perhaps even more dramatic changes swept through Athapaskan communities during the twentieth century. Because of formal non-Native schooling, together with policies of modernization and assimilation into mainstream American and Canadian societies, many traditional skills and activities have been lost and the everyday use of Athapaskan languages has declined. Today, in Canada's Northwest Territories, major developments in the oil and gas industries, together with a proposed gas pipeline running up the Mackenzie Valley, dominate discussion over the future of Athapaskan communities. Cultural survival, however, has been made possible in part through land claim agreements in Alaska (the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971) and Canada (comprehensive land claims agreements in the Northwest Territories and self-government agreements in Yukon). The rights and interests of Athapaskan peoples in Alaska and Canada are represented in the Arctic Council by the Arctic Athabaskan Council (AAC).

Mark Nuttall

*See also* Athapaskan Languages; Language, Written in America, Pre-contact; Na-Dene Peoples.

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## Basketry

Native American basketry is an ancient art form with a 10,000-year history. If, as is likely, Indian people wove over 1,000 baskets each year, then at least 10 million baskets were made before contact with non-Native peoples. Only a tiny percentage of these survive, the best representing masterpieces of woven arts. Major collections of Native American baskets can be found at the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Harvard University's Peabody Museum, as well as at universities, museums, and state historical societies from coast to coast. The fine art of basketry remains very active





*Baskets made by Mission Indians, photographed in 1924. (Library of Congress)*

throughout Native America. A vast literature and over a quarter of a million Web sites exist for the avid student.

Fiber arts spread to almost every tribe in the western hemisphere. Each tribe developed unique styles that are identifiable by studying the weaving techniques, direction of weave, starts, finishes, decorations, and materials. The dating of baskets is determined in part by the rate at which plant fibers age and develop an amber patina over time.

Native American baskets can be divided into three main techniques: plaiting, twining, and coiling.

1. *Plaiting* involves the arrangement of splints in horizontal and vertical patterns, called plain and twill weaves. Natural plants are often dyed into designs using two or more colors. Plaited baskets were made throughout the Western Hemisphere. Basketry sandals and plaited sifter baskets were made at Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and other ancient Southwest sites. Plaited

basketry in the Southwest continues at Hopi and Jemez Pueblo, with yucca being the most popular fiber. Plaited cedar mats, storage baskets, and hats are still being made in the Pacific Northwest. In the Northeast, the Iroquois, Penobscot, Passamaquoddy, and other eastern Woodland cultures have maintained dynamic basketmaking cultures. Their plaited baskets mostly are made from black ash splints and by twisting fibers like ribbon into designs. From the Southeast to Oklahoma, river cane and white oak baskets are plaited by the Cherokee, Choctaw, Coushatta, and Chitimacha tribes. One of their innovations is the double weave, featuring a double wall construction.

2. *Twining* and wicker techniques involve wrapping horizontal fibers, called wefts, around vertical or radiating fibers, called warps. In full-wrap twining, the design can be seen on the inside and the outside of a





basket. In half-wrap twining, the design can be seen only on the outside of the basket. Twined soft-fiber bags are among the most ancient and widespread type of basketry. Although once common in the ancient Southwest, soft-fiber bags are in need of cultural revival in this region. Wicker basketry is flourishing on Third Mesa at Hopi and to a lesser extent at Zuni Pueblo. Soft-fiber twined bags have best survived in the Plateau region among the Nez Percé, Yakima, Wasco, and Klamath tribes of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. Twined basketry flourishes along the Pacific Coast from Alaska and British Columbia down through western Washington, Oregon, and the northern half of California.

3. *Coiling* techniques involve wrapping fibers around and around an inner foundation like a clock spring. The inner foundation may take the form of a bundle of grass, single rods, or, more commonly, three-rods, often from willow, sumac, or cottonwood shoots. An awl is used to poke a hole through the preceding coil. The sewing strand must be quickly poked through the hole and pulled tight. Basket collectors count the number of coils per inch times the number of stitches per inch to determine the total number of stitches per square inch—the higher the number, the finer the weave. This calculation helps to determine the value of a basket.

Almost 5,000 individual basketmakers have been identified in the literature. Basketweavers tend to follow family lines and can be traced through genealogical research. The history of Indian baskets represents family traditions carried forward and perpetuated often by family matriarchs and in rare instances by patriarchs. The ancient art form is passed on from generation to generation when children watch their parent and grandparent weaving. To encourage young ones, the elder encourages them to play with scraps of weaving materials.

Approximately 90 percent of the work in making a basket is in the preparation of the materials. Elders teach their offspring to respect the plants used in basketry. Each plant has a name, a history, and a spirit. Basketmakers often talk to the spirits of the plants and explain what good purpose they intend, taking care not to harvest more than is needed. An old cus-

tom advises not to take the first one found of the species, but to keep searching until a second is located, thus ensuring the preservation of the species.

The biggest challenge faced by thousands of contemporary Native American basketmakers is the preservation of, and access to, nontoxic plant material. The challenge has grown during the past fifty years with the introduction of toxic pesticides, herbicides, and chemical fertilizers. In response, Native American weavers have been organizing associations of basketmakers with resource protection programs. Existing organizations include the California Indian Basketweavers Association (CIBA), Southern California Indian Basketweavers Organization (SCIBO), Great Basin Native Basketweavers Association, Northwest Native American Basketweavers Association (NNABA), Great Lakes Indian Basket & Box Makers Association (GLIBBA), Oklahoma Native American Basketweavers (ONAB), Maine Indian Basketmakers Alliance (MIBA), Qualla Cooperative, Tohono O'odham Basketweavers Organization (TOBO), and many more.

No other group of Native American artists has organized more effectively than basketmakers. After years of negotiating with federal, state, and local government officials, as well as with private landowners, historic agreements are being forged to protect basketry environments and to provide access for contemporary weavers to existing sites. Vigilance is required to protect fragile wetlands and forests in the face of commercial development. Alliances have formed between Native American groups and environmental organizations to preserve and to expand endangered habitats.

To help make their case, basketmakers have learned the importance of documentation. A vast literature is growing, as books, articles, videotapes, DVDs, and other media are being developed. Their strategy for preserving basketry is very well thought out. Basketmakers in general are deep thinkers, often visionaries. The long process of weaving offers time for self-reflection and meditation. Perhaps reflecting the traditional nature of their art, basketmakers often have a communal orientation, organizing basket-making parties, retreats, and special gatherings. These activities offer time to socialize, to share techniques, to discuss designs, to sing traditional songs, and to contemplate their traditional history.

The first major attempts to compile the long history of Native American basketry were made a century ago by Otis Tufton Mason and George Wharton James. The most comprehensive recent survey of





Indian baskets, *Indian Baskets*, was compiled by a husband and wife team from the Peabody Museum at Harvard University, Sarah Peabody Turnbaugh and William A. Turnbaugh (1997). This work has since been supplemented by a more informal collection of related stories by the same authors, *Basket Tales of the Grandmothers: American Indian Baskets in Myth and Legend* (2000). A three-volume compilation of 5,000 biographies of basketmakers, *American Indian Baskets* (Schaaf and Schaaf, 2005; volumes II and III due in 2007 and 2009), is now being completed by Gregory Schaaf and Angie Yan Schaaf. All artists need patrons, and the collectors of American Indian baskets play an important role in supporting the weavers. To create a basketry masterpiece takes much time. Three years were required to weave the largest basket in Hopi history (39 by 43 inches). Patrons of the arts sometime sponsor an artist, helping to support them during the long weaving process.

The transformation of Native American basketry from a utilitarian craft into a fine art form emerged between 1880 and 1930. A Washoe weaver from Carson City, Nevada, named Dat so la lee, became the most famous basketmaker in history. With support from merchant Abe Cohen, the value of her baskets soared from \$30 to \$3,000. Today, the same baskets are appraised at over \$100,000. The world record for a single basket reportedly is over \$1 million.

The future of Native American basketry is bright. Collectors and great museums from around the world vie for contemporary masterpieces. At Santa Fe Indian Market, the oldest and largest Indian art show, avid collectors sleep in the booths of their favorite artists to get a chance to buy one at dawn's first light. The opening of the National Museum of the American Indian on the Mall in Washington, D.C., is providing an important new showcase for basketmakers and other Native American artists from throughout the western hemisphere.

Gregory Schaaf

See also Economic Development.

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## Beadwork

Almost every Native American culture in the western hemisphere has a beadwork tradition, although few have been well documented. Contemporary beadwork artists can be divided into two main groups. Shell beadmakers are concentrated at Santo Domingo Pueblo in New Mexico, where fine shell heishi and rolled turquoise and coral beads are made, and are also among the Iroquois and eastern Woodland tribes, who still make wampum beads from Quahog clam shells. The second and larger group of beadworkers sew glass beads onto leather or cloth. Their art forms include beaded bags, shirts, leggings, moccasins, dresses, coats, belts, knife sheaths, awl cases, gun scabbards, headdresses, bow case and quiver sets, as well as necklaces, bracelets, and beaded jewelry.

Before the coming of non-Natives, Native American beads were handmade. Drilling holes in seeds represents an ancient technology that grew into drilling and hand-rolling freshwater and saltwater shells. Strings of beads were measured from hand to elbow to provide a rate of exchange. Trade routes formed throughout the western hemisphere, and beads were distributed from the northern Arctic to the tip of South America. Among the most valuable ancient beads are the 5,000-year-old jade necklaces of the Olmec from Central America and the steatite beads inlaid with shell produced by the Chumash of southern California.

One of the largest bead production centers was located on the islands off the coast of present-day Santa Barbara. Like an ancient Native American "mint," the Chumash distributed millions of beads made mostly from a half dozen species of seashells. Bead routes followed the coastlines and the inland waterways, then went from spring to spring across





*Wolf Necklace (Harlish Washshomake), a Paloos chief wearing a bead necklace and a beaded purse, 1890. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

the desert to the culture centers of Mesa Verde, Chaco Canyon, and thousands of other ancient villages that now are in ruins.

When Christopher Columbus and other Europeans arrived, they brought glass and metal beads that were mass-produced, mostly in North Africa, Holland, and Venice. Native Americans soon discovered creative ways to use the more colorful glass beads. They began decorating their clothing and household items with beads, sewing them on with a needle and thread. Each bead was carefully selected by color and size to create patterns and designs. Every tribe developed its own unique style.

In the Northeast, Iroquois beadworkers used larger pony beads and created three-dimensional effects called embossed beadwork, while loom beadwork flourished in the Great Lakes. In the Southeast, Seminole, Creek, and Cherokee women produced elaborate shoulder bags and sashes that are still highly prized. On the northern and southern Plains, production was greater than any other region. War shirts, dresses, and blanket strips were heavily

beaded. Personal items included pipe bags, tobacco bags, teepee bags, paint bags, and strike-a-lites, small bags with tin cone dangles that held flint and steel for starting a fire. The Southwest and California show strong Plains Indian influences, while some adapted their own basketry designs. The Plateau region of eastern Washington, Idaho, and Montana developed flat bags, averaging 12-by-14-inch panels, decorated in contour beadwork in which the beads follow concentric outlines. Some artists paint pictures in beads that feature human figures, bears, deer, horses, and even full landscapes with mountains and waterfalls. Northwest and California beadworkers often add shell pendants, as well as creating unique forms of beaded bottles and baskets. Rainforest beadwork from Central and South America often incorporates feathers and plant fibers for elaborate and colorful displays.

Contemporary beadwork is made mostly for other Native Americans who need beaded outfits for ceremonial dances. Beaded belts, necklaces, and little bags are distributed through trading posts and galleries to the general public. Elaborate beaded dolls and cradles often are the blue-ribbon winners at Indian Market, the Heard Museum Show, Southern Plains Exposition, and other Native American art shows. The future of Native American beadwork looks bright.

*Gregory Schaaf*

*See also* Trade; Wampum.

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## **Berdaches**

Found throughout most of Native North America, berdaches were individuals who assumed, to varying degrees, the mannerisms, appearance, and labors of the opposite gender. In most Native societies, berdaches were biological males who assumed a feminine (or in some cases, a somewhat feminine)





*We-Wa, a Zuni man dressed as a woman, weaving a belt on a waist loom with reed heddle. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

identity. Some scholars have argued that berdaches represent a third and in some cases, a fourth gender in Native American cultures.

The process of becoming a berdache varied from one Native society to another. Hidatsas believed that a young man became a berdache through the intervention of a female deity. While berdaches were accepted in Hidatsa society, parents did their best to prevent this particular "divine favor" from being bestowed on their sons by making sure that boys did not develop an interest in playing with girls' toys such as dolls. However, Hidatsa parents showed little concern—possibly because of the rarity of female berdaches—if their daughters developed a fascination with bows and arrows. Illinois peoples singled out young boys who played with women's tools, such as hoes and spindles, rather than bows and arrows, as eventual berdaches. The Illinois dressed them as girls and trained them to mimic the female "... accent, which is different from that of the men. They omit nothing that can make them like the women."

Europeans encountered berdaches during their earliest explorations of the Americas. Spanish explorer Cabeza de Vaca met berdaches during his eight-year sojourn through what is now much of the American Southwest, disapprovingly claiming that they were "impotent and womanish beings, who dress like women and perform the office of women." A few years later, berdaches attracted the notice of French explorer Jean Ribault in Florida, who erroneously concluded (as other Europeans would) that they were hermaphrodites.

Berdaches seem to have been prevalent among Illinois peoples. Louis Hennepin, a seventeenth-century French Recollet missionary, mentioned them, as did Jesuit Pierre Marquette. Marquette thought that some young men chose to become berdaches because they were regarded as spiritually powerful. He also noted that they were considered "persons of Consequence" and that "nothing is decided without their advice." French trader and soldier Pierre Liette had a very different opinion, noting that Illinois women "retain some moderation," making it





impossible for young men to satisfy “their passions as much as they would like.” To solve this problem (at least to Liette’s understanding), the Illinois created a class of “men who were bred for this purpose since childhood.”

To European and American observers, Native berdaches played a complex and, to them, confusing role in Native societies. A male berdache could cross the line between genders several times over the course of his lifetime. Among Miami peoples in the Northeast and Omaha peoples on the Great Plains, a male berdache normally performed women’s day-to-day tasks. However, during times of conflict, they donned male clothing, picked up their weapons, and accompanied the other men to war. Upon returning, they again dressed as women and resumed their feminine pursuits.

Far rarer than male berdaches, female berdaches most often appeared in the northern Plains and the Plateau regions. Unlike the males, who in some societies could cross the line between gender lines several times in their life, female berdaches usually crossed it only once and never looked back. Berdaches became less common as Native peoples began adopting the mores of the larger American society in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As European-American society imposed its values, respect for berdaches was diminished. Indeed, some anthropologists working among Native people had difficulty locating informants willing to talk about berdaches.

Roger M. Carpenter

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## Black Hills (Paha Sapa)

An expansive area of wildly eroded granite, consisting of peaks that shelter narrow, winding valleys surrounded by a ring of carven limestone canyons, the Black Hills, also known as *Paha Sapa* or *He Sapa* (“hills that are black”), extend approximately fifty miles east and west and 100 miles north and south in western South Dakota. Covered by dark evergreens, predominantly Ponderosa Pine, the hills appear dark

purple or black from a distance. This characteristic is reflected in their namesake, attributed to them by Siouan peoples who have inhabited the area from the late eighteenth century to the present.

Considered a sacred place and home to powerful spirits, western Siouan peoples have long regarded the Black Hills as the center of their cosmos, with some regarding the vicinity of Wind Cave National Park in the south as the site of their origin. Regarding the significance of the Hills to their indigenous inhabitants, newspaper accounts in 1874 reported that “the Black Hills are holy ground of the holiest sort,” that they were “the most sacred spot on earth.” Indeed, the geological ring of limestone that surrounds the Hills has been understood as the site of the primordial race between the birds, or two-legged beings—which represented humankind—and the animals, or four-legged beings. The birds won, thereby establishing the natural order, including the subsistence of human beings on bison and other animals.

During the midnineteenth century the Sioux were inhospitable to white encroachment onto their hunting grounds. As immigration to the area increased, so did conflict. Although the United States military established outposts nearby to monitor the situation, to avoid exacerbating what were already tense relations they seldom entered the Hills. As encroachment continued, however, various bands of Sioux reportedly raided settlements and then retreated to the Hills. Reports of these incidents resulted in military reconnaissance in the area.

As a result of growing reports of gold in the Hills, in 1865 residents of what is now eastern South Dakota requested permission from Congress for military reconnaissance to organize miners and prospectors to conduct a geological survey. Recognizing the strained character of the situation, in 1867 General William T. Sherman determined that the military was not in a position to assist and would therefore not provide protection to civilians who decided to pursue prospecting and mining.

Growing pressure to explore and move into the Hills was temporarily abated with the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. In an effort to constitute a lasting peace between the United States and indigenous peoples inhabiting the Plains, the treaty established what became known as the Great Sioux Reservation, encompassing all of present South Dakota west of the Missouri River and acknowledging the area of Nebraska north of the North Platte River and the





eastern portions of Wyoming and Montana from the boundary of the reservation to the summit of the Big Horn Mountains as “unceded Indian territory.” The treaty prohibited settlers or miners from entering the Hills without authorization and provided for the establishment of agencies to distribute food, clothes, and money. In turn, the Sioux agreed to cease hostilities toward transient pioneers and railroad workers.

Throughout the 1870s, stories about gold and other wealth in the Hills continued to circulate. Although the military and Department of the Interior discouraged any entry into the Hills, citizen pressure for a government-sanctioned expedition mounted. As citizen excursions into the Hills and retaliatory Sioux raids on settlements continued, the government launched an expedition led by Lieutenant Colonel George A. Custer in an effort to control growing hostilities as well as to locate a suitable fort site. Curiously, the expedition included a geologist and miners, and, when gold was found—regardless of government discouragement—word of it began to circulate and the rush was on. Agreements delineated

in the Treaty of 1868, therefore, continued to erode and the military proved ineffective at keeping prospectors, miners, and squatters at bay.

By 1875 Colonel Richard I. Dodge estimated that 800 men were prospecting and mining in the Hills. In an effort to solve the matter of ownership, the federal government invited Sioux leaders to Washington, D.C., where they refused all offers to relinquish claim to the Hills. Nevertheless, by 1876 approximately 10,000 people had taken up residence, and a contested agreement was exacted that ceded lands in the Black Hills to the government. Continued contention over the Hills led to a series of armed conflicts. In the spring of 1877 Sitting Bull and his followers escaped from the military into Canada while Crazy Horse and his followers surrendered at Camp Robinson, settling at the Red Cloud Agency. The effective end of armed resistance to white encroachment was marked on September 5, 1877, when Crazy Horse was killed in a scuffle with a soldier at Camp Robinson. His followers then fled north to join Sitting Bull or settled at other agencies.



*The Black Hills of South Dakota are sacred to the Sioux Indians. (Phil Schermeister/Corbis)*





The Black Hills remain a matter of contention. With an eight-to-one majority, on June 30, 1980, the Supreme Court determined that the United States had taken the Hills in violation of the “just compensation” clause of the Fifth Amendment. Although the federal government had the authority to take the Hills, the Court ruled that the Sioux had not received proper compensation. The Sioux were, in turn, awarded \$17,553,484 (the calculated value in 1877) with interest at 5 percent from February 28, 1877, or approximately \$105 million. Upon notification of the decision, Sioux leaders adopted a resolution disavowing any such settlement, as accepting the award would validate the position of the government and effectively end any hope of eventually reclaiming the Hills. The cash award remains in the U.S. Treasury earning interest, now in excess of \$500 million.

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*See also* Battle of the Little Bighorn; Crazy Horse; Great Sioux Uprising; Red Cloud; Sacred Sites.

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## **Black Seminoles**

After the introduction of African chattel slavery in North America some runaway slaves, who became known as maroons, fled south to what is now Florida, establishing independent communities and alliances with indigenous peoples. In the meantime, in the late 1600s, a number of indigenous nations, each decimated by disease introduced by the Spanish, formed the Creek Confederacy in what is now Georgia and Alabama. By 1750, a sector of the confederacy declared itself independent of Creek authority and moved south to Florida. These Creeks united with indigenous peoples, including the Miccosukees, and maroons to form the Seminole nation. Thus, from its inception, the Seminole nation included persons of African descent, known in the Seminole language as the Estelusti.

The newly emergent United States wanted both the military and political benefits of treaties with American Indian nations, yet was unwilling to rec-

ognize a nation that included persons of African descent, for the Constitution protected the institution of slavery and, under most state law, those identified as “black” were presumed to be slaves. The 1790 Treaty of New York purported to be an agreement between all U.S. citizens and “all the individuals, towns and tribes of the Upper, Middle and Lower Creeks and Semanories [sic] composing the Creek nation of Indians.” In addition to ceding large tracts of land, the Creeks agreed to deliver all “prisoners and Negroes” in the nation. The Seminoles repudiated the treaty on the grounds that they were not Creeks, had not been represented in the negotiations, and lived in Spanish Florida.

Nonetheless, slaveholders in Georgia and South Carolina pressured the federal government to force Spain to turn over persons of African descent, some of whom had, by the early nineteenth century, been living freely in Florida for five or six generations. As pressure mounted to annex Florida, Congress secretly approved a series of invasions, each of which was repelled by Spanish and Seminole resistance. In May 1816 General Andrew Jackson authorized U.S. troops to attack a Seminole-controlled fort on the Apalachicola River, sixty miles inside Florida. U.S. forces killed 270 Seminoles, mostly women and children. They took the survivors to Georgia and turned them over to planters who, according to Ohio Congressman Joshua Giddings, “claimed to have descended from planters who, some three or four generations previously, owned the ancestors of the prisoners” (Giddings, 1858, 42).

Shortly thereafter, the Seminoles launched a retaliatory attack that was, in turn, used as a pretext by the United States to begin the First Seminole War. In 1819, the United States convinced Spain, drained by the Napoleonic Wars, to sell Florida, setting the stage for thirty years of warfare over the removal of the Seminoles. In 1821, the United States negotiated the Treaty of Indian Springs, under which the Creeks ceded 5 million acres of land. Despite their protests that the Seminoles were a separate nation, more than half of the payment for land was set aside to pay claims of slaveholders for “property” purportedly lost to the Creeks between 1775 and 1802. In exchange for this indemnification, title to this “property”—which included the black Seminoles—was transferred to the United States, to be held in trust for the Creeks.

Having been unsuccessful in controlling the Seminoles through the Creeks, the United States finally acknowledged the existence of the Seminole





nation by entering into the Treaty of Moultrie Creek on September 18, 1823. Under its terms, which the U.S. negotiator candidly acknowledged the “Indians would never have voluntarily assented to,” the Seminoles ceded their fertile land in northern Florida for a large but barren tract farther south and bound them to turn over any “absconding slaves, or fugitives from justice” (Prucha, 1994, 152).

By this time, “Seminoles society had blacks of every status born free, or the descendants of fugitives, or perhaps fugitives themselves. Some were interpreters and advisers of importance, others were warriors and hunters or field hands.” The Treaty of Moultrie Creek was signed by Abraham, a Seminole of African descent identified as “the prime minister and privy counsellor of Micanopy,” and one of the six most influential chiefs involved in the negotiations was known as Mulatto King (Foreman, 1972, 319). Osceola, one of the nation’s best-known leaders, was married to an Estelusti and engaged in some of his most daring exploits to retaliate for his wife having been kidnapped and sold into slavery.

Even General Thomas Jesup, commander of the U.S. forces in Florida, acknowledged the difficulty in distinguishing fugitive slaves from black Seminoles, writing in 1837, “I have some hopes of inducing both Indians and Indian negroes to unite in bringing in the negroes taken from the citizens during the war” (Giddings, 1858, 147). Similarly, after visiting several “Negro Villages” looking for runaways, a white planter complained that he could not determine the number of slaves living among the Seminoles because “of their being protected by the Indian Negroes” (Klos, 1995, 131–132).

After passage of the 1830 Indian Removal Act, the U.S. government attempted to move the Seminoles from Florida to land already occupied by the Creeks—the nation from which the United States had just taken more than \$250,000 in exchange for “title” to a significant sector of the Seminole population. For many Seminoles removal thus equated not only to loss of land, but to being sold into slavery as well. Their resistance led to the Second Seminole War, which lasted from 1835 to 1842. Although military historians have described it as the “longest and most expensive Indian war” waged by the U.S. government, General Jesup insisted that it was “a negro and not an Indian war” (Porter, 1996, 107).

The United States never achieved a military victory over the Seminole nation, but, community by community, most Seminoles were eventually forced west, many living off the generosity of the Chero-

kees until assigned lands of their own. Some remained in the Everglades, living quietly until white settler pressure resulted in the Third Seminole War (1855–1858), which destroyed most of their remaining villages.

After the Civil War and the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, the federal government imposed treaties on the Seminoles and on other Indian nations providing for the emancipation of any slaves and the incorporation of the “freedmen” on an “equal footing with the original members” (14 Stat. 755, Treaty with the Seminoles, March 21, 1866). In 1901, Congress unilaterally declared members of the Five Civilized Tribes, including the Seminoles, to be U.S. citizens and in 1906 effectively abolished the Seminole government and assigned a commission headed by Senator Henry Dawes to provide an accounting, or tribal enrollment, of members of the nation. The Dawes Commission created a list of approximately 3,000 Seminoles, about one-third of whom were of African descent. Although not required to do so, it divided the members between a Seminole Blood Roll and a Freedmen Roll. Reflecting the pervasive racial classifications of contemporaneous Jim Crow laws, the Commission put persons of visible African ancestry on the Freedmen Roll, identifying the remaining Seminoles by a “blood quantum” standard that reflected their degree of European ancestry.

In 1950 and 1951, the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma (SNO) and Seminoles still living in Florida filed claims for compensation for their Florida lands. In 1976 the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) finally awarded \$16 million to the “Seminole Nation as it existed in Florida on September 18, 1823,” the date of the signing of the Treaty of Moultrie Creek. Congress, however, did not pass an act to distribute the monies until 1990, by which time the judgment fund, with interest, had grown to \$56 million.

In 1996 Sylvia Davis, an enrolled member of the Dosar Barkus band of the SNO, filed suit in federal court because the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) denied her son a \$125-school clothing allowance from the funds awarded by the ICC. The BIA, backed by the governing council of the SNO, denied members of the Dosar Barkus and Bruner bands, Seminoles of African descent, access to these funds by arguing that the Estelusti were not members of the Seminole nation as it existed in 1823. Contrary to the historical record of black Seminoles predating the existence of the United States itself, the BIA took





the position that persons of African descent only became members of the nation pursuant to the 1866 treaty.

The leadership of the SNO, apparently under the mistaken impression that all judgment funds would be frozen pending the outcome of the lawsuit, voted to expel the Dosar Barkus and Bruner bands from the SNO and in July 2000 the governing council approved amendments to its constitution to that effect. The BIA refused to recognize the results of SNO elections from which the Freedmen were excluded, a position upheld by a D.C. District Court [U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia] in 2002 (*Seminole Nation of Oklahoma v. Norton*), which subsequently awarded some governmental benefits to the excluded bands. The Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals dismissed Sylvia Davis's suit in 2003 because the SNO could not be joined as a party to the litigation, and the Supreme Court declined to consider the case (*Davis v. United States*). Today about 2,500 of the 14,000 members of the SNO are Estelusti. In 2005 representatives of the Bruner and Dosar Barkus bands, including Sylvia Davis, were elected to positions on the governing council, but the divisions induced by the federal government's long imposition of racialized identity on the Seminoles continue to take their toll.

Natsu Taylor Saito

*See also* African Americans; Creek War; Indian Removal Act; Relocation; Seminole Wars; Slavery; Trail of Tears.

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## Blue Lake, New Mexico

The Taos Pueblo people tell a story, through song, of how they arose from the underworld at Shiabapu and emerged from a lake. From there they migrated to their present place of residence after countless centuries of roaming and guidance by the Great Spirit. In their land, the Pueblo people learned to live in harmony with their environment and prosper. Today, they still live at the site where the Spanish first encountered them in the sixteenth century, although on a much reduced land base, and they still practice their religious traditions handed down from time immemorial.

On November 7, 1906, President Theodore Roosevelt created the Carson National Forest in New Mexico from Pueblo lands and restricted the people of Taos in their use of their sacred Blue Lake. The proclamation stripped the Taos people of title and rights to the land. Many Americans traveled to the beautiful spot for camping and recreation and to boat and fish on the Blue Lake after the Forest Service built cabins and garbage pits there in 1928.

While the struggle for the return of title to Blue Lake was born, the effort continued for the right to conduct religious ceremonies at various shrines around Blue Lake. Indian religious ceremonies had been outlawed by the 1883 Religious Crimes Act. The 1934 Indian Reorganization Act finally abolished the government's control over religious ceremony, but the Taos people were having a difficult time convincing the federal government that their claim to exclusive use title to the Blue Lake was centered on religious issues.

On October 4, 1940, Congress passed a bill giving Taos Pueblo a fifty-year use permit for Blue Lake to continue their religious ceremonies there as well as for collecting food, water, and wood. However, the Forest Service continued to cut trails and issue permits for camping on the sacred land. Eventually the trash that accumulated at Blue Lake desecrated the sacred site.

Many people were involved in the struggle to return Blue Lake to the Pueblo. John Collier was an early and ardent supporter; Seferino Martinez, a Pueblo leader of the 1930s through 1960s, worked to battle against Forest Service timbering and the use of Pueblo lands; Paul J. Bernal, who became instrumental in negotiating between the government and his people; the author Oliver LaFarge, who joined the fight in 1955 and was later replaced by Corinne Locker as coordinator of the return effort; Querino





Romero, governor of Taos Pueblo during the later years of the battle; Juan de Jesus Romero, chief cacique (religious leader) who fought relentlessly, traveling to Washington, D.C., to petition the government for his people.

Initially, the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) offered \$297,684.67, the 1906 valuation of the land, to Taos Pueblo for Blue Lake. By the mid-1960s, however, the ICC felt that the history and religious beliefs of Taos Pueblo supported their title to the land. Instead of payment, the ICC proposed a bill to return the lands.

Oklahoma Senator Fred Harris was instrumental in seeing the return of the lake through the Senate. Fred and his wife LaDonna (Comanche) convinced the Richard M. Nixon administration, including Spiro Agnew, of the centrality of Blue Lake to the Taos Pueblo's religion. The only opposition in the Senate came from Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, who feared the loss of the watershed on Carson National Forest lands.

On December 15, 1970, H.R. Bill 471, which had been introduced by Senators Harris and Ted Kennedy, passed by a vote of seventy to twelve. It returned Blue Lake and 48,000 acres to the Taos Pueblo. President Nixon supported the bill as a vehicle for American Indian self-determination and religious freedom. As he signed Public Law 91-550, Nixon stated that the event was not to be viewed as a gift to Taos Pueblo, but as long overdue justice.

The battle for Blue Lake became a major turning point in the American Indian self-determination movement. Not only did the Taos Pueblo receive their land, but they also gained an education in how to deal with the federal government. In addition, they achieved a sense of unity and support from American Indians all across the country.

Vera Parham

*See also* American Indian Religious Freedom Act; Sacred Sites; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Bole-Marú Religion

The *Bole-Marú* originated in the atmosphere of the late nineteenth century revitalization movement that arose out of Wodziwob's (Gray Hair, Paviotso Piate, Nevada) apocalyptic vision depicting a great natural cataclysmic event destroying ("swallowing up") the living and the dead with only the Natives being resurrected to prosperity. The Pomo tribe, who developed Bole-Marú from the Earth Lodge or Kuksu cult, learned of the apocalyptic visions primarily through Wintun and Hill Patwin tribes when forced together through growing Euro-American encroachment. Bole-Marú became a more adaptive movement than the various versions of the Ghost Dance developed after Wodziwob. The Pomo integrated characteristics derived from different tribes in northern and central California along with increasing knowledge of Euro-American culture and its religions.

During the winter of 1871-1872, the medicine man Richard Taylor predicted that a flood would soon wash away the white people and that those who danced through the deluge in semisubterranean dance houses would survive. The predicted event failed to happen. Participants returned to their communities taking the hope of the prediction with them. Those who returned to their homes modified aspects of Kuksu practices, such as regarding Dreamers as prophets for the people, the use of dance houses, and a dualistic understanding of creation that later blended with Christian concepts of heaven and hell/God and the devil. Kuksu Dreamers were exclusive members of a secret society of men. As the Bole-Marú developed, this exclusivity diminished. Years of contact with the emerging dominant culture decreased Native population and social cohesion, presenting the need for adaptive changes in social life that minimized the loss of traditional values and understanding. Originating among the various communities, Bole-Marú developed as a religious/social political movement combining traditions from various communities. Variations spawned by each new community provided the catalyst for Bole-Marú to survive the conflicts surrounding increasing contact with the Euro-American culture.

In *Keeping Slug Woman Alive*, Greg Sarris (p. 66) says, "Where once there had been many private or secret cults within a tribe, now an entire tribe was united under one cult, the Bole-Marú." The name of the cult itself reflected the diverse influence, *Bole* (hill, Patwin) and *Marú* (eastern Pomo); both





referred to the person leading the ceremonies, who, through dreams, received instruction on many levels. Dreams also influenced the dancing of the participants, their regalia, and the decorations of the dance house. The leaders designed clothing, instruments, dance patterns, feast patterns, and other aspects of the ceremonies, as well as retaining the cohesiveness of the traditional society.

Annie Jarvis, a Kashaya Pomo Dreamer between 1912 and 1943, strengthened Native identity during the time that Bole-Maru was losing influence among other Pomo and coastal Miwok. Mary Jean Kennedy (HRAF 2000 Computer File #24, p. 133) "simultaneously with the development of the Dreamer religion, the people became more involved economically in the dominant culture." Along with the benefits came damaging influences as well. As drinking, gambling, and other such influences became a concern, Kennedy strengthened Native identity by requiring sober participation in ceremonies and by standing against boarding school education and intermarriages. Through her influence and her Dreaming, she brought cohesion, as well as additional Christian influence, to dances and activities. She taught a belief in heaven and a resurrection. She instituted a naming ceremony, blessing a baby by naming it with an Indian name and announcing that name to the Father in heaven.

Assisting Kennedy, Essie Parrish (1903–1979) became the next influential Dreamer. Essie's dreams were more like visions, because they tended to occur while she was awake. She foresaw World War II, the atomic bomb, the coming of a black book, and the influence of a new religion. Throughout her life, she experienced resistance from Pentecostals, who declared that her visions came "from the Devil" and forbade their adherents to participate in Bole-Maru. Eliciting a more sympatric response from the Mormons, Essie converted to that religion, declaring her earlier vision about the black book as the coming of the Mormons.

The Bole-Maru Dreamers incorporated the healing aspects of their older beliefs. Innovations from their dreaming and the wisdom of the adaptation of nontraditional lifestyles created a new cosmology, just as traditional healers did before contact with the dominant society.

*Arthur Robert Brokop II*

*See also* California Indians, Genocide of; Dreamer Cult; Ghost Dance Religion; Wovoka.

## Buffalo

On the High Plains of North America, the buffalo (or bison) was the economic basis of Native American life well into the nineteenth century. When non-Native settlement began to encroach on the area early in that century, an estimated 30 million buffalo lived in an area roughly bordered by present-day Texas, northern Alberta, western New York, to Alabama and Mississippi, and to Idaho and eastern Oregon. Within three quarters of a century, competition from non-Natives, including deliberate slaughter, reduced the buffalo population to about 100,000 animals. By 2004, a concerted effort to replenish buffalo herds had raised population to an estimated quarter of a million.

Most Native peoples worked nature into their rituals and customs because their lives depended on the bounty of the land around them. Where a single animal predominated in a Native economy (such as the salmon of the Pacific Northwest or the buffalo on the Plains), strict cultural sanctions came into play against killing the animals in numbers that would exceed their natural replacement rate. On the Plains, the military societies of the Cheyenne, Lakota, and other peoples enforced rules against hunting buffalo out of season and against taking more animals than a people could use. Many Plains societies had special police who maintained discipline before and during communal buffalo hunts. An individual who began the hunt early could be severely punished.

Before they acquired horses, Native bands sometimes hunted buffalo by herding them over "jumps," cliffs that were nearly invisible to the stampeding animals until they were crowded over the edge by animals behind them. Following such a stampede, the hunters and their wives worked quickly to preserve the meat, often by drying it in the sun to make jerky. In the heat of summer, when buffaloes were usually hunted, undressed meat could spoil in a day.

Native peoples on the Plains used nearly every part of the buffalo in their everyday economies. In addition to the meat that was eaten fresh or preserved as jerky, buffalo hides were tanned and used as teepee covers, moccasin tops, shirts, leggings, dresses and other clothing, bedding, bags, and pouches. Rawhide was used for moccasin soles, snowshoes, shields, rattles and drums, as well as for saddles, bridles, and other horse tack. Buffalo horns were fashioned into cups, spoons and other eating





*Blackfeet Indians chasing buffalo, Three Buttes, Montana. Artwork by John M. Stanley, 1853–1855. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

utensils, toys, and rattles. The bones became knives, arrowheads, shovels, hoes, war clubs, and ceremonial objects, while buffalo hair was used in head-dresses and ropes. Buffalo tails became fly brushes, while the bladder could be fashioned into a water-tight canteen. Buffalo chips (dung) were sometimes used as fuel when wood was unavailable.

Native acquisition of the horse had an immense impact both on the hunting of buffalo and on the economic behavior and social structure of society. A large number of Native societies transformed themselves into roving buffalo hunting bands. A male buffalo can weigh a ton, and can charge at thirty miles an hour. Elite societies of young men skilled at buffalo hunting emerged, forming the basis of the Plains warrior societies.

Before 1870, large buffalo herds still roamed the southern Plains, and many thousands of Native people still lived as they preferred, with the buffalo at the root of their economies. During the 1870s, however, non-Native hunters killed a million buffalo a year on the northern Plains. The railroads ran special excursions along their newly opened tracks from

which self-styled sportsmen shot buffalo from the comfort of their seats.

General Phil Sheridan, one of the foremost Indian fighters in the U.S. Army, viewed the slaughter of the buffalo as a weapon in the Army's arsenal against the last remaining independent Native Americans: "I would not seriously regret the total disappearance of the buffalo from our western prairies, in its effect upon the Indians, regarding it rather as a means of hastening their dependence upon products of the soil," Sheridan said (Morris, 1992, 343). At one point, Sheridan suggested that buffalo poachers be given medals with a dead Buffalo engraved on one side and a discouraged-looking Indian on the other (Morris, 1992, 343). Sheridan, never a man to mince words, remarked that buffalo hunters had done more to defeat the Indians than the entire regular Army. Hunters of the dwindling herds were followed by skinners, who (depending on market conditions) might strip the hides or just remove the slain buffaloes' tongues. No one ever counted the number of buffalo that fell.





By the 1870s, non-Natives were killing more buffalo than were Indians. Of 1.2 million buffalo skins shipped east on the railroads in 1872 and 1873, about 350,000 (28 percent) were supplied by Indians. By that time, the Plains were swarming with unemployed railroad workers, would-be farmers whose homesteads would not sustain their families, and hopeful miners caught between gold rushes. By the time buffalo populations were reduced to levels that would no longer sustain the trade during the 1880s, an estimated 5,000 non-Indian hunters were chasing them.

By the early 1880s, the U.S. Army's version of total war against the Plains Indians had reached its goal: The buffalo were nearly extinct. Ten years earlier, some of the Plains Indians still had an ample supply of food; by the early 1880s, they were reduced, as General Sheridan had intended, to the condition of paupers, without food, shelter, clothing, or any of the necessities of life that had come for so long from the buffalo.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Genocide; Great Sioux Uprising; Horse, Economic Impact.

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## Cahokia

Between roughly 1100 and 1200—a time when settlements in the Americas rarely exceeded 400 or 500 inhabitants—the Native American center of Cahokia was as large as contemporary London, a size that no other city in the United States would attain until the

nineteenth century. The well organized aggregation of mounds and residential districts had a population estimated at 10,000 to 30,000—some sources claim 40,000. Cahokia's distinctive earth mounds (there were a 120 of them) took three forms: conical, ridge top, and, most commonly, platforms, often crowned with ceremonial buildings or the houses of the powerful. At the heart of the city stood the huge ceremonial embankment (now known as Monks Mound) that was in itself a stupendous feat of planning and engineering.

The indigenous American civilization known as Mississippian—no one knows what they called themselves—sprang up in the American Bottom, an extensive fertile floodplain near the confluence of the Mississippi, Missouri, Illinois, Kaskaskia, and Meramec Rivers. Between about 1000 and 1250, they lived near what is now central and east St. Louis and where the Illinois towns of Fairmont City, Dupon, Lebanon, and Mitchell now stand. This suburban concentration was eclipsed by their greatest achievement: Cahokia, dubbed America's lost metropolis. Cahokia was named for the branch of the Illinois people who occupied the region in the seventeenth century, long after the builders had departed.

In terms of both agriculture and trade, Cahokia was perfectly located. The predictable annual flooding of farmland enabled planning and replenished the soil so that maize and other crops were sustainable for centuries. The river systems reaching out to much of North America facilitated trade, and there is evidence of commercial traffic over a network that extended from Minnesota in the north to Mississippi in the south; Cahokian traders reached west as far as Kansas and east to Tennessee. Raw materials such as copper, seashells, and mica were imported and processed in Cahokia to be exported as copper ornaments and shell beads—indications of a sophisticated manufacturing industry. It was once believed that this productive economic environment led to population growth, as Cahokian civilization slowly flowered.

Recently, archaeologist Timothy Pauketat has questioned this conclusion, claiming that there is no evidence for it. Although not all his peers agree, he suggests that Cahokia experienced an urban implosion in little more than a decade early in the eleventh century, growing from a village of only 1,000 people into a city ten times that size. Based on studies of wider Native American beliefs, that event may have been due to the emergence of a charismatic chief whose arrival prompted villagers to abandon their





settlements throughout eastern Missouri and southern Illinois and migrate to Cahokia.

It is now widely accepted that the middle Mississippian area of which Cahokia forms a large part was under some kind of chiefdom government. Each chief—a Brother of the Sun—seems to have ruled a territory that depended on a specific floodplain, and he managed food distribution between the central place and outlying settlements. Perhaps he had other roles, including matters of trade, administration of a civil service, and most probably religiopolitical duties. Little more is known.

However it came into being, the fact of Cahokia is staggering. Its earthen mounds extended over 6 square miles (15 square kilometers). At the heart of the city, defended by a wooden stockade, was the 200-acre (81-hectare) precinct of the ruling class, with the great ceremonial flat-topped mound at its center. The engineers and architects built to a master plan that was almost certainly based on Mississippian cosmology—a sort of model of the universe. Cahokians viewed their universe as Father Sky and Mother Earth, and the layout of streets and structures mirrored that. The northern half of the city rep-

resented Sky, the southern half Earth. They were defined by a long east-west street; another, running northeast, formed a cross symbolizing north, south, east, and west, its center point just in front of the central mound and at the end of a grand plaza. Archaeologists have uncovered four circular solar calendars built of large, evenly spaced red cedar posts at the outer limits of the two streets. These “wood-henges,” so-called because they had the same purpose as Stonehenge in England, were essential to the Cahokians’ agriculture-based economy, both in a practical and a ceremonial sense.

From about 1100 the central precinct, containing seventeen earth mounds, was protected by a 2-mile-long (3.2-kilometer) stockade, constructed from some 15,000 to 20,000 1-foot-thick (30-centimeter) oak and hickory logs. The wall was about 12 feet (3.6 meters) high, with projecting bastions every 70 feet (21 meters) along its length. Outside it, thousands of single-family houses clustered, organized in small groups around ceremonial poles. Although it may have served as a social barrier between the Cahokian elite and the general population, it is clear from its form and the evidence of some hastily built parts



*This photo was taken in 1907, more than 500 years after the mound builders abandoned Cahokia. (Library of Congress)*





that the palisade's main purpose was defense. It was rebuilt three times before 1300.

The inner city of Cahokia was dominated by an enormous platform mound, identified as the largest prehistoric earthwork in the Americas. Surviving today, Monks Mound was named after a Trappist monastery in the vicinity. Its base, measuring 1,037 by 790 feet (291 by 236 meters), extends over 14 acres (5.25 hectares), and the structure rises through four sloping-sided rectangular terraces to a height of 100 feet (30.6 meters). It contains 820,000 cubic yards (692,000 cubic meters) of earth, all of which was hand-excavated from large borrow pits and carried in woven baskets to the site. Monks Mound was built in several stages over about 200 years, with carefully designed strata of sand and clay and drains to deal with water saturation. Long ago, it was crowned with a 50-foot-high (15-meter) thatched roof building of timber-pole construction, 105 by 48 feet (31 by 14 meters). Some scholars identify it as a temple. It was certainly the chief's residence, in which the political and religious observances were conducted that ensured the nation's continuing prosperity. In effect, the mound was a means of lifting Mother Earth to Father Sky, bringing male and female together. That these ancient builders could set out their city with its streets aligned to the cardinal compass points and construct such a durable monument over generations, without having a written language or the wheel, makes their accomplishment the more marvelous.

Around 1200, for reasons that may only be guessed, Cahokia began to decline. Perhaps growth had placed too much burden on the agricultural hinterland or overloaded the urban infrastructure; perhaps deforestation had changed the local ecology. Or perhaps there was civil war over dwindling resources. Other scholars attribute the demise of the city to a mud slide on the great mound, which may have been construed as an omen. No one really knows. And no one knows where the Cahokians went. By 1400 their remarkable metropolis was abandoned. Arriving much later in the area, the first Europeans mistook the mounds, overgrown by then, for natural hillocks. Monks Mound was not discovered until the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Modern farming, expanding towns, highways, and pollution continue to threaten the smaller communities around Cahokia that have not already been destroyed. The 2,200-acre (890-hectare) Cahokia Mounds State Historic Site is administered by the Illinois Historic Preservation Agency. It was added to

UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1982. Archaeological investigation continues. Following major slumps on the east and west sides of Monks Mound in the mid-1980s, attempts were made to reduce internal waterlogging. In January 1998 construction workers, drilling horizontally into the west side, struck a deep layer of limestone or sandstone cobbles 40 feet (12 meters) beneath the surface. Further tests were hampered by groundwater, but the find has excited scientists because stone does not naturally occur in the region. There is much more to be revealed at Cahokia.

C. S. Everett

*See also* Adena Civilization; Archaeology; Hopewell Culture; Mississippian Culture; Mound Cultures of North America; Natchez Culture; Trade.

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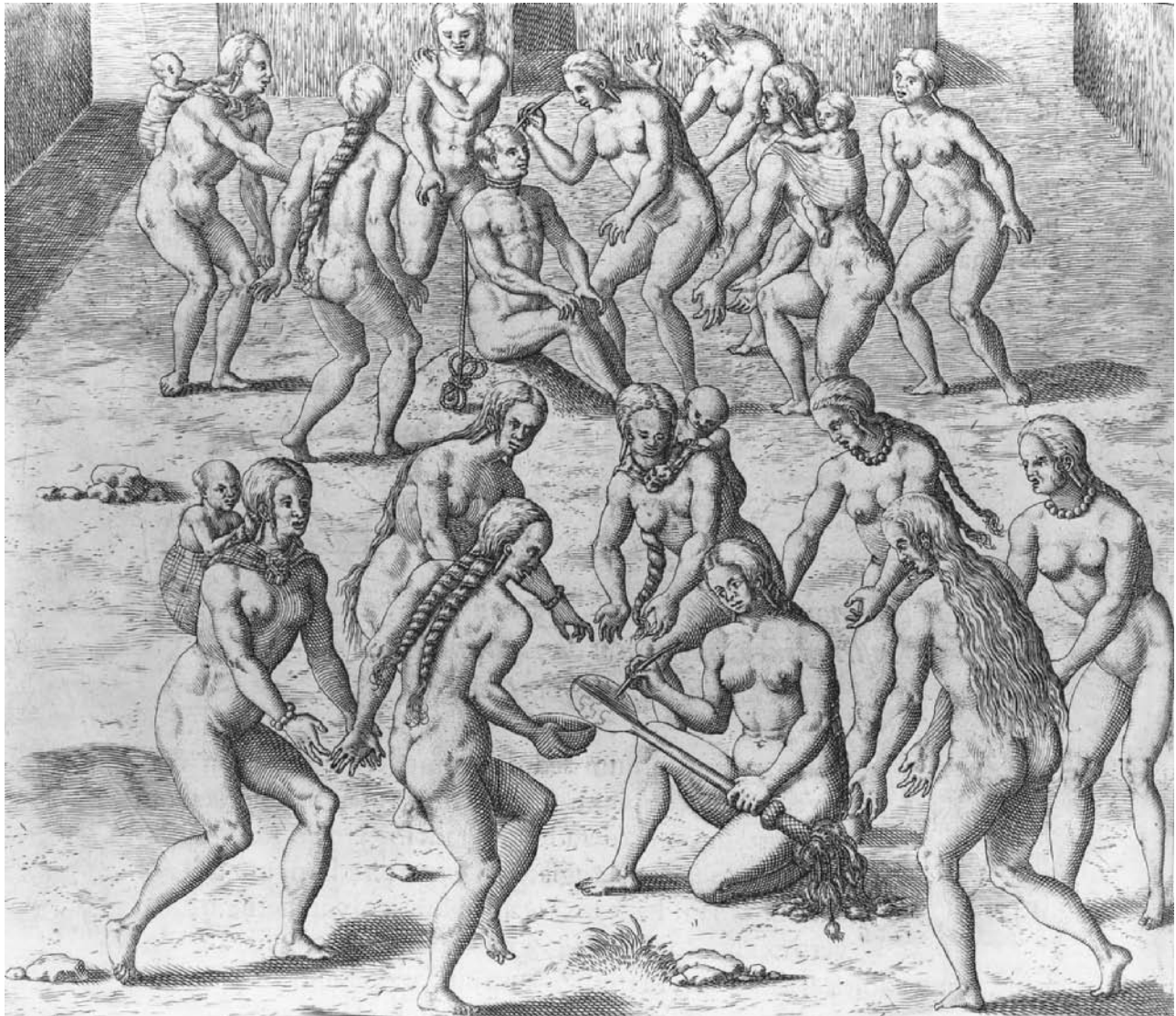
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## Cannibalism

The ritually sanctioned consumption of human flesh by North American indigenous peoples is a widely debated subject among scholars in anthropology, ethnohistory, and Native studies. In fact, a vast amount of the secondary literature on the subject deals with debates regarding whether the practice ever occurred in the Americas. For decades ritual cannibalism (anthropophagy) was uncritically accepted either as an indicator of Native ferocity and savagery (and therefore justification for missionization and exterminative practices on the part of colonizers) or as one aspect of Native peoples' deeply ceremonial practice of warfare. William Arens' 1979 book, *The Man-Eating Myth*, called into question the anthropological assertion that cannibalism in Native North America was a frequent and large-scale socially sanctioned practice, and thus it opened up the discourse on the act of cannibalism as both practice and symbol. Other scholars contend that ritual or ceremonial cannibalism was a regular part of many indigenous American societies.

Many scholars maintain that, because the history of North America depends so heavily on written sources that largely represent the colonizer's point of view, any discussion of cannibalism must consider





*This colonialist depiction of a group of Native Americans portrays the alleged “ceremonies and methods of killing and eating enemies” employed by the savage cannibals who populated the North American continent in the imaginations of those who settled the New World. Such sensationalized distortions of the Native population, along with their susceptibility to foreign diseases and lack of military technology, contributed to their eventual slavery and decimation. (Library of Congress)*

the Eurocentric bias inherent to the primary sources from which much of our information is drawn. From Christopher Columbus’s first writings in America onward, cannibalism appears to have been an act Europeans expected to find among the newly encountered indigenous peoples. While use of the word “anthropophagous” to refer to the consumption of human flesh dates to antiquity, “cannibal” has its origins during the invasion of the Americas. The term evolved from Carib/Canib, the name applied by the Arawaks to their apparently ferocious neighbors and subsequently used by Europeans. This idea

spread, appearing in works from Columbus to Shakespeare, such that, by the early eighteenth century, “cannibal” and “anthropophagus” were synonyms (Hulme, 1986, 67–73). “Cannibal” came to denote any person or group who ate human flesh.

Some scholars, including Arens, agree that whatever actual cannibalism may have occurred in the Americas was very likely exaggerated by the European worldview that expected to find cannibalism everywhere (Barker et al., 1998, 42). Numerous books that were widely read in medieval and early modern Europe, including those by Augustine,





Pliny, John Mandeville, and Marco Polo, created a vast catalogue of grotesque qualities, placing cannibals alongside dog-headed men and amazons, labels ready to be applied to America's exotic indigenous "others" (Hulme, 1986, 21).

Arens suggests that no convincing first-hand eyewitness accounts of indigenous cannibalism exist in the historical or ethnographic record (Barker et al., 1998, 21). Further, Ward Churchill's (Cherokee/Metis) 2000 review article in *American Archaeologist* asserts that institutionalized cannibalism among Native groups was an invention of Eurocentric scholarship meant to systematically defile preinvasion Native cultures (Churchill, 2000, 278–280). Alternately, opponents of Arens and Churchill suggest that ritual cannibalism was a regular part of many North American indigenous societies. Some scholars assert that the human flesh of warriors often was consumed in order to incorporate the warrior's bravery. Peggy Reeves Sanday suggests that the Hotinonshonni (Iroquois) "were indiscriminant in their search for torture victims to appease their war god" (Sanday, 1986, 127).

However, Wendat (Huron) historian Georges Sioui allows that some ritual cannibalism occurred among his Wendat and other Hotinonshonni (Iroquoian-speaking) peoples. Sioui maintains that this practice occurred only in cases of extreme grief, when a (usually male) captive would be executed and small amounts of the person were eaten, in order to both honor the captive and to engage in collective healing on the part of the captors (Sioui, 1999, 173–174). Sioui's indigenous perspective presents a useful middle ground on the historical debate surrounding cannibalism. Anthropological, ethnohistorical, and Native studies evidence suggests that cannibalism likely occurred in ritual settings to varying degrees across the Americas. However, the point that these occurrences may have been exaggerated in the European-authored literature to exaggerate Native ferocity and therefore to justify colonization remains a key issue, and something of the utmost importance when considering the veracity of primary sources.

Daniel Morley Johnson

See also Warfare, Intertribal; Worldview and Values.

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## Canoes

Aboriginal oral traditions in northeastern North America recall the significance of the canoe in Native American history. Early in the twentieth century, the hereditary chief Peterwegeschick recalled that, in the 1820s, the citizens of the Bkejwanong First Nation (also known as the Walpole Island First Nation) participated in extensive trade, among other places, at Detroit and that his father "went there to trade when he was very small. He told me [Chief Peterwegeschick] that the St. Clair was often black with canoes in their journeying to the trading post at Detroit." The canoe, especially its birchbark variety was, for at least five centuries, the most important aboriginal device of technology; it was an essential part of their knowledge and was shared with the European newcomers. The canoe, in war, diplomacy, and trade, was the principal means by which aboriginal autonomy and sovereignty were long secured.

The English word "canoe" is derived from the Arawak (Taino) word for boat. In the fifteenth century, the Spanish appropriated the Arawak word, and it became "canoa." The term was used at the time of Christopher Columbus's voyages to the Caribbean to indicate a hollowed-out log used by "uncivilized Nations" as a boat that is propelled by paddles through the water. The Ojibwa word for canoe is "chiimaan (an)" (boat[s]). Indeed the major water transportation from the southern Ontario mainland to Manitoulin Island and the north country is by the modern ferry aptly named the *Che-Che-maun*, or big canoe.

The history of aboriginal people has been traditionally maintained through oral traditions. Central to these stories are those of creation. Their focus is on water as an integral part of the four natural elements of earth, water, air, and fire, and the canoe





links these elements. For aboriginal people the canoe is spiritual in its origin. Resting horizontally across a plane of water and with a paddle held vertically, the canoe represents the four sacred directions. As such, it is a holistic representation or symbol of life and the human journey through the mortal world to the world of the spirits. In yet another dimension, the canoe still is, as Blake Debassige has shown, a veritable “celestial craft of souls.” It is a metaphor related to the creation of Turtle Island–North America. One example is that of the muskrat in the story from Ojibwa mythology. In this story, the canoe is the huge log on which the Anishinabe, or Original Man, managed to climb after the Great Flood covered the surface of the earth. Some of the earliest canoes on Turtle Island were, of course, hollowed-out logs. And so the water and the canoe came before the land. The canoe provides the vehicle for reaching the four directions and provides the principle of balance, connecting the four natural elements of earth, water, air, and fire. The canoe is spiritual; yet it is also a practical form of aboriginal science as well as art. Aboriginal technology and science are ecologically based on knowledge of the natural and supernatural worlds.

One of the greatest gifts from aboriginal people was the technology of the birchbark canoe. Birchbark was extremely light and plentiful in the Great Lakes watershed. Moreover, in addition to the making of canoes, birchbark was used for fuel, the making of lodges, and maps to guide travellers in the canoe to their destination, aided by the star maps at night. So valuable was this scientific invention that it was soon appropriated by the European visitors for use by missionaries, explorers, the military, professional artists, as well as fur traders. It can be found in the monumental canoe sculpture by Bill Reid, “The Spirit of Haida Gwaii,” which stands now in front of the Canadian Embassy in Washington, D.C. James Tully has described it as follows: “Cast in bronze, it recreates a group of thirteen human, animal and bird figures interacting with each other as they head into the unknown in a Haida canoe, under the guidance of Chief Kilstlaai. Wrapped in the skin of the mythical sea wolf and holding a speaker’s staff that tells the Haida story of creation.”

The canoe is the central or focal point to the international relationship that is represented in the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Two Row Wampum belt. Made from wampum shells by aboriginal artists, the belt represented the main gift of Native diplomacy



*Indians in North Carolina fishing with traps, spears, and nets. Artwork by John White, 1885. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

to the European empires. There is a specific relationship characterized in the belt. The belt has two rows of purple wampum on a white background. One row represents the aboriginal nations; parallel to it is the other row symbolizing the European nations. The two rows are emblematic of two canoes being paddled down a river side by side but never meeting. This relationship was used in diplomacy and trade between Europeans and aboriginal people, in peace negotiations after warfare. It also was subsequently embodied in the treaty-making process, which included both peace and friendship as well as arrangements regarding the uses of lands and natural resources.

The Two Row Wampum embodied the relationship between the English imperial government and the aboriginal nations. The latter included the Iroquois Confederacy; the Abenaki, Malecite, Mi'kmaq





Confederacies; and the western confederacy of Algonquian-speaking peoples, such as the Ojibwa, Ottawa (Odawa), and Potawatomi, among others. The wampum itself represented the relationship as one of peace, respect, and trust. The Covenant Chain was continually renewed by both the English crown, the Haudenosaunee, and the Anishinabe. Later, other aboriginal nations entered into the Covenant Chain as well. For the Iroquoian and Algonquian-speaking aboriginal nations as well as the European nations, it continued to be an important fixture of international diplomacy, war, and trade throughout the shifting conflicts and realignments wrought by the European incursions in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Above all, the Chain showed the continuing sovereignty and independence of aboriginal nations in an international context. The most famous of these events occurred in 1609, one year after Quebec was founded. The French alliance, which included a force of Algonquin, Huron, and Montagnais, was cemented militarily when Samuel de Champlain canoed into the very heart of the Iroquois territory in what is now New York State and defeated the Iroquois at Ticonderoga. Champlain, using European technology—an arquebus—killed two of the Iroquois chiefs, thereby at once consolidating the French alliance with these nations and also igniting a series of wars that lasted through the century. The Iroquois became the allies of the Dutch and then the English.

Champlain understood the significance of the canoe when he wrote back to his French superiors: “With the canoe of the savages, one may travel freely and quickly throughout the country as well as up the little rivers as up the large rivers. So that by directing one’s course with the help of the savages and their canoes, a man might see all that is to be seen, good or bad, within the space of a year or two.” To consolidate their presence, the French sent both explorers such as Etienne Brule and priests into the northern interior of the Great Lakes. French travel through what became known as Canada could have been accomplished only by using Anishinabe guides who were able to “read” the landscape, make birchbark maps, and possessed the technology of which the canoe was of paramount importance for most of the year. In the Canadian winter, canoes were replaced on the frozen land and waterways by Anishinabe toboggans and snowshoes, both of which enabled Europeans to adapt to the new land that they had encountered. Failure to use Anishinabe technology would have meant defeat for the Europeans, who

soon recognized the principle that the land is, as Gary G. Potts has frequently asserted, the boss. Failure to show proper respect would result in death. By the end of the seventeenth century, the Iroquois could only sue for peace with their Anishinabe and French enemies, and a treaty was entered into at Montreal among the Five Nations and the French in 1701. By its terms, the Iroquois were no longer a military factor north of the Great Lakes.

One of the major results of canoe warfare was to shift the French influence south and west and to consolidate the English empire’s hold on James and Hudson Bays and the fur trade of that region. This was also a major factor in the demise of the French empire in the Seven Years Wars (ca. 1755–1763), when the French tried to take over the Ohio valley from the Seneca and the encroaching Virginians. The resistance movement, which began in May of 1763 and was led by Pontiac, was fought by the Anishinabe nations of northeastern North America against the British imperial government in the Great Lakes area to protect their traditional territories and cultures from “frauds and abuses.” Two of the key battles fought in this war included a significant role for the canoe in Anishinabe victories against the English at Michilimackinac and at the siege of Detroit. In June, more than four hundred warriors arrived by birchbark canoe at Michilimackinac and, using the ruse of a game of baggawataway (lacrosse), were able to capture this English fort and trading station, killing seventy out of the ninety English troops and capturing the remainder. So successful was this victory that, using the speed of the canoe, the word of the battle reached Detroit and then another English fort soon thereafter. Again using their canoes, a number of the warriors were able to come from the northern lakes to lay siege to Detroit later that same summer. Although the fort did not fall, the Anishinabe nations initiated peace negotiations under the Covenant Chain of Silver and the resistance movement ended, successfully achieving its objectives. In this resistance movement the Anishinabe nations were not conquered. Even after the war, Sir William Johnson indicated that the English imperial government feared the military power of the Western Confederacy of nations and wished to come to terms with them in a treaty.

The Royal Proclamation of 1763 was promulgated by King George III after the Seven Years War, partly in response to the Anishinabe resistance movement. The proclamation was an English imperial document, among other things, that established





the administrative framework for the new English colonies in Quebec and in the rest of North America. It also recognized and reaffirmed the “Indian territory.” It established English imperial rules for the treaty-making process under the Covenant Chain as well as for aboriginal trade with nonaboriginal people. The proclamation also recognized the significance of the aboriginal trading system and, with it by extension, the canoe.

During the American Revolution, the canoe was dominated by the larger ships and cannon of the Royal Navy on the Great Lakes. One of the aboriginal objectives, intended to mitigate this “disaster” for themselves and enable them to survive into the twentieth century and beyond, was to try to dovetail their situation with English imperial strategies of trade, of land and emigration policies, and ultimately of white colonization. This they tried to do by entering into a renewed treaty-making process that would safeguard their hunting territories, their waters, and their economies built on the back of the birchbark canoe. For example, treaties were entered into in the 1780s and 1790s to lease or share certain areas with settlers while retaining Anishinabe sovereignty and water rights. The rights to the aboriginal trade and free trade were synonymous, and these rights were intended by British imperial policy to protect the aboriginal nations at a time when Britain was relinquishing its western posts (1796). They were also to be safeguarded in the treaty-making process. The primary motivating factor was the real English fear that, if these rights were not reaffirmed, there would be an “Indian war” in the Great Lakes that would have, they thought, resulted in the loss of upper Canada for the English imperial government. These treaties are still at issue today and the subject of major litigious battles in Canada’s courts.

The canoe was the preeminent vehicle for transport and trade. The tradition of aboriginal trade and trading was primarily focused on the waterways flowing to the Atlantic and Arctic coasts, the Saint Lawrence River Valley, the Great Lakes, and the Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys, as well as to the Northwest. In Canada, land became a subject of trade largely through the treaty-making process. It was only much later when these empires, with their military capabilities became overwhelming in terms of manpower, sea power, and arms, that the aboriginal trade became severely disrupted. Gradually, throughout the nineteenth century, the aboriginal trading networks either went underground or shifted northward and north westward—but they

never disappeared. In the late eighteenth century, in response to the aboriginal control of the trade and the presence of Montreal peddlers, the Hudson’s Bay Company’s traders set up secondary posts inland to attempt to effect more control over the fur trade. The first permanent inland post was established at Cumberland House on Pine Tree Island on the Saskatchewan River in 1783. Thereafter the company did not succeed in controlling the trade, having less than 20 percent of its total. Even then, in the north and the west for much of the nineteenth century the role of canoes in this trade remained of considerable significance until World War II, when bush planes proliferated and became a new means of travel and when limited road networks were built into Canada’s vast northern region.

This trade, out of Montreal and into the Great Lakes, Laurentian Shield, and the Ohio Valley, was carried on by aboriginal and Metis in conjunction with many Scottish and Irish traders, like Peter Pond and John Askin, Sr. (1738–1815) of Detroit, in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. It spanned all parts of northeastern North America, a vast geographical area. It lasted for more than 400 years. Peter Pond has left us this description of the canoes and trade from 1774 when he arrived at Prairie du Chien for the annual rendezvous:

[W]e saw a large collection from every part of the Mississippi who had arrived before us, even from Orleans eight hundred leagues below us. The Indian camp exceeded a mile and a half in length. Here was a sport of all sorts. The French were very numerous. There was not less than one hundred and thirty canoes which came from Mackinac, carrying sixty to eighty hundred weight apiece, all made of birchbark and white cedar for the ribs. These boats from Orleans and Illinois and other parts were numerous.

During the War of 1812, along with the famous role played by Tecumseh, Anishinabe warriors, using birchbark canoes, defended the Indian territory against another American invasion, assisting in the defense of upper Canada and thereby its maintenance as a colony in the British empire for their English allies. At first the Six Nations tried to remain neutral for the first few months of this war, causing much anxiety among the English military establishment. But soon they were heavily participating in the battle of Queenston Heights and later





in the battle of Chippewa (where, ironically, Iroquois were also fighting on the American side). Farther west, the Three Fires Confederacy once again rose to the occasion and inflicted early and overwhelming defeats on the Americans using the birchbark canoe as the most important tried-and-true methods of the speed of forest warfare. During the summer of 1812, the Ojibwas and Ottawas captured Fort Michilimackinac by means of a canoe invasion, and this was followed by victories in the south at Brownstown, Magauaga, which led to the capture of Detroit in August of that year. Indeed, Detroit fell largely because the American commander, General William Hull, both feared the Indians and believed that he was surrounded by thousands of them. They also fought successfully at battles at York (Toronto), Beaver Dam, and Lundy's Lane (Niagara). Yet the War of 1812–1814, a “turntable in Canada’s history” (Olive Patricia Dickason, in “A Concise History of Canada’s First Nations”, changed fundamentally the military balance of power in northeastern North America. From the perspective of the English imperial government, the aboriginal nations were no longer required as military allies. This war signalled a 150-year decline in the military significance of the birchbark nations in what is now seen as the southern Canada–Great Lakes basin.

The aboriginal nations—largely thanks to their indomitable spiritual values, of which the canoe is symbolic—have survived and have undergone a renaissance in the twenty-first century. In Canada’s north and west, the canoe and the kayak have remained paramount. The indomitable spirit of Tecumseh remains to this day, like the birchbark canoe, personifying the will of the aboriginal nations to resist and to survive in the modern world.

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*See also* Environment and Pollution; Fur Trade; New France and Natives; Trade.

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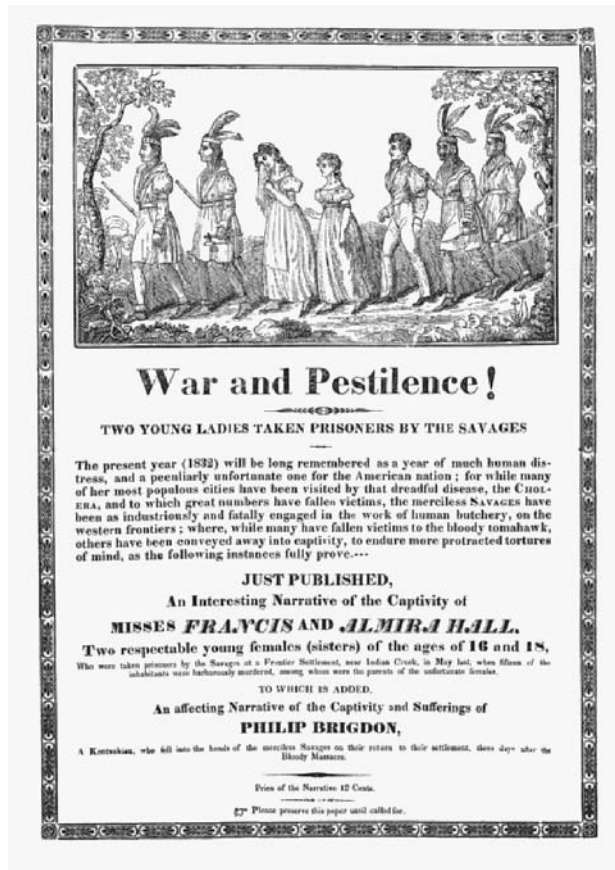
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## Captivity Narrative

A captivity narrative is a story told by a white person who experienced capture by Indians and his or her return to white society. Sometimes, these accounts were dictated to another person, such as a minister, who oversaw the publication. Of the many such stories published in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by the captives and their ministers, some accounts bore heavy religious themes of Christian faith testing and redemption. The act of being taken captive by Native Americans was often seen as a sort of biblical punishment for failing to meet God’s expectations as a Christian. Therefore, enduring hardship was a necessary element of the narrative. The captivity narrative genre was an autobiographical or, many times, a biographical account of a New England colonist’s encounter with Indian cultures and eventual return to Puritan culture. However, for readers who read or heard them from the pulpits as part of sermons at New England meetinghouses, they were seen as a journey of the sinful soul to forgiveness and restoration to God and the Christian community. For the captives to return to and accept their own white community, the actual writers of the narratives made the Native American community appear monstrous and terrible, using language to demean them as agents of the devil to emphasize or exaggerate their conduct toward the white captives. Demonizing Indians gave the readers no doubt as to who possessed divine Christian virtue or on who it was bestowed.

While the attempt to equate captivity to Christian redemption overshadows the individual’s actual experience among the Native Americans, the latter is still present. Another important element missing or lacking in the accounts is the fact that far more captives did not return to white society than did. Perhaps not surprisingly, non-Native America found it highly disturbing that their members could choose





This poster advertises a book written about the kidnapping of two white women by Native Americans in the early nineteenth century. This genre of literature, called captivity narrative, was often sensationalistic and exploited white fears of Native Americans. (Library of Congress)

to remain among indigenous nations rather than their white cultures. Of those captives who did return, their accounts were written to reaffirm their allegiance to the white community.

Beginning in 1682 with the publication of Mary Rowlandson's account of her capture and later return to white society in *The Sovereignty and Goodness of God, Together with the Faithfulness of his Promises Displayed being a Narrative of the Captivity and restoration of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson*, captivity narratives have long intrigued readers. Many of them became best sellers in their era and long after. Other noted early captivity narratives are *The Redeemed Captive* by John Williams (1704), as well as various captivity narratives authored by Cotton Mather about Hannah Swarton (1697), Hannah Dustan (1697), again John Williams (1706), Mary French (1706), and Hannah Bradley (1707).

However, as the eighteenth century wore on, the form of the captivity narrative shifted away from redemption and restoration to become more of a metaphoric fable. After the Boston Massacre, newly added prefaces to republished accounts like Mary Rowlandson's manipulated the captivity narratives for political purposes, turning the story of a woman captured by Native Americans into a metaphor of the struggle of the American colonies (as the character of Mary Rowlandson) against the mother country, Great Britain (Indian captors). Hence, the military power of the Indians threatened the liberty of the Mary Rowlandsons. Through this fabled tale of perseverance, American colonists could overthrow the English tyrant, King George, and be restored to their liberty.

Later captivity narratives from the late eighteenth and into the nineteenth century focus less on Christian moralizing and more on the narrative quality of telling a story, complete with climactic drama. Some of these captivity narratives were so embellished by coauthors (not necessarily by the real captive) that they became more fiction than a factual account of the person's experiences. However, their emphasis remained centered on a white person being taken into captivity by indigenous people, and that emphasis fueled the expansionist policies of the U.S. government. As literacy levels rose, and as the territories of the United States expanded, Americans became increasingly intrigued by the idea of traveling to Indian lands to control and even destroy the Indian nations.

Captivity narratives may reveal important ethnographic information to the reader. Many of these accounts have left a textual record, however biased, of the cultures and mannerisms of some Native nations in the early contact period. Some accounts contradicted descriptions of Indians as the vile people depicted in other captivity narratives. Indeed, it was often the case that surviving captives were adopted into Native family situations, learning the kindness and generosity of their captors.

At other times, captivity narratives reveal the conflicted realities of being a witness to the intimacies of the policies on indigenous nations. For instance, in August 1812, James Van Horne was an infantry private, posted at Fort Dearborn, now modern-day Chicago. His garrison had been ordered to advance to Fort Wayne, approximately 250 miles southeast, to help defend Detroit against the British. Among the sand hills of western Lake Michigan, a mile south of the fort, his garrison met a strategic





ambush led predominately by 500 Potawatomi and Winnebago (Ho-Chunk) warriors. Within fifteen minutes of battle, according to his narrative, the Indian nations secured surrender and led the survivors back to the fort. From there, over the coming afternoon and night, prisoners were divided up among various tribes, and Van Horne was made a prisoner of a family led by an old man. The next morning, he journeyed southwest with his captors into the Illinois prairie in an area that is now Kane and Kendall Counties of Illinois.

As he entered the village, his master prevented fellow tribesmen from killing Van Horne. Over the coming weeks, he feared for his life but actually had a good deal of freedom to move around in the village. His master named him *Shessup*, meaning duck, which he attributed to his being short. It appears his master knew some English and was able to communicate with him to some degree. Soon, his American clothing was removed, his skin was rubbed with yellow clay, his beard was plucked out, and his head was shaved. Although he had met up with white traders along the way, asking them to ransom him, they all refused. In the meantime, he took on the tasks his master required of him, doing all he could to be compliant. In the late fall, he helped his master hunt. In February, he relates that they moved out of the village to go to the sugar camps. In April, along with packs of furs, he was bought by traders of French descent; he was then sent on to Detroit to be taken prisoner by the British.

Van Horne's account is interesting for the information, prior to white settlement, on the activities this particular Potawatomi village engaged in and the times of the year they engaged in them. He relates the unhappy fortunes of some of his fellow prisoners, but without language colored with demeaning adjectives and expletives toward the victors, as is found in earlier captivity narratives. Van Horne was a soldier, taken prisoner by his enemy, and exchanged. Such is this particular type of captivity narrative.

Sally Bennett

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## Ceremonies, Criminalization of

The institutions of Christian religion are among the prominent forces that have eclipsed Native American sovereignty. Unfortunately, the most basic beliefs of Christianity—love of neighbor as self and the brotherhood of all mankind—were not fully practiced by many of the so-called believers when they made contact with Native Americans. Instead they were guided by other religious notions—that only believers could find eternal salvation, that nonbelievers must be converted, that those who rejected conversion were beyond the enjoyment of basic human liberties. The first Spanish conquistadors justified military conquests of the Native peoples on the basis of these "Christian" ideals. Missionaries stripped Native Americans of their cultural identities and even reduced some individuals to slavery and peonage in efforts to convert them. Certainly, conversions to Christianity were won with love and proper persuasion. However, most contacts between the European Christian world and the Native Americans lacked the true spirit of Christianity.

Cultural conflict and the degradation of sovereignty sprang from the fact that Christian institutions are not focused on specific places and specific people. Religious leaders felt a need to spread the belief system to all peoples everywhere. They interpreted the absence of Christianity among Native Americans as an absence of all religion. However, Native peoples did have developed religious belief





systems and rituals well before the time of contact with Europeans.

Although traditional Native American religions shared many attributes that set them apart from Christianity, there were also religious distinctions among the tribes. Native nations that relied on hunting and gathering for their sustenance used animal ceremonialism; agricultural nations featured rain and fertility rituals in their religions. Hunting groups focused on a male supreme being, while the agricultural societies worshipped both gods and goddesses. The agricultural nations saw creation coming out of the ground, and spirits returned to the earth after death and burial. For this reason burial places are of central importance. Hunting societies looked toward the sky as the source of both creation and heavenly afterlife (Hultkrantz, 1993, 257–282).

The traditional Native American nations were tied to specific geographical places—even if they migrated as seasonal hunters or gatherers. Therefore, their religions are much more place specific than Christian sects. Christianity assigns sacred meanings to locations such as Bethlehem and Jerusalem; however, Native places are less the objects of worship than they are specific mountains or lakes or woods perhaps representing the place where a nation of peoples was created or ended a long migration. As the Jewish nation considers Israel to be a sacred land given to them by God, the Navajo Nation considers their Arizona and New Mexico lands to be sacred. The boundaries of their home are four sacred mountains: the Big Sheep Peak to the north, Mount Taylor to the south, the San Francisco Peaks to the west, and Peludo Mountain in the east. To have these mountains near



*Cheyennes and Arapahoes perform a ghost dance, one of the first Indian ceremonies to be formally criminalized by the U.S. government. (Library of Congress)*





and to be able to worship in the mountains is a critical factor in Navajo religion—much as the Wailing Wall of Jerusalem is a critical place for the Jewish faithful (Deloria, 1994, 267–282).

The historical hostility of Christians to Native American religions stemmed not only from a desire to convert but also from the desire to control the lands of the Native American nations. Conflict was inevitable as Euro-Americans recognized Native rituals not as the religious ceremonies they were but as elements in a power struggle for a continent. A misreading of a religious ceremony, confusing it for a desire for a political uprising against the Euro-Americans, led federal government officials—reservation agents and military commanders—into one of the most tragic episodes in the history of the United States.

On the first day of 1889 the Paiute prophet Wovoka had a vision in which he saw the Creator and was told to instruct Native peoples to live in peace with whites and to participate in a “dance in a circle.” If they did this they would be able to travel to the other world where they would be reunited with their friends and relatives. Wovoka’s teachings quickly spread and they became known as the Ghost Dance Religion. Although it was a ritual of peace, the federal government attempted to suppress the Ghost Dance. A band of Lakota Sioux under Big Foot persisted in the ceremony. A series of miscommunications and blunders by government officials culminated in disaster. In December 1890, federal troops opened fire on the band, killing several hundred men, women, and children. It was the worst mass killing of Native Americans by the military in U.S. history (Waldman and Braun, 1985, 158–159).

Other Native American ceremonies and rituals were also banned or suppressed by the government. The Sun Dance involved flesh piercing and long periods of gazing into the sun, during which time a tribal member would experience visions. The dance was included in a general ceremony of friendship and thanksgiving, but the U.S. government saw it differently. The dance was made a punishable offense in 1883. Tribes engaging in the ceremony could have supplies promised in treaties denied to them.

Northern Pacific nations had a ceremony called the potlatch. The ritual built tribal solidarity because individuals would give away their possessions to other members of their group. Christians also sought to suppress this ritual, although the ceremony did seem to reflect teachings of Christ. Nineteenth-century Christians, however, saw the potlatch as antithetical to their newfound capitalist

value system, a system that had been successfully merged with their biblical teachings (e.g., the Protestant ethic). In Canada, the government made the practice of the potlatch a criminal offense (Waldman and Braun 1985, 192; Champagne, 1994b, 230).

Native Americans utilized the peyote plant for religious and medicinal purposes long before their first contact with Europeans. Peyote ceremonies became widespread among western and southwestern nations in the late nineteenth century. The active ingredient in peyote is a mind-altering stimulant called mescaline. During all-night prayer sessions the peyote is either chewed or ingested as a tea. Participants in the ceremonies may have visions, hallucinations, or even out-of-body experiences. They also may experience nausea.

As the peyote ceremonies became popular among tribes across the country, opposition to the use of peyote developed. Traditional tribal religious leaders—shaman and medicine men—opposed it. Some tribes passed rules against the use of peyote and the peyote ceremonies. Government officials—both federal and state—considered peyote to be an illegal substance. Several states passed laws against its use, and general federal drug laws were interpreted at times to include bans on its use. In an attempt to have its use brought under the protection of religious freedoms, members of several tribes established the Native American Church in 1918, to which only Native Americans could belong. Peyotism was incorporated into its beliefs and activities. Aside from holding peyote ceremonies, the Native American Church was similar to other Christian organizations. It advocated self-respect, brotherhood among Native Americans, morality, sobriety, and charity; today it has about 400,000 members (Stewart, 1987).

In 1954 a court ruling repudiated the idea that peyote use could be covered by the First Amendment’s protections of the free exercise of religion. In 1970 peyote was classified as a hallucinogen under the Controlled Substance Act. At the same time, however, the Native American Church began to win support for its position. Several states recognized the ceremonies as proper religious activities and exempted them from their drug enforcement concerns. By 1990, twenty-eight states allowed peyote for Native American religious exercises, while twenty-two did not.

The uneven treatment of the ceremonies became a matter of serious debate after the Supreme Court ruled in *Employment Division, Department of*





*Human Resources of Oregon v. Smith* (1990) that a state could fire a civil servant for simply having participated in such a ceremony. Pressures on Congress were successful and in 1994 Native American religious use of peyote won a general exemption from all drug enforcement activities (Getches et al., 1993, 752–767; Peregoy, 1995, 1).

Native Americans also use eagle feathers in religious ceremonies, and they revere them as sacred objects. However, to get feathers, birds usually must be killed. The Bald Eagle Protection Act (1972) prohibited the killing of the birds. In recognition of the religious nature of the feathers, the Secretary of the Interior can issue permits to Native Americans allowing them to selectively take eagles as long as the overall conservation mandate of the legislation is met. The killing of the eagles must be strictly and solely for the purpose of gaining religious feathers for Native peoples (Getches et al., 1993, 765–766).

Native American medicine men have also won an exemption to customs searches of their sacred medicine bags. The medicine men would travel to Canada to gather herbs, rocks, shells, arrowheads, and other objects for their bags. The bags would then be used in healing rituals. However, if a bag was opened by a nonholy person, such as a government customs official, its religious powers would be wasted.

Recent decades have seen attempts by the federal government to reverse old policies of suppression of Native peoples and to replace them with policies supporting Native American lifestyles. This has been quite evident in the field of religion.

One decision of great symbolic and theoretical importance came with the passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968. This congressional action has also been called the Indian Bill of Rights. However, the practical impact of the Act has not been significant. The U.S. Bill of Rights (essentially provisions on habeas corpus and bills of attainder in the body of the Constitution as well as the first ten amendments and the Fourteenth Amendment) protects persons from arbitrary actions taken by federal and state (and local) governments.

Native American tribal governments have been in a kind of no man's land—being neither the U.S. government nor a state government. For more than 100 years, courts refused to impose the protections of the Bill of Rights to persons (for the most part Native Americans) in their relationships with tribal governments. As a practical matter, most of the

tribal governments established since the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (and many before) had protective bills of rights in their own constitutions. Some did not.

The Act of 1968 specified that most of the protections of the Bill of Rights would apply to all Native American reservations. Of major importance was the provision establishing the right of habeas corpus. The Act also guaranteed that people would enjoy a free exercise of religion on reservation lands. However, one noticeable omission from the Act was the prohibition against the establishment of religion. The national government can do nothing about the establishment of a national church, and state governments are not permitted to establish religions. However, today a tribal government may take actions that would establish an official religion. Native American religions may receive tribal funds, even if the ultimate source of the funds is the federal government. Religious ceremonies may be sponsored by the tribes, unless the tribes themselves prohibit such religious establishments.

In 1978 Congress felt a further need to support the official quality of traditional Native American religion. Congress “affirmed” that “traditional religions” were an “indispensable and irreplaceable” part of Native American life. By resolution of the two houses—the House of Representatives and the Senate—Congress proclaimed that tribes would have religious freedom. As this was a two-house resolution instead of an Act, the matter did not require presidential action. The president could not veto the resolution. President Carter had indicated that he had major difficulties with having the U.S. government endorse particular types of religious activities.

The resolution directed all federal government agencies to explore their policies and actions to ensure that they did not deny Native Americans full access to religious sites and sacred lands. Agencies also had to guarantee that no policies were impeding the free practice of religions by Native Americans. Senator James Abourezk of South Dakota sponsored the resolution. He felt it was necessary to give Native Americans a statutory basis for lawsuits that could protect their religious sites and ceremonies. Supporters of the resolution argued that the U.S. government could give special treatment to Native American religions without violating the constitutional prohibition against the establishment of religions. By some manner of logic they suggested that the prohibition might not apply because Native American religions were not “proselytizing”





religions. There was no fear of the conflict between church and state because Native Americans did not seek to spread their religions the way Christians did. By the same strange logic, Congress might appropriate funds for Jewish synagogues. Opponents worried that the resolution would require giving Native Americans access to sacred sites on private lands, allow Native Americans to use peyote (still considered illegal in much of the nation), and limit the protections of the Endangered Species Act.

Abourezk and the other supporters misinterpreted the resolution. The opponents had nothing to worry about. Several law cases took any "teeth" out of the resolution that the supporters might have wished it to have. The Cherokee Nation tried to stop the construction of a dam that would have flooded burial sites and sacred lands. In the case of *Sequoyah v. T.V.A.* (1980), the Supreme Court ruled against Native peoples because they did not own land in the area.

Another case arose after the National Park Service permitted private companies to send excursion boats to the Rainbow Bridge rock formation near Lake Powell, Arizona. Tourists visited the area and drank alcoholic beverages in excess. They were loud and abusive, and they threw beer cans under the natural rock formation. The Rainbow Bridge was the home of gods worshipped by the Navajo Nation. The high court recognized that the actions of the tourists impeded the Navajo's right to practice their religion. However, if the tourists were to be stopped by federal action, that action would in the eyes of the court amount to an establishment of religion. It would be prohibited by the first amendment. As with the Sequoyah case, the Navajo Nation lost the dispute because the land was outside of their reservation (*Badoni v. Higginson* 1981).

In the 1988 case of *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association*, the Supreme Court again ruled against the Native Americans. The court gave its blessings to the construction of a logging road by the U.S. Forest Service. The project in the Six River National Forest of California disturbed sacred burial sites of three different Native nations.

William N. Thompson

See also American Indian Religious Freedom Act; Anglicans; Baptist Church; Black Hills; Blue Lake, New Mexico; Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Canada, Indian Policies of; Episcopal Church; Fishing Rights; Ghost Dance Religion; Mission

System, Spanish; Missionaries, French Jesuit; Mormon Church; Native American Church of North America; Potlatch; Praying Villages of Massachusetts; Pueblo Revolt; Sacred Sites; Sun Dance; Worldviews and Values.

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## Code Talkers, Navajo

During World War II, Navajo soldiers created an unbreakable code that was based on their Native language, and more than 400 Navajos served in the U.S. Marine Corps as radio operators. Working in pairs as transmitter and receiver, they frustrated the repeated attempts of Japanese cryptographers and were credited with helping to shorten the war and saving thousands of lives. They used Navajo words adapted for war, like "hummingbird" for fighter plane, "eggs" for bombs, and "rabbit trail" for road. At the battle of Iwo Jima, the Navajo code talkers handled more than 800 messages in forty-eight hours.

Following the crippling attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the American armed forces continued to suffer setbacks at the hands of the Japanese. One of their biggest problems was communication. Many of the Japanese code breakers had been educated in the United States and were familiar with American slang and idioms. They were thus able to break any military code the Americans created.

Philip Johnston, a middle-aged civil engineer living in Los Angeles, read about the problem the military was having and suggested an unusual solu-





*A two-man team of Navajo code talkers attached to a Marine regiment in the Pacific relay orders over the field radio using their native language. The Navajo language was a particularly effective code during World War II, as it is not a written language and only a relatively small number of people understand it. (Corbis)*

tion. Johnston, the child of missionaries, had grown up on the Navajo reservation and spoke the language fluently. At the early age of nine, he had served as the interpreter for President Theodore Roosevelt during a meeting with Navajo elders (Paul, 1973, 8). He understood the complexity of the Navajo language and saw its possible use.

While other Native languages, like Choctaw and Comanche, had been used for battlefield communication, there had been problems with their inadequacy in describing modern military terms. Johnston's proposal was to use the Navajo language to create a secret military code. The Navajo language had many advantages as a code. Few outside the Navajo reservation spoke or understood it. There was no written form for others to study, and a slight

variation in inflection could radically change the meaning of a word. In short, to outsiders it was unintelligible.

Johnston convinced Lieutenant Colonel James E. Jones, the Marines Signal Corps Communications Officer, that his idea was worth a try, and together they set up a test. Two teams of Navajos were sent to separate rooms and given a typical field order to transmit, in their own language, to their companions several rooms away. When translated back into English, the message received proved to be an accurate copy of the original field order. The Marines were amazed at the speed and accuracy, and the test was pronounced a rousing success.

Johnston initially proposed to recruit 200 Navajos. The Marines were more cautious. They





suggested recruiting thirty. That way, if things didn't work out, they weren't out that much time and money (Wilson, 1997, 7). Eventually twenty-nine Navajos were selected and sent to San Diego for basic training. They were told they would be "specialists" and were officially designated as the 382nd Platoon, U.S. Marine Corps. Following their basic training, the Navajo Marines were moved to Camp Pendleton in Oceanside, California.

In addition to their regular duties, the Navajo soldiers began to create a new military code. The code's words had to be short, easy to learn, and easy to remember. The men devised a two-part code. The first part was a twenty-six-letter alphabet that used the Navajo names for animals and birds, plus a few other words for unusual letters like "q," "x," and "z." The second part was a 211-word English vocabulary and their Navajo equivalents like "iron fish" for submarine and "buzzard" for bomber.

In August 1942, the first group of Navajos was sent to join the First Marine Division at Guadalcanal. Major General Alexander Vandegrift was so impressed with their performance that he immediately requested eighty-three more Navajos be assigned to his division. By August of 1943, nearly 200 Navajos had gone through the code talker program. The staff sergeant in charge was Philip Johnston, who had originated the idea.

The code talkers soon won a reputation for bravery and the ability to do their job under the worst of conditions. One of the code talkers recalled a combat experience:

One night we held them [the Japanese] down. If you so much as held up your head six inches you were gone, the fire was so intense. And then in the wee hours, with no relief on our side or theirs, there was a dead standstill. Anything—any sound from anywhere—called for fire. If there was any movement—the breaking of a little twig—maybe there would be a hundred shots there. You just sat or lay there, gun cocked. It must have gotten so that this one Japanese couldn't take it anymore. He got up and yelled and screamed at the top of his voice and dashed over to our trench, swinging a long samurai sword. I imagine he was shot from 25 to 40 times before he fell.

There was a buddy with me in the trench. For four days we had no relief . . . hardly anything to eat; but we had to stay on the line. I had a cord tied around my wrist and to my

buddy's hand. If I pulled the string and he pulled back there in the dark, I knew he was still alive. But that Japanese cut him across the throat with that long sword. He was still gasping through his windpipe. When he exhaled, blood gushed. And the sound of him trying to breathe was horrible. He died without help, of course. When the Jap struck, warm blood spattered all over my hand that was handling the microphone. I was calling [in code] for help. They tell me that in spite of what happened, every syllable of my message came through (Paul, 1973, 2).

The code talkers served with all six Marine divisions in the Pacific. They participated in major Marine assaults on the Solomons, the Marianas, Peleliu, and Iwo Jima. Major Howard Connor, the Fifth Marine Division's Signal Officer, said that "The entire operation was directed by Navajo code. . . . During the two days that followed the initial landings I had six Navajo radio nets working around the clock. . . . They sent and received over 800 messages without an error. Were it not for the Navajo Code Talkers, the Marines never would have taken Iwo Jima" (Wilson, 1997, 20).

The code talkers were among the first to hear the Japanese had surrendered and the war was over. They helped to spread the word to their fellow Marines. By the end of the war, more than 400 Navajos had completed training at Camp Pendleton, and most had been placed with combat units overseas. After the war, they returned to anonymous lives on the reservation. They had a hard time obtaining the few jobs that existed, in part because of the secrecy of their war mission. When asked by prospective employers about their experience in the Marine Corps, they couldn't tell them. They were honored by their own people, but their story was virtually unknown to most Americans.

The exemplary service of the Navajo code talkers did help to earn Native Americans some basic rights. Native Americans had been granted citizenship in 1924, but in states like Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah, they were still not permitted to vote. In response to a 1944 letter from a Navajo soldier, James M. Stewart, Superintendent of the Navajo Indian Service, wrote, "While you are fighting on the battlefield, a fight must be waged here on the home front to obtain for you the right accorded to all free peoples." In 1948, New Mexico and Arizona gave Native





Americans the right to vote. Utah followed in 1953 (Newmiller, 2005, 7).

The Navajo code was not declassified until 1968 and a year later, the Navajo code talkers were officially honored at a Marine convention in Chicago. A special medallion was struck for all members of this unique unit. There is now a Code Talkers Association that holds regular meetings on the Navajo Reservation in Window Rock, Arizona. In 2002, a hit movie called *Wind Talkers*, starring Nicolas Cage, brought the story of the Navajo code talkers to the big screen. While perpetuating some myths, it finally brought these warriors the recognition their meritorious service had earned (Miller, 2002, 3).

Hugh Reilly

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## Confederacies

### Introduction

Confederacies have been identified as a method of governance among indigenous peoples in North America both before and after contact with Europeans. The confederacies that will be considered here are the Blackfoot Confederacy, Council of the Three Fires, Creek Confederacy, Old North-West (Delaware) Confederacy, Huron-Wendat (Wyandot) Confederacy, Iroquois (Haudenosaunee) Confederacy, Seven Nations of Canada, Wabanaki Confederacy, and Wabash Confederacy.

Not every conceivable regrouping labeled as a confederacy is discussed here. For example, it is possible to find references to the Illini Confederation and the Neutral Confederacy. The Illini Confederation, however, is most likely to have been one large, segmented tribe rather than an example of distinct nations joined together (Fester, 2004). The Neutral Confederacy was also not truly a confederacy. The Neutrals were one nation, living in several villages along the western shore of Lake Ontario, Canada, and were an Iroquoian-speaking people who farmed the land much like the Huron and the Iroquois. They were given the name Neutral or Neutral Confederacy by the French because they chose to stay out of the Huron-Iroquois wars (Halton, 2004).

A confederacy can be defined as a league or agreement between two or more independent nations who unite for their mutual welfare and the furtherance of their common aims. A confederacy usually involves political connections by which a central government is created to govern the nations; however, each nation retains its sovereign powers for domestic purposes (Nolan and Nolan, 1990, 296).

Among indigenous peoples in North America, confederacies were not uncommon. Alliances developed primarily out of a need for mutual assistance and cooperation. Indigenous nations understood that there was strength in unity and that it was beneficial to have the support of other neighboring nations for trade and in times of difficulty and warfare. Although a number of confederacies were and are enduring, the general interpretation of a confederacy does not take into account the fact that membership was not always static and, in some cases, that alliances of a more temporary nature were formed as the need arose and dissolved when the need was no longer there. The issue of whether a temporary alliance constituted the creation of an entirely new confederacy or merely an extension of an already existing one has been often debated by historians, anthropologists, ethnologists, and even indigenous nations themselves and remains a question of interpretation.

### Blackfoot Confederacy

The term "Blackfoot" is generally used in Canada and the term "Blackfeet" is used in the United States. However, as these people preceded the postcontact political entities, they remain connected, regardless





of terminology or the existence of the forty-ninth parallel. "Blackfoot" is the term used in this article.

The Blackfoot Confederacy includes the Piikani/Peigan, North Piikani/Peigan, Kainai/Blood, and Siksika /Blackfoot nations. Until 1861, the confederacy also included the Gros Ventres (Samek, 1987, 11). While the original Blackfoot territory included present-day Alberta, Saskatchewan (Canada), and northern Montana (United States), the Blackfoot people eventually settled on reservations in Alberta and Montana (Samek, 1987, 12).

The member nations of the Blackfoot Confederacy shared a common culture and language and were known for their military prowess. They were a nomadic people who lived on the plains, hunting the vast buffalo herds. The member nations were also involved in the trade of buffalo robes, guns, and horses, sometimes trading as far as the northeastern coast of North America (MNSU, 2005).

The confederacy was at the height of its power in the middle of the nineteenth century when smallpox epidemics, the massacre of the buffalo herds, and battles with European settlers and gold prospectors began decimating the population and encroaching on Blackfoot territory. The Blackfoot continued to travel back and forth, as they always had, across what came to be the Canada–United States border. Samek believes that the signing of Treaty No. 7 with Canada created a separation within the Confederacy to a certain extent, since some people were now looking to the Canadian government to correct past wrongs, honor treaty provisions, and settle the question of territory, while others were looking to the United States government (Samek, 1987, 13–14).

In the United States, the American government entered into three treaty processes with some of the Blackfoot residing in Montana. The first treaty, in 1855, included other indigenous nations as well and resulted in the cession of large portions of Blackfoot territory for use by settlers. In 1865 and 1868, the U.S. government attempted to settle the land question, but both times, the U.S. Senate failed to ratify the treaties due to violence and fighting between Blackfoot and settlers. Many have questioned whether the indigenous nations really understood these "treaties" (essentially land cessions) and whether they knew that they were giving up their lands forever. It has been argued that the member nations of the Blackfoot Confederacy believed they were signing peace treaties (Samek, 1987, 15).

### Council of the Three Fires

Although not formally a confederacy, the Council of the Three Fires, composed of the Pottawatomis, Ottawas (Odawas), and Ojibways (Chippewas), conducted themselves as such and allied themselves for political and military purposes. The Pottawatomie chiefs were known as the Firekeepers and their central meeting place was generally at Michilimackinack (Union of Ontario Indians, 2004). This confederacy also maintained relations, during the 1600s and 1700s, with others such as the Iroquois Confederacy and the Sauk, Fox, Menominees, Hurons, Winnebagoes, Sioux, and British and French Nations. Again, relations between nations were not always static and changes such as the rise of the fur trade brought competition and fighting to once friendly nations (Fester, 2004). By the mid-1700s, the Council of the Three Fires became the founding group for what Sir William Johnson called "the Western Lakes Confederacy," a union of Algonquin, Nipissing, Sauk, Fox, Menominees, Winnebagoes, Crees, Hurons, and Toughkawiwons (Union of Ontario Indians, 2004).

While the original Three Fires territory was quite expansive and included large portions of the states of Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin (Pottawatomie, Ottawa, and Chippewa) and the Province of Ontario, Canada (Ojibway/Chippewa), the Council of the Three Fires was severely handicapped by the U.S. government removal policies of the 1800s, as were many indigenous nations and confederacies. A large number of Pottawatomis were removed to Kansas and Oklahoma, while some sought refuge in the northern Wisconsin Territory and others settled with confederacy relatives in Ontario, Canada, specifically Walpole Island, Kettle Point, and Manitoulin Island (ITCMI, 2001). The remaining member nations of the Three Council Fires were forced to settle on small reservations in Michigan, Indiana, and Ontario.

### Creek Confederacy

The Creeks were one of the largest nations in the southern United States in terms of population and territory, residing in what is now present-day Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and South Carolina, and they were part of the cultural tradition identified by anthropologists as the Mound Builders. Confederacy territory by the end of the eighteenth century spanned approximately 62,130 square miles





(Ethridge, 2003, 23), from the Oconee River in Georgia (the upper Creeks) to the Tombigbee River in Alabama (the lower Creeks), and included seventy-three towns for a total of about 15,000 to 20,000 people (Ethridge, 2003, 31).

When the Creeks joined together in a confederacy, their system of governance had changed significantly from that of the Mound Builders. European diseases and slave trading devastated the Creek population, and the surviving people, forever changed by their experience, allied themselves together as a means of protection and survival (Ethridge, 2003, 23–24).

Nevertheless some argue that the Creeks themselves did not constitute a homogeneous nation (Ethridge, 2003, 278, n. 1) and were not a true confederacy because they were not united with other distinct nations. There was no permanent central government for the Creek Confederacy, and the focus of Creek life was the village rather than the nation. Each Creek tribe lived in an independent village with its own political structure, and there was no obligation for a village to act in accordance with a decision from the national council. It is the union of these independent villages that is said to have constituted the Creek Confederacy (Muscogee [Creek] Nation, 2005). Interestingly, there was a common Creek language across the villages, in addition to a tribal village language. This common language was also known to the Chickasaws and the Choctaws (Golden Ink, 2005).

In 1814, the Creek signed a treaty with the United States in which they ceded approximately two-thirds of their land. Later cessions further reduced their territory and, between 1836 and 1837, over 20,000 Creeks were forcibly removed by the U.S. Army to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) (Muscogee [Creek] Nation, 2005).

### Old Northwest Confederacy

The Old Northwest Confederacy, which is sometimes called the Delaware Confederacy, was composed of the Delawares, Wyandots, Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawatomis, Shawnees, and Miamis. The Wyandots were elected as the Keepers of the Council Fire, where all matters of importance were discussed. It is interesting to note that the Chippewas, Ottawas, and Pottawatomis were also members of the Council of the Three Fires around the same time period, a fact that reveals the fluidity of relations between nations. The confederacy contin-

ued until the member nations were forcibly removed by the United States from the northeastern United States (the old northwest) to Indian Territory. The member nations continue to live on reservations in Kansas and Oklahoma to this day. Some Delaware moved north into Canada to avoid the removal. Their descendents continue to live on two small reserves in Moravietown and Munsee, Ontario (Hahn, 2005). Eventually, around 1848, the Council Fire was rekindled and the Wyandots were again appointed as Keepers of the Council Fire (Hahn, 2005).

### Huron-Wendat (Wyandot)

The Huron Confederacy is thought to have originated in the 1600s. It consisted of five nations, known in the Huron language as the Attignawantans, Attigeenongnahacs, Arendaronons, Tahontaenrats, and the Ataronchronons. Although the Hurons dominated central and eastern Ontario and developed alliances with the Tobacco and Neutral nations, as well as with the neighboring Ojibways, the Huron Confederacy was in constant battle with the Iroquois Confederacy, to whom they eventually lost much of their territory. While principal, or peace, chiefs were chosen to tend to civil affairs and participate in the national and confederate councils, other chief titles existed for addressing specific issues. For example, war chiefs were responsible for defense in times of war (Sioui, 1999, 129–131).

The confederacy Council met several times a year and addressed issues of concern to all member nations, such as political developments, trade, important feasts, major expeditions for hunting, fishing, or trading, in addition to the replacement of chiefs who had passed on. The Councils also served to reinforce and renew ties among the nations (Sioui, 1999, 132). The Hurons eventually settled in Wendake, Quebec, Canada. Some Hurons who were removed by the United States settled on reservations in Kansas, Oklahoma, and Michigan.

### Iroquois Confederacy

The Iroquois Confederacy (Haudenosaunee or Rotinohshonni) is also referred to as the Five Nations Confederacy or the Six Nations Confederacy. This confederacy was originally composed of five nations: Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, and Cayugas. In the early eighteenth century, when the Tuscaroras were forced to leave their lands in





North Carolina by settlers and the U.S. government, they became the sixth nation to join the confederacy.

The Iroquois Confederacy represents one of the more static confederacies in the sense that the five (and then six) nations remained members throughout its existence. This was in keeping with the general policy of the Iroquois Confederacy to adopt other people and sometimes entire nations that were smaller and weaker—the adoptees taking on the language and culture of the Iroquois, reflecting the dominance of the Iroquois Confederacy in the 1600s and 1700s.

There are similarities between the Huron and Iroquois Confederacies in that both were matrilineal societies that grouped individuals into clans. An individual's clan was inherited from the mother and all individuals within a clan were considered to be one large family. Certain clans (the Bear, Turtle, and Wolf Clans among the Iroquois) were found in all of the nations. This helped to unify the nations in the confederacy, because family members were present in each of the nations. Chiefs were selected by the clan mothers, and a chief could also be deposed by the women if he did not behave in an honorable, selfless manner.

Each nation selected its chiefs, as representatives of each clan, to govern its own internal matters. When the nations joined together to discuss issues affecting all nations, each would first come to a decision on the matter before submitting its views to the confederacy Council. At the Council, matters would be discussed, sometimes for several days, and there was a concerted effort to consider all views and arrive at a solution that was acceptable to all.

The Iroquois Confederacy continues to exist and function to this day, although, like most indigenous governments, U.S. and Canadian policies of removal or relocation, extermination, and assimilation have severely affected its ability to function as it did in the past.

### Seven Nations of Canada

The Seven Nations of Canada, also sometimes referred to as the Seven Fires, represents an alliance between the Iroquois (including the Mohawks of Akwesasne, Kahnawake, Kanesatake, and the Onondagas of Oswegatchie), Hurons, Abenakis, and Anishnabes (Algonquin and Nippissing). The Seven Nations initially allied themselves with the French and had for the most part adopted the Catholic religion. However, during the American Revolution and

the War of 1812, the Seven Nations of Canada were an important ally of Britain in the wars between that country and the United States.

Some have argued that the Seven Nations of Canada is not a true confederacy, in the sense that it was merely an extension of the Iroquois Confederacy, representing a group of individuals who branched off from the main Confederacy due to differing views and beliefs. An important point to keep in mind is that the Seven Nations of Canada were really seven communities joined together, rather than seven entire nations. Even within each community, individuals might consider themselves to be loyal to the Iroquois Confederacy, while others might consider themselves loyal to the Seven Nations. One explanation for this confusing designation is that the term Seven Nations of Canada was primarily a European designation that may have been applied more out of a need to impress on enemies the strength of their Native allies, rather than a recognition that each community of this alliance was a separate nation (Bonaparte, 1999).

### Wabanaki Confederacy

The Wabanaki Confederacy grouped together several Algonquian nations, namely the Mi'kmaq, Maliseet, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot nations. These nations lived along the eastern seaboard in what is now the state of Maine and the Canadian provinces of New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland (Leavitt and Francis, 1990, 1).

The confederacy broadened its ranks in the mideighteenth century (Leavitt and Francis, 1990, 12) by bringing in other nations and communities. Although Speck seems to suggest that this created a confederacy all of its own, it would appear that this was rather just an extension of the original Wabanaki Confederacy. In either case, the Wabanakis extended their ranks to include the Ottawas (who acted as an advisory body) and the Mohawks of Kahnawake and Kanesatake. At one time, according to Speck, the capital of the Wabanaki Confederacy was at Kahnawake (Leavitt and Francis, 1990, 12).

Speck also argues that the presence and influence of the Mohawks and of the Iroquois Confederacy generally is reflected in the similarities in the system of governance and that the Wabanaki modeled their system of government on the existing Iroquois system (Leavitt and Francis, 1990, 12). In addition, Speck suggests that the Wabanaki Confederacy





was more or less a regrouping of Christianized tribes acting under the influence of the Mohawks “. . . who found themselves recasting in their own way under new conditions the old original principles of the Iroquois League” (Leavitt and Francis, 1990, 12).

Interestingly, Speck indicates that while the “eastern members” of the confederacy (the four main member nations) continue to speak of the existence of the Wabanaki Confederacy, the “western members” (namely the Mohawks of Kahnawake and Kanesatake and the Ottawas) seem to have all but forgotten their participation in the Wabanaki Confederacy (Leavitt and Francis, 1990, 14–15). Although the reasons for this remain unclear, it would appear that ties with the western members seem to have been ruptured in the late 1800s (Leavitt and Francis, 1990, 15). The alliances between member nations of the Wabanaki Confederacy continue to be respected to this day.

### Wabash Confederacy

Compared to other alliances, the Wabash Confederacy was fairly short-lived. It is said to have existed between 1785 and 1795. This confederacy included the Hurons, Shawnees, Council of the Three Fires, Delawares, Miamis, and the Six Nations of the Grand River, Kickapoo, and Kaskaskia. The Wabash Confederacy was a purely military alliance for the purpose of fighting in the so-called “Indian wars” of the United States. The informal alliances that had existed among these nations since the French colonial era were renewed with vigor during the American Revolution (Mississippi Biographies and History, 2005).

By virtue of the Treaty of Paris (1783), the United States government acquired control of the land east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes. The indigenous nations living in these areas, however, were not included in the discussions. The nations, joined together in the Wabash Confederacy, wanted to deal with the United States as a collectivity, rather than individually (Mississippi Biographies and History, 2005).

The Battle of Fallen Timbers, on August 20, 1794, is said to have brought an end to the Wabash Confederacy and victory to the United States for control of the disputed territory. In 1795, confederacy members signed the Treaty of Greenville, which had the effect of ceding much of present-day Ohio to the United States. One young man who refused to sign the treaty was a Shawnee named Tecumseh. He would later

become known for renewing Indian resistance (Mississippi Biographies and History, 2005).

### Conclusion

Many of the confederacies described here continue to exist, albeit in a somewhat modified form. As the European presence grew in North America, indigenous nations were forced to adapt their traditional structures and procedures. As North America became more and more settled, the need for military prowess and power declined. Government policies across North America forced indigenous nations to perform traditional ceremonies and conduct political discussions in secret. Entire nations were relocated far from their traditional territories, and children were taken from their parents and placed in schools where they were severely punished for speaking their own languages and trying to carry on their cultures. The Bureau of Indian Affairs in the United States and the Department of Indian Affairs in Canada ensured that government policies were carried out and that indigenous people would remain on the small parcels of land allocated to them. It is not surprising, therefore, that contact with Europeans took a heavy toll on the system of governance identified as confederacies. Nevertheless, the continued existence of several of the confederacies described here reflects the tenacity and adaptability of indigenous governments.

Lysane Cree

See also Blackfeet Confederacy; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Tecumseh; Tungavik Federation, Nunavut.

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## Counting Coup

Counting coup was a method of combat developed by Native Americans to humble their enemies in battle without taking their lives. Derived from the French word, *coup*, meaning a "stroke" or "blow," counting

coup was considered a more prestigious and heroic act than killing. Gaining personal honor in battle was the greatest achievement a warrior could attain.

Coup could be counted in a number of ways. The most notable method was to touch the enemy by hand, knife, or elaborately decorated coup stick. Other means of counting coup were leading a successful war party, stealing a horse in a daring manner, taking a weapon from an enemy in hand-to-hand combat, or saving a fellow warrior in battle.

Counting coup, also known as war honors, had to be publicly announced and accepted. These honors were reflected in various articles of dress, such as feathers and types of shirt fringe. Eagle feathers were the highest display of war honors. War bonnets were worn only in ceremony or parade with other highly decorated items. Many tribes developed a complex system of rankings based on particular acts of bravery. Winning honor in battle was so important in Native American society that few warriors dared lie about their exploits. Once a coup was attained, warriors would often paint a symbol of their coup on their tepees or buffalo robes. Others expressed their deeds by designs on their faces or clothes.

Counting coup is generally associated with the Native peoples of the Great Plains. As Spanish explorers moved north from Mexico into the southwest region of the present-day United States, Native Americans became very adept at acquiring their horses. By the late seventeenth to mideighteenth centuries, the acquisition of horses allowed many Indians of the Great Plains to adopt a nomadic lifestyle. These peoples considered daring and bravery, especially during the hunt or warfare, the most important of virtues. Military leadership was usually provided by young men seeking glory and personal honor. Boys were usually trained for war at an early age because much of their ceremonial life would later be validated by their status as warriors.

Warfare in aboriginal North America was not necessarily a political act. In some instances, Native Americans elevated warfare to ritualistic contests of great spiritual significance. However, they did not develop warfare to its most destructive potential until the continued mass migration of white settlers offered no other alternatives. The few intertribal massacres that resulted in substantial loss of life occurred when a small camp or hunting party was overwhelmed by a vastly superior force. In general, Native peoples raided or engaged in battle to obtain material goods, take revenge, seize captives, or merely to vent aggression.





A Peigan man dressed in his war bonnet and holding his feathered coup stick. (Library of Congress)

For example, during the 1850s and early 1860s, the Pawnee declined in power as the Sioux dominated. Although Pawnee losses in some battles were overwhelming, most conflict between the two consisted of large displays of bravado and little loss of life. Generally, at dawn, several hundred Sioux would appear on the outskirts of a Pawnee village. Often, first coup was obtained from a few unlucky Pawnee women getting water from the river. Coup could be counted on a man, woman, or child as long as the warrior dared to attack an enemy at close quarters. Pawnee warriors reacted quickly, mounting their horses and confronting the enemy. The Sioux would wait patiently until both sides faced each other almost formally at a distance of a few hundred yards. Insults were hurled back and forth. Warriors declared their opponent's women ugly. Mocking and insulting hand and arm gestures

were made. At some point, a daring warrior might ride perilously close to the other side instigating a full charge. War clubs and coup sticks smashed against shields as each side struggled for advantage. Most of these conflicts ended quickly with little loss of life unless one side was able to exploit a weakness or a vast numerical superiority. Regardless of the overall results, the objective was obtaining personal honor by counting coup rather than killing the enemy.

One school of thought maintains that counting coup was the confluence of European influences and Native American culture. The introduction of the horse and gun allowed tribal warfare to become far-ranging and deadly. Epidemics and the constant search for food kept populations low. Heavy casualties in battle were unacceptable. The goal of personal honor among Native Americans persisted, however. The role of counting coup permitted warriors to obtain status without disastrous battlefield losses.

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*See also* Warfare, Intertribal.

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## Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power

Hydroelectric development projects involve a wide range of interconnected environmental manipulations. While constructed mainly out of public concern for flood control, dams may entail many associated changes, including waterway modification and navigation improvement, riverbank stabilization, and soil conservation. Given paramount federal authorization through major congressional and executive-level policies, these projects often involve comprehensive development plans, vast endeavors that include hydroelectric power generation, the development of recreational mixed-use areas, and irrigation projects. As they involve Native people, these projects have ultimately proven a crucible of transitioning political trends concerning land, resource, and development





issues; Indian civil rights generally; and tribal self-determination and the evolution of their communities' relationship with the federal government through its subagencies. The following case studies demonstrate how Native people are consistently burdened with water, land, and resource conflicts and how, although they are called on to make significant sacrifice toward their resolution, they are frequently denied an equitable share of the benefits that such endeavors promise.

One public works project is notorious for its subversion of Indian land rights and callous treatment of the involved Indian communities: the Missouri River Basin Development Program, commonly known as the Pick-Sloan Plan after, respectively, General Lewis A. Pick of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and William G. Sloan of the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Reclamation. These rival designers were forced to merge radically different engineering plans to ensure the project's political success. The plan relied on the perceived relative ease of "resettlement" of the populations along the upper Missouri valley, rather than the lower basin, apparently because the upper valley had far more Indian communities and lands, and the lower valley had sizable non-Indian towns. The project, initially authorized in 1944, called for 107 dams, with the largest-scale dams located close to the Sioux reservations in the upper Missouri, the Dakotas, and northern Nebraska. The project would flood over 200,000 acres of Sioux territory and require the removal of over 550 Indian families (Lawson, 1994, 29). Agitated by historical animosities between the Sioux and the U.S. Army, here in the form of the Army Corps of Engineers, who held dominating control throughout the project, the stage was set for arguably the most severe confrontation between Plains Indians and the United States since Wounded Knee.

In successive stages involving the communities of the Affiliated Tribes of Fort Berthold, the Sioux of Crow Creek and Lower Brulé, the Standing Rock and Cheyenne River Sioux, and the Yankton Sioux, the Corps moved forward with its standard procedure of condemning the needed land through federal district courts. Under the assumption of eminent domain and with authority over compensation values, there was no consultation with tribal authorities prior to commencement of the construction on the first of the projects segments. These actions stood in clear violation of the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty (and the 1858 Yankton Treaty in the

case of the Yankton Sioux) and, because the Corps is a division of the federal government, in clear conflict with the federal obligation as trustee of American Indian lands. Congress had earlier debated the merits of breaking Indian treaties for public works projects: In 1936 it first considered breaking the Canandaigua Treaty with the Seneca nation to build Kinzua Dam upstream from Pittsburgh. Though it decided then that the merits of the project did not warrant this action, with the Pick-Sloan era behind it, it would change its mind in the late 1950s and force the resettlement of Allegheny Senecas from towns inundated when the dam was eventually built. But by 1944, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, as the administrator of trust obligations, was weakened by its burdensome bureaucracy and was clearly overshadowed in its task of representing the involved Indian communities amid the larger federal agencies.

The Affiliated Tribes of Fort Berthold were the most devastated community, by virtue of being the first to be annexed by the project. The plan's call for over 150,000 acres of their land to be deluged under the reservoir that Fort Garrison Dam would create would flood one-fourth of their land base—the most valued river bottomlands (Lawson, 1994, 59). Concentrated near the river lands, 80 percent of these traditionally agricultural people were forced to resettle, losing over 90 percent of their best farmlands. The Sioux of Crow Creek lost over 9,000 acres of valuable river bottomland, one-third of which was rich forestland; a third of their community was slated for resettlement (Lawson, 1994, 47). At Lower Brule, fully half of the primary community was displaced. One-third of the Standing Rock and Cheyenne River Sioux were also forced to relocate when the massive reservoir of the Oahe Dam flooded over 160,000 acres of their lands, including 90 percent of timberlands prized as traditional hunting areas (Lawson, 1994, 50). The social and cultural costs were even more exacting: In addition to the loss of remaining traditional foods and medicines supportive of cultural identity, the Sioux suffered the ignobility of having their ancestors' graves exhumed to be moved along with other community sites, including agency service sites and hospitals, to remote locations dislocated from the reservation population. Critically, federal agencies failed to acknowledge a legal precedent for Indian preferential rights to water access, established by court precedent in 1907 (*Winters v. United States*, 1907), a principle thereafter known as the Winters doctrine.





Only retroactively did Congress consider the violations of Indian land rights. Not until 1950, when all the communities were already heavily impacted by their respective dislocations, were administrative means proposed in Congress to negotiate final settlements with tribal representation. The affected tribes were extraordinarily diplomatic in offering alternatives to the plan that might ameliorate the effects on their communities; still, they struggled well into the second decade of the project to achieve a level of compensation that could remotely be labeled as adequate, and some issues have never been resolved.

Earlier dam projects initiated under New Deal policies of the mid-1930s also resulted in the cultural trauma of dislocation, primarily as they affected traditional fisheries of Native people. The impact of these projects was in many cases difficult to determine in the immediate aftermath of reservoir creation, and their long-term damage has proven the subject of another protracted era of dispute and negotiation among Indian tribes, the United States, and its agents. The Indians of the Columbia River basin had long been known as Salmon People, and their reliance on access to river fishing sites was both a cultural necessity and a right that they did not relinquish to the United States when these tribes signed treaties in the mid-1850s. The tribes of the Yakama, Warm Springs, and Umatilla Reservations lived under the assumption that their access to fishing sites (and thus the basis of their economy and spirituality) was a permanent right they would enjoy forever, as their treaties stated. When the Army Corps of Engineers began to build dams on the Columbia in the 1930s, such as the enormous Bonneville Dam, Grand Coulee, and later Dalles Dam, it created a new era of Indian rights struggles due to the numerous traditional fishing sites that were inundated by the new dams and uncertainties over the impact on the sensitive cycles of upstream migration through which the salmon population regenerates itself. Though the Columbia River dams proceeded without any consent from the tribes who frequented the river for fishing, it was irrefutable that Indians retained rights in their treaties to fish in the "usual and accustomed places." Due to the Indian Reorganization Act's principles of promoting economic self-determination, the Corps was obligated to make a pledge by 1939 (over two years after the dam waters rose) that it would undertake to replace the lost traditional sites with new ones it would develop

in consultation with the tribes—"in-lieu sites" amounting to 400 acres of access. State and commercial fisheries, representatives, pursuing their supposed vested interests, delayed the replacement process measurably. In the end, the Corps provided only about 10 percent of the 400 acres it promised (Ulrich, 1999, 137).

All these issues came to a dramatic climax after the significant federal circuit court ruling in 1974 of Judge George Boldt, which reaffirmed treaty fishing rights and arbitrated a rule that Indians were entitled to 50 percent of the catch. The result was the pressure required to bring state and non-Indian fishery representatives to the table to negotiate such contentious issues as catch limits, season terms, and enforcement of fishing regulations by tribal authorities rather than agencies. These trends led to a template for the current model in the region, that of intertribal fisheries coalitions such as the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (CRITFC), which aided the resolution of differing tribal resource management practices and continued to bring pressure to bear on the completion of the original pledge of 400 acres of access, which after over sixty years is still in process.

More recent trends in hydroelectric development involving Native people and lands have brought increasing attention to bear on the environmental impact of such projects. In Quebec, the Cree, Inuit, and Innu (Naskapi) have struggled since the 1970s to reduce the impact of the largest hydroelectric endeavor to be proposed in North America. In no way conceivable as a single dam project, the James Bay Development Corporation and Hydro-Quebec began, in the early 1970s, a two-phase manipulation of the entire James Bay region to serve the presumed energy interests of Canada and the United States. Impact testing since the first phase of the project has already shown that some of their concerns for the ecosystem were critically correct: The reservoir creation and the reduction of flow around the bay have created toxic conditions resulting from mercury conversion and PCB concentration; Native people have been told not to eat fish from many of their former traditional subsistence areas. Since 1990, the second phase of the project has seen a more coalition-based opposition, between Native people and environmental groups, resulting in increasing reluctance of American utilities to accept the energy product produced under such conditions.

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*See also* Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission; Dalles Trading Area; Fishing Rights; James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Sacred Sites; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Trust, Doctrine of; Water Rights; *Winters v. United States*.

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## Democracy and Native American Images among Europeans

European philosophy has been profoundly influenced since 1492 by perceptions of the people by explorers in the Americas, Africa, Asia, and the Pacific. Montesquieu, in his *Spirit of the Laws*, made use of African, Arab, Persian, East Indian, and Chinese concepts in his discussions of forms of government. During the Age of Discovery, Europeans were not only exploring a world new to its people, they were also opening their eyes to other peoples' ways of thinking (as well as helping themselves to their material riches). Because of these intellectual imports, the Old World changed. Born of European wish fulfillment, the image of the noble savage was created from the cloth of this imagery, fashioned by European philosophers and often returned to the lands of its birth. Native societies, especially in America, reminded Europeans of imagined golden worlds known to them only in folk history.

As the seventeenth century ended, about 200,000 European colonists lived in widely scattered

settlements along the eastern seaboard of North America. Travel narratives from America, each with its own mixture of fact and speculation, reality and desire, flooded Europe at that time and influenced its intellectual currents. Shakespeare's plays were being staged for the first time in England. John Locke had just published his most influential work describing relations between the individual and the state under natural law. From the street, to the stage, to the salon, America was the talk of the day.

In this new environment, the colonists of English North America were influenced by Native American ideas of confederation and democracy. But the story does not begin or end there. The assumption that American democracy evolved from the English parliament or from a perusal of European political thinkers must be tempered with the realization that writers such as John Locke and Jean Jacques Rousseau derived ideas about democracy in a workable form from travelers' accounts of American Indian governmental structures. American Indian societies were working democracies that drew the attention, and often the admiration, of Europeans from the time of the first contacts.

The way European thinking was shaped by its "discovery" of the New World (as well as of Africa and parts of Asia) also outlines some of its confusing contradictions. From the beginning, the noble savage was idealized in philosophy as his real-life counterparts were slaughtered to make way for "progress." This concept was an apparition of the European imagination, of course, but, like any racial stereotype, it said as much about the very real drives, perceptions, dreams, and desires of its creators as about the newly "discovered" Americans themselves. The influence of the concept on European thought was likewise very real, especially during the Enlightenment years that culminated with the American and French revolutions. The idea that people deemed expendable could so profoundly shape European (and colonial American) thinking was, and remains, an intellectual challenge to people who take European and Euro-American assumptions for granted.

Like most stereotypes, that of the noble savage simplified a complex reality. It also created an image that was, paradoxically, both more and less than reality. More, because it ascribed to the Natives more life, liberty, and happiness than many of them actually possessed, creating a myth that imagined an autonomous wild man of the woods and ignoring the very real social conventions and traditions by which Native Americans ordered their lives.





Less, because the image of the noble savage combined many dozens of peoples and belief systems into one generic whole.

And, as with most stereotypes, distance distorted the reality of the image. Thus, the image of the Indian created by Rousseau or Locke seems utterly more fantastical than that of Franklin, Jefferson, and other influential founders of the United States, who did diplomatic business with American Native people in the course of their daily lives. These days, the noble savage is usually dismissed merely as a figment of imagination, ignoring the power the image held in the Enlightenment mind and the impact of its appeal to influential thinkers of the time. What we, in the late twentieth century, take as reality mattered not one whit to John Locke or Benjamin Franklin. They saw with their own eyes, not ours.

Europeans came to America, in reality or only in imagination, seeking degrees of material well-being ranging from subsistence to extravagance—and more intangible benefits, most having to do with some incarnation of freedom. Conveniently, the immigrants found America and its Native peoples rich in both. It also found opposition to its taking, of course, and so the image of the noble savage (like most stereotypes) also engendered its opposite, the “bad Indian,” who stood in the way of the Europeans’ destruction of the naturalness its philosophers so admired. They built churches in a place that was described to them as the Garden of Eden.

The image of the noble savage was abstracted from real human beings who became larger than life in European imagination, their mental photographs airbrushed of every pimple inflicted by a complex and sometimes contradictory reality. Many of the most prominent thinkers in Europe and America drank at this well in one way or another during the three centuries following Columbus’s voyages—all according to their own conceptions of the past and their own designs for the future. Memory outlasted image, and image outlived changing American realities, which themselves had been reworked by desirous imagination, taking what had been real to its most logical (and often patently absurd) extreme. As a vehicle of dreams, the noble savage helped reawaken in Europeans a passionate desire for the liberty and happiness that so suffused Enlightenment thought, helping to ignite revolution on both sides of the Atlantic. Images can do such things to reality.

William Brandon finds Voltaire laughing at any talk of noble savages, “but his fake Huron in

*L’Ingenu* (1767) sometimes echoed, and not always ironically, both Lahontan and Delisle, in spite of all Voltaire’s efforts to keep him from doing so.” To Brandon, “Voltaire mocked at himself for falling victim to such nonsense—‘My muse calls to you from America, [he complained]. . . . I needed a new world. . . . But I tremble that I’ll be taken for a savage.’” At the same time, on the other side of the Atlantic, the ultimate pragmatist Benjamin Franklin often found himself called by the same ironic muse (Brandon, 1986, 104).

The French philosopher and essayist Montaigne has been most often credited with introducing the image of Native America to the European world of letters, although a reading of literature produced by Spain’s Golden Century can provide earlier precedents. Montaigne, like Thomas More, penned his vision of Utopia after hearing the stories of a traveler. Montaigne’s essay, “Of the Cannibals,” was written after the traveler had been in the New World roughly a decade and had resided in Montaigne’s home; More’s informant was more of a chance meeting. More’s work is fiction, with New World overtones; Montaigne’s is philosophy, based on purported fact, but the results seem strangely similar. “Of Cannibals” sets a culturally relativistic tone as Benjamin Franklin would more than a century later in his “Remarks Concerning the Savages of North America”: “There is nothing that is either barbarous or savage, unless men call barbarism which is not common to them” (Florio, 1910, 218). To Montaigne, America’s Native people were civilized, in the purist way, in the original state of humankind, the state of nature, embodying “the most true and profitable virtues” (Florio, 1910, 218).

Montaigne also helped set a standard for Enlightenment assumption when, as he measured natural man in America against Europe’s imagined Golden Age, wishing that Plato and Lycurgus could see it for themselves: “For me seemeth that what in those nations we see of experience, doth not only exceed all the pictures herewith licentious Poesie hath profoundly embellished the golden age . . . but also the conception and desire of Philosophy. They could not imagine a genuine so pure and simple, as we see by experience” (Florio, 1910, 218).

Pure, simple, and free: Three short but potent words sketched the Native American to the eye of the European Enlightenment. In our time recognized as a rather simplistic stereotype of humankind in America, these notions framed the terms of debate that spawned revolutions. Whether founders of the





United States learned such notions from European sages or from the living examples before them, it was American humankind that framed the terms of debate for Europeans just opening their eyes to the world.

Wrote Montaigne: “It is a nation, would I answer Plato, that hath no kind of traffick, no knowledge of magistrates, no knowledge of Letters, no intelligence of numbers, no name of magistrate, nor of politike superiortie; no use of service, of riches, or of poverty, no contracts, no successions” (Florio, 1910, 220). And so forth. These words, in numerous variations, become very familiar—they echo in time to Shakespeare’s Gonzalo, who nearly steals Montaigne’s lines thirty years later, thence to Roger Williams, Jefferson, Franklin, Paine, and Engels. Peter Martyr said much the same thing before Montaigne, as did Columbus. The portrait is overdrawn, of course, but some stereotypes grow out of a kernel of reality, and in this case, Native societies in America provided the perfect vehicle by which to criticize contemporary European society—and to help shape the images, desires, and dreams of those rebelling against it.

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## Diabetes

For thousands of years before contact with Europeans, indigenous peoples lived off the resources that could be obtained from the land and water around them. Since contact, the lifestyles and diet of indigenous peoples have for the most part changed significantly. Diabetes is one of the consequences of that change.

Diabetes, or diabetes mellitus, refers to a group of diseases characterized by high blood glucose lev-

els. A disease that was once rarely seen among indigenous peoples, diabetes has grown to epidemic proportions among Native Americans in the United States (including Native Hawaiians and Alaska Natives) and among indigenous peoples globally during the past fifty to sixty years. Diabetes is a significant part of the social and health crises faced by Native Americans and is interlinked with poverty, alcoholism, and drastic changes in diet, exercise, and eating habits.

There are three types of diabetes mellitus, commonly known as Type 1, Type 2, and gestational diabetes. Type 1 (where the pancreas makes little or no insulin) is usually seen in children and teenagers. Type 2 occurs when the pancreas is not releasing enough insulin or the insulin that it releases is ineffective. Gestational diabetes arises in some women during pregnancy and generally resolves following birth of the child. Women who develop gestational diabetes, however, have been found to be at a higher risk of developing Type 2 diabetes later. Their child also may be at an increased risk (NDIC, 2002; NADA, 2005). The type of diabetes that is most frequently seen among indigenous populations around the world is Type 2 diabetes, which is a preventable type of diabetes.

The Association of American Indian Physicians (AAIP) estimated in 2001 that at least 12.2 percent of Native Americans over the age of nineteen have Type II diabetes (AAIP, 2001). The American Diabetes Association states that 107,775 Native Americans and Alaska Natives (or 14.5 percent of the population) currently receiving care from Indian Health Services (IHS) have diabetes. In the southeastern United States this figure is 27 percent (ADA 2005). The Pima tribe of Arizona, for example, has the highest incidence of diabetes in the world with about 50 percent of Pimas between the ages of thirty and sixty-four having diabetes (AAIP, 2001). Type 2 diabetes, also sometimes referred to as adult-onset diabetes, is also increasingly prevalent among Native American children ten years and older (NDIC, 2002).

Some researchers have determined that one of the reasons diabetes is prevalent among indigenous populations is that its occurrence has been linked to substance abuse and chronic stress (which includes post-traumatic stress disorder [PTSD], abuse, oppression, and genocide), all of which reflect the drastic impact of colonialism and assimilation experienced by indigenous populations since the time of first contact with Europeans. It has been suggested





as well that Native Americans experience intergenerational PTSD, thereby reflecting a continuation of the vicious cycle of substance abuse, violent behavior, child abuse, and suicide (Dapice, Inkanish, Martin, and Brauchi, 2005, 3).

Another significant factor, reflecting the daily reality of the foods available to indigenous peoples, is the important link between diabetes and obesity. Among the factors that increase a person's risk for developing Type 2 diabetes are obesity, lack of exercise, and a diet high in sugar and fat (NADA, 2003).

Traditional activities of hunting, fishing, gathering, trapping, and farming have been drastically disrupted, reduced, and in some cases eradicated, as Native Americans witnessed their traditional territories being reduced to small parcels of land to make way for settlers and gold prospectors. Often the lands set aside for reservations had the poorest soil and devastated wildlife. Native Americans living on reservations are among the poorest in society. Even today in many cases they are forced to eat government rations of flour, sugar, and lard. Modern-day fast food has replaced the flour, lard, and sugar of the past, in some cases, but its nutritional value is little better.

Traditional diets were adapted to their environment and consisted of a variety of wild game, fish, marine mammals, and vegetable matter (berries, fruits, and other edible plants and root vegetables). Wild game, marine mammals, and fish do not contain the cholesterol and fat content of modern-day grain-fed farm animals. In fact, the fat contained in wild animals is often quite beneficial and contains vitamins useful to the human body (Health Canada, 1995).

Given the high rates of diabetes among indigenous peoples, it is not surprising that they are also at a much higher risk than the general population for developing complications related to diabetes. The Association of American Indian Physicians estimated in 2001 that between 10 and 21 percent of all people with diabetes develop kidney disease. This percentage rate is six times higher among Native Americans with diabetes. While the risk of amputation of a lower limb increases significantly for any person with diabetes, the amputation rates among Native Americans are three to four times higher than among the general population (AAIP, 2001).

Failure to diagnose the disease promptly, as well as failure to follow a doctor's recommendations, can give rise to serious complications, including diabetic retinopathy (a deterioration of the blood

vessels in the eye affecting vision and often leading to blindness), cataracts, diabetic nephropathy (kidney failure), amputation of the lower extremities, periodontal disease, infections, and death. Diabetes is also a serious risk factor for the development of cardiovascular disease, stroke, and hypertension (high blood pressure) (NDIC, 2002). Diabetes retinopathy has been found to occur in 18 percent of Pima Indians and 24.4 percent of Oklahoma Indians (AAIP, 2001). In Hawai'i, approximately 70,000 to 90,000 Native Hawaiians have Type 2 diabetes. Native Hawaiians have a diabetes-related mortality rate that is six times that for the general U.S. population (Young, 1998)

As mentioned, Native Americans living in the United States are not alone in their struggle with diabetes. Indigenous peoples around the world are being diagnosed at alarming rates with Type 2 diabetes. In Canada, as part of the Canadian Diabetes Strategy, \$58 million was allocated by the federal government of Canada over a five-year period to specifically target the problem of diabetes among indigenous people. This program, managed by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, is called the Aboriginal Diabetes Initiative. The department estimates that the rate of diabetes among indigenous people in Canada is three to five times higher than for non-Native Canadians (Health Canada, 2003). More than half (53 percent) of indigenous people in Canada who live on-reservation with diabetes are forty years old or less and 65 percent are forty-five years old or less (Health Canada, 2000, 11).

What is more surprising is that Type 2 diabetes is even showing up among children, as young as five to eight years old, something that was once considered quite rare (Health Canada, 2000, 11–12). In addition, the government of Canada believes that, for every person diagnosed with diabetes, there is an undiagnosed case of impaired glucose tolerance (IGT). IGT describes a person whose plasma glucose levels are higher than normal, but not yet high enough to result in a diagnosis of diabetes. A person with IGT has a risk of developing diabetes and cardiovascular disease (Health Canada, 2000, 14). In Canada, the province of Manitoba alone estimates that the number of cases among First Nations can be expected to triple over the next twenty years. This will also lead to increased numbers of diabetes-related complications—stroke, kidney failure, lower limb amputations, and blindness (Health Canada, 2000, 22).





Statistics from Australia reflect a similar picture. Aboriginal people in Australia are two to six times more likely to suffer from Type 2 diabetes. In some Aboriginal communities in Australia, the prevalence of diabetes among adults over the age of thirty-five is 33 percent. The same grim statistics are being reported among indigenous peoples in New Zealand, Western Samoa, Fiji, Kiribati, and the Cook Islands (Young, 1998).

The realization over the years of the growing epidemic of Type 2 diabetes among indigenous populations has been reflected in an expanding awareness and search for solutions in most indigenous communities. Since Type 2 diabetes is preventable and treatable through proper diet and exercise, communities are developing diabetes prevention programs to encourage young children to follow the right path in regard to food selection, nutrition, and adequate exercise. Community programs also seek to educate adults to make good choices both to prevent diabetes as well as to minimize its impact on those who are already affected by it. Indigenous people are also strongly encouraged to have their blood sugar levels tested, whether or not they are experiencing symptoms.

Lysane Cree

See also Disease, Historic and Contemporary.

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## Dreamer Cult

Known as *waasani* (Washani, meaning "dancers" or "worship") in the Sahaptin language, the Dreamer Cult emerged among the Indian peoples of the Columbia Plateau in response to the pressures of Euro-American colonization during the second half of the nineteenth century. Like earlier religious revitalization movements, such as those led by the Delaware prophet Neolin (mid-eighteenth century) and the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa (early nineteenth century), the Washani mingled traditional spirituality with Christian beliefs and ritual forms. Dreamer prophets rejected non-Indian culture and advocated returning to indigenous traditions, which made their teachings a significant obstacle to the policies of removal and assimilation pursued by the U.S. government. Indian agents and missionaries blamed the Dreamers for obstructing Native American "progress," but their efforts to suppress the faith largely failed, even though its promise of world renewal never came to pass.

The Dreamer Cult both reflected and reacted against the influences of Christianity and Euro-American culture. Prior to contact, Plateau Indian spirituality revolved around a complex of winter dances, personal vision quests, and seasonal feasts tied to the annual subsistence cycle and the acquisition of guardian spirit powers. Starting in the 1820s, fur traders and missionaries introduced Christian doctrines and symbols that Indians selectively adapted and incorporated into the evolving Washani religion. Among the most visible influ-





ences were the ringing of hand bells during ceremonies, the use of the numbers three and seven in a sacred context, and the performance of services on Sundays. Interaction with whites also spread devastating diseases, however, while the growing non-Indian population generated pressure for land cessions. By the early 1850s, a number of nativistic prophets had begun exhorting their people to shun the newcomers and return to traditional ways. Most scholars attribute the revitalization of the Washani to the Wanapam prophet Smohalla, but there is evidence that he developed the creed in concert with the Yakama prophet Kotiakan. Together with a host of disciples, they carried a powerful message of hope up and down the Columbia River.

The Dreamer faith appealed to Indian communities reeling from the impact of American colonization. In visions received during deep trances, Smohalla foresaw the disappearance of the whites, the resurrection of the Indian dead, and the restoration of the world to a pristine state. This millennial transformation required no acts of violence—indeed, most Dreamers counseled pacifism—but to achieve it the Indians had to obey the instructions of the Creator as conveyed through the prophets. In addition to performing the *wáashat* (Washat), or Prophet Dance, they were exhorted to cast off white culture and show respect for the land. The earth was sacred and not to be bought, sold, or torn up for agricultural and extractive uses. As the Yakama chief Owhi explained at the 1855 Walla Walla treaty council, “God made our bodies from the earth as if they were different from the whites. What shall I do? Shall I give the lands that are a part of my body and leave myself poor and destitute? Shall I say I will give you my lands? I cannot say. I am afraid of the Almighty.” Such sentiments, though laced with Christian imagery, helped spark the Plateau Indian wars of 1855–1858 as well as inspiring passive resistance to federal policy well into the twentieth century.

To the government’s dismay, the Dreamer Cult spread far beyond Smohalla’s winter village near Priest Rapids. Although some of his disciples modified Washani symbols and ceremonies, all retained the basic belief that Indians must honor their own traditions. “Their model of a man is an Indian,” cursed one exasperated official. “They aspire to be Indian and nothing else.” Accordingly, many Dreamers stayed off the reservations and refused to take allotments or send their children to school. Agents and missionaries, acting with the support of

sympathetic Christian Indians, responded with a crusade to crush the Washani. In 1878, for example, the Walla Walla prophet Homli complained that the agent and the Roman Catholics on the Umatilla reservation persecuted his followers, “which makes their hearts sore, and [they] cannot stay on the reservation if they are not left alone, and allowed to worship God in their own way.” Seven years later, numerous Yakama families abandoned their reservation farms after the agent clapped Kotiakan in irons and imprisoned him at hard labor for six weeks. Far from suppressing the Washani, however, government coercion merely drove it underground or off the reservations, where agents and Indian police had little power.

The Dreamer Cult remained strong until the early 1890s, when Kotiakan and Smohalla passed away and their followers began to lose faith in the promise of a world free of whites. The Washani’s nativistic edge also dulled over time, as Plateau Indian culture continued to evolve, but many of the Dreamers’ songs, dances, and ritual innovations survive as part of the contemporary Seven Drums Religion.

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See also Seven Drums Religion; Smohalla; Tenskwatawa; Wovoka.

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## False Face Society

A Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) curing society, the False Faces heal ailments of the head, neck, shoulders, and joints, such as nosebleeds, ear and tooth aches, sore or inflamed eyes, and paralysis. Explorer Samuel de Champlain may have been the first European to witness the rituals of the society during his seventeenth-century visit to the Huron, an Iroquoian-speaking people south of Lake Huron; Jesuits and other missionaries, naturalist John Bartram, and captive Mary Jemison later described the





society among the Huron and the Six Nations (Haudenosaunee).

While anthropologists disagree over its antiquity, the Haudenosaunee possess origin stories of the society that suggest an ancient beginning. According to tradition, the Creator met a being who walked across the earth carrying a turtle rattle and a wooden staff. Called the Great Doctor, the Hunchback, Gagohsa, the Face, or Hadui, this being lived on the rim of the world and controlled the winds and disease. Both the Creator and Hadui claimed to be more powerful than the other. Agreeing to a contest to decide, each commanded a nearby mountain to move toward them. The Creator was so successful that Hadui struck his face on the rock. As a result, he consented to give humans the ability to call upon his power to cure illnesses by blowing hot ashes over patients. In return, the Haudenosaunee carve and wear False Face masks in his likeness, prepare feasts and conduct ceremonies that include singing, dancing, and tobacco offerings. Masks are to be treated with respect, and they are periodically offered corn mush and tobacco. In another story, a group of hunters met several beings called Common Faces in the forest who taught them these rituals to heal the sick.

The regalia of the society includes turtle shell and bark rattles, wooden staffs, and False Face masks. Carved from basswood or other soft woods, the masks often depict Hadui with a broken nose, a wrinkled forehead, and a twisted mouth, symbolizing his pain when he hit his face against the mountain during his competition with the Creator. Common Face masks have mouths that are often pursed to represent them whistling for tobacco or blowing ashes. Animal hair or fur is often attached to serve as hair, and shell or metal plates around the eyes catch the firelight at ceremonies. The Haudenosaunee consider these masks to be alive and believe that disrespect toward them can cause serious consequences such as illness and death.

Society membership consists of those who have been cured by or who have dreamt of Hadui or the Common Faces. Although the protocols may vary locally, the society conducts and participates in three main ceremonies: the Traveling Rite, or the purging of towns of disease in the spring and fall; rituals hosted in private homes; and the Midwinter or New Year's Festival held in January or February. In the Traveling Rite, the society visits each house, rubbing turtle rattles over the outside, and whisking the inside with pine boughs to rid the residence of ill-

ness. Those who are ill are cured with hot ashes. Afterward, the community gathers at the Longhouse, the spiritual center of the village, for tobacco offerings, songs, dances, feasting, and speeches that thank Hadui and the Common Faces for their protection. Medicine is distributed to all, but individuals who are ill or need their society membership renewed ask to have ashes blown over them. Throughout the year, the society conducts private ceremonies in the home to heal the sick or to renew membership as required each year. At Midwinter, the society visits each house, asks for tobacco, cures the sick, renews membership, and participates in dancing and feasting. In the early 1800s, Handsome Lake, a Haudenosaunee prophet who reformed their religion, unsuccessfully attempted to suppress these ceremonies.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the False Face Society attracted the attention of many anthropologists, including William Beauchamp, A. A. Goldenweiser, J.N.B. Hewitt, Arthur C. Parker, David Boyle, Harriet M. Converse, M. R. Harrington, Frank G. Speck, and in particular, William N. Fenton, a central figure in Iroquoian studies. They collected society regalia for museums, recorded its songs and dances, and photographed its ceremonies. (Photography of the masks is frowned on by traditionalists; the sale of the masks also is forbidden.)

Today, the False Face Society is active in Haudenosaunee communities in New York State and Canada. Several groups, such as the Haudenosaunee Standing Committee on Burial Rules and Regulations and the Grand Council of the Haudenosaunee, visit museum collections to conduct ritual offerings to masks and are working toward the repatriation of society regalia to their communities for spiritual care and ceremonial use.

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## Feminism, Native American Influences

When European-American women began to organize for their rights in upstate New York in the late 1840s, they found a model for the position they envisioned in their closest neighbors. Economic independence, rights to their bodies and children, spiritual authority, and a political voice: All these and more were held by Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) women.

Suffrage leaders Matilda Joslyn Gage and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were aware that, within the ancient Iroquois confederacy, women had responsibility for the land, selecting the hereditary chiefs, and making final decisions on issues of war and peace. While men hunted, women were the agriculturalists and determined food distribution.

United States women, on the other hand, came from a religious tradition that ordered them to keep silent in the churches, obey their husbands, and stay in the home. The tradition gained legal standing when canon (church) law became the basis for common law. Women—once they married and became one with their husbands—ceased to have a legal existence. They lost their property, wages, and children to their husbands, who could dispose of any of them as they wished, even willing away unborn children. Women could not vote, being under the authority of their fathers or husbands, who represented them in the political arena.

Told by church, government, and society that woman's subordination to man was divinely inspired, natural, and legal, leaders of the nineteenth-century woman's rights movement took courage and vision from Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) women who had political, social, economic, and religious equality with the men of their nations.

How did the suffragists know about the Haudenosaunee? While they lived in very different cultural, economic, spiritual, and political worlds during the early 1800s, Euro-American settlers in central and western New York were, at most, one person away from direct familiarity with people of the six nations: Onondaga, Mohawk, Seneca, Cayuga, Oneida, and Tuscarora. The Haudenosaunee continued their ancient practice of adopting individuals of other nations, and many European-American residents of New York (including Matilda Joslyn Gage) carried adoptive Indian names. Friendships and visiting were common between Natives and non-Natives. Newspapers routinely printed news from Iroquois country. Each local history book began with



*Susan B. Anthony (left) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton were pioneers in the fight for equal suffrage and women's rights. They were strongly influenced by Native American attitudes toward women. (Library of Congress)*

a lengthy account of the first inhabitants of the land. Three leaders of the woman's rights movement, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Matilda Joslyn Gage, and Lucretia Mott, were among those who had a personal connection to the Haudenosaunee.

Lucretia Mott and her husband James were members of the Indian Committee of the New York and Philadelphia Friends (Quaker) Yearly Meetings, which provided schooling and support for the Seneca at Cattaraugus. The Motts visited the Cattaraugus community in June 1848, where they observed the Seneca women plan the strawberry ceremony and take part in the deliberations over a possible change in the Seneca form of governance. The month after their visit, Mott organized the first woman's rights convention with Stanton and three Quaker friends in nearby Seneca Falls.





"I received the name of Ka-ron-ien-ha-wi, or 'Sky Carrier,' or *She who holds the sky*. It is a clan name of the wolves," wrote Matilda Joslyn Gage (Wagner, 2001, 32). Gage, who was recognized as the third member of the suffrage leadership "triumvirate" with Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, wrote about the superior position of Haudenosaunee women while supporting Native sovereignty and treaty rights.

Elizabeth Cady Stanton's second cousin, Peter Skenandoah Smith, was named for an Oneida friend of the family, Chief Skenandoah. On visits to Peter's brother, Gerrit Smith, Stanton frequently encountered Oneida guests. In addition, her nearest Seneca Falls neighbor, Oren Tyler, came from Onondaga, where he "had friendly dealings" with the people there and was adopted by them. He spoke their language fluently, and parties of Onondagans passing through Seneca Falls to sell their beadwork and baskets "sought out their 'brother,' as they called Capt. Tyler, who always befriended them" (Wagner, 2001, 32).

Gage and Stanton, the major theorists of the woman's suffrage movement radical wing (the National Woman Suffrage Association [NWSA]), became increasingly disenchanted with the inability and unwillingness of Western institutions to change and embrace the liberty of not just women, but all disfranchised groups. They became students of the Haudenosaunee and found a cosmological worldview that they believed to be superior to the patriarchal one of the European-American-dominated nation in which they lived. They read Lewis Henry Morgan, whose *League of the Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee* is often credited with being the first anthropology text, but he was only one of many sources used by Gage. Describing the matrilineal system, Gage cited "Lafitte and other Jesuit missionary writers" along with "[Henry Rowe] Schoolcraft, [George] Catlin, [Joshua V. H.] Clark, Hubert Bancroft of the Pacific coast, and many students of Indian life and customs" (Wagner, 2001, 35).

Personal and scholarly knowledge of their Haudenosaunee friends and neighbors was reinforced by the daily news. These suffragists regularly read newspaper accounts of everyday Iroquois activities—the sports scores when the Onondaga faced the Mohawks at lacrosse; a Quaker council called to ask Seneca women to leave their fields and work in the home (as the Friends said God commanded); and a condolence ceremony to mourn a chief's death and to set in place a new one. The

average nineteenth-century upstate New York newspaper reader was assumed to have the kind of knowledge of Iroquois history and government that today is possessed, among Euro-Americans, only by scholars.

New York newspaper readers, like Stanton and Gage, discovered from printed interviews with white teachers at various Indian nations the wonderful sense of freedom and safety felt by Haudenosaunee women, because rape was virtually nonexistent on the reservations. These front-page stories admonished big city dandies to learn a thing or two from Native men's example, so that European-American women too could walk the streets without fear. An April 10, 1883, description of life on the Onondaga nation for a white woman was published in the *Skaneateles Democrat*, a paper to which Gage was a sometime contributor:

It shows the remarkable security of living on an Indian Reservation, that a solitary woman can walk about for miles, at any hour of the day or night, in perfect safety. Miss Remington often starts off, between eight and nine in the evening, lantern in one hand and alpenstock in the other, and a parcel of supplies strung from her shoulder, to walk for a mile or more up the hillsides (Beauchamp, 1883).

Miss Remington had long been in charge of the mission house at Onondaga. Adopted into the Snipe clan of the Onondaga nation, she was given the name *Ki-a-was-say*, or "A New Word."

Harriet Maxwell Converse, a friend of Gage's who wrote numerous articles about the Haudenosaunee for the New York papers, published this account:

Rev. M. F. Trippe, long a missionary on the Tonawanda, Cattaraugus and Alleghany reservations, said to me:—"Tell the readers of the *Herald* that there is absolutely no profanity, no 'swear words' in the Native language of these people. The use of bad language, like the use of liquor they learn from the whites, but they do not practice either as much as their white neighbors. They have a sincere respect for women—their own women as well as those of the whites. I have seen young white women going unprotected about parts of the reservations in search of botanical specimens best found there, and Indian men helping





them. Where else in the land can a girl be safe from insult from rude men whom she does not know (Wagner, 2001, 44–45).

Just as feminists 100 years later learned from Margaret Mead's research among the Arapesh that rape is not universal, so did the suffragists learn from their research, newspapers, and neighbors that men in some societies do not rape women. They understood that rape is socially structured behavior. Violence against women had its origins, they analyzed, in the absolute authority—religiously and legally sanctioned—that husbands had over wives and men had over women.

Attorney Carrie Burnham, a coworker of Gage and Stanton in the National Woman Suffrage Association, explained:

By marriage, the husband and wife are one person in law; that is, the legal existence of the woman is "merged in that of her husband." He is her "baron," or "lord," bound to supply her with shelter, food, clothing and medicine and is entitled to her earnings—the use and custody of her person which he may seize wherever he may find it (Wagner, 2001, 73).

One implication of the legal nonexistence of married women was, English Chief Justice Matthew Hale pronounced in 1736, that husbands could not be held legally responsible for raping their wives. Subsequent rape laws in the states were based on this legal sanction of marital rape, rape generally being defined as the forcible penetration of the body of a woman, not the wife of the perpetrator. When federal legislation in the 1870s put authority for determining what was "obscene" in the United States in the hands of religious fundamentalist Anthony Comstock, Stanton and Gage saw allies like Moses Harmon imprisoned for simply raising the issue of marital rape in his newspaper, *Lucifer the Lightbearer*.

Euro-American men had the spiritual responsibility to enforce the obedience of their wives, and the legal system upheld a husband's right to "moderate correction," since he was responsible for her behavior. A North Carolina court ruled in 1864 that the state should not interfere in cases of domestic chastisement unless "permanent injury or excessive violence" was involved. By contrast, Haudenosaunee men were spiritually and socially prohibited from striking women—be they mother, wife, or child.

Alice Fletcher, suffragist and early ethnographer, addressed this issue at the International Council of Women, held by the NWSA in 1888. With the leaders of the woman's rights movement from around the world gathered for the first time, she shared the concern of her Native women acquaintances that, once they came under U.S. law, they would lose the traditional protection they had against male violence. Traditionally, the men of a woman's clan family would punish any man—husbands included—who violated or beat her. Under U.S. law, the brother who defended his sister "would himself become liable to the law and suffer for his championship," Fletcher worried (Wagner, 2001, 66).

Husbands also had absolute control of their offspring—even to having the legal authority of naming a guardian other than the mother for an unborn child in the event of his death. Gage documented such a case and contrasted the Euro-American mother's lack of say in the lives of her children with that of Haudenosaunee women, whose children followed her line:

So fully to this day is descent reckoned through the mother, that blue-eyed, fair-haired children of white fathers are numbered in the tribe and receive both from state and nation their portion of the yearly dole paid to Indian tribes. The veriest pagan among the Iroquois, the renowned and important Keeper of the Wampum, and present sole interpreter of the Belts which give the most ancient and secret history of this confederation, is Ephriam Webster, descended from a white man, who, a hundred or more years since, became affiliated through marriage with an Indian woman, as a member of the principal nation of the Iroquois, the Onondagas (Wagner, 2001, 69–70).

Not just the Haudenosaunees, but generally, Gage asserted, Indians of North America trace descent in the female line. One implication of this, Gage's friend Harriet Maxwell Converse wrote, was that "in a divorce or separation, the children are taken by the mother, the family descent being from the maternal line."

In a speech before the National Council of Women in 1891, Elizabeth Cady Stanton celebrated Haudenosaunee-style divorce, pointing to it as a model:





Usually the females ruled the house. The stores were in common; but woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too shiftless to do his share of the providing. No matter how many children, or whatever goods he might have in the house, he might at any time be ordered to pick up his blanket and budge; and after such an order it would not be healthful for him to attempt to disobey. The house would be too hot for him; and unless saved by the intercession of some aunt or grandmother he must retreat to his own clan or go away to start a new matrimonial alliance in some other (Grinde and Johansen, 1991, 221).

Stanton was especially sensitive to the issue of divorce. Among suffragists, she was uniquely courageous in advocating that the laws be changed to allow women the right to leave unacceptable marriages. For this stand she was labeled an infidel, since traditional Christianity generally held at the time that marriage was a covenant with God that no woman had a right to break, even if her life was in danger from a violent husband.

Underlying female autonomy among the Haudenosaunee nations was economic authority. Women, the creators, were the farmers, responsible for everything in Mother Earth, whereas men were responsible for hunting and everything on the surface of the land in the gender balance at the foundation of Haudenosaunee culture. Haudenosaunee women were extraordinary agriculturalists, Gage reported. In a published newspaper report on the 1875 Onondaga County Indian Fair, she noted that:

Forty-eight kinds of beans were on exhibition . . . this confederacy, with its wonderful government and customs and its fixed dwelling places, had in its own steps of progress developed a science of agriculture. Corn, beans, potatoes, and plants of the gourd family, including squash and a species of pumpkin, and tobacco, were all regularly cultivated, and together with vast quantity of nuts, were stored in pits or cellars for winter use (Gage, 1875).

Gage recognized that Native women farmers used methods unknown to white men.

Their method of farming was entirely different from our own. In olden Iroquois tillage there

was no turning the sod with a plough to which were harnessed a cow and a woman, as is seen today in Christian Germany; but the ground was literally "tickled with a hoe" and it "laughed with a harvest." Corn hills three or four times larger than those seen to-day remained in use successive years, and when the country was first settled the appearance of those numerous little mounds created great wonder. Slightly scratched with a stick or piece of bone, maize was there planted, and but little labor attended its cultivation (Wagner, 2001, 53).

Married women in the United States, by state laws, were denied the right to control and possess their own property; it passed to their husbands upon the words "I do." It took tremendous political effort for nineteenth-century feminists slowly to change these state laws and claim the right to economic independence. Alice Fletcher at the 1888 International Council of Women informed her audience that the situation was completely different, not only for Native women but also for children. Everyone—men, women, and children—had their own possessions that no other family member could control. "A wife is as independent in the use of her possessions as is the most independent man in our midst," she declared, telling this story:

When I was living with the Indians, my hostess . . . one day gave away a very fine horse. I was surprised, for I knew there had been no family talk on the subject, so I asked: "Will your husband like to have you give the horse away?" Her eyes danced, and, breaking into a peal of laughter, she hastened to tell the story to the other women gathered in the tent, and I became the target of many merry eyes. I tried to explain how a white woman would act, but laughter and contempt met my explanation of the white man's hold upon his wife's property (Grinde and Johansen, 1991, 232).

Economic independence and authority, control of their property, rights to their bodies and children, and rights to divorce when a marriage became untenable, the ensured protection of their relatives, the spiritual authority with the responsibility of planning ceremonies—these were privileges Haudenosaunee women took for granted. They assumed, until they met European-American women, that this was the natural, universal condi-





tion of women. And they assumed that their political authority was a reality for all women.

The cultural contrast was dramatic. Women citizens of the United States, until they began to organize and slowly—school board by municipality by state—accomplished the Herculean task of creating a political voice, had no say in their own lives, from family to country. While Haudenosaunee women had full participation in their government, European-American women faced state laws making it a crime for them to vote, and Susan B. Anthony was arrested, tried, and found guilty for exercising her right of citizenship. They did not gain recognition of their inherent right to the ballot—in a republic based on the consent of the governed—until 1920. Haudenosaunee women, on the other hand, had possessed a political voice equal to men since the founding of the Iroquois Confederacy, before Columbus arrived on these shores. They called their own councils and determined their own issues, which were then heard by the grand council. The chiefs who represented the clans in council were nominated by the women and, as Stanton told the National Council of Women in 1891, “They did not hesitate, when occasion required, ‘to knock off the horns,’ as it was technically called, from the head of a chief and send him back to the ranks of the warriors” (Wagner, 2001, 82). The clan mother alone had the authority to remove the chief, as Stanton understood. Women were the great power among the clan, as everywhere else, she maintained. Mott wrote about listening to speeches of their chiefs, when she visited the Seneca in 1848.

“Division of power between the sexes in this Indian republic was nearly equal,” Gage enthused, and it wasn’t just Haudenosaunee women who had a political voice: “among some tribes women enjoy almost the whole legislative authority and in others a prominent share.” Haudenosaunee women also have the final say in whether their men would go to war. Writing in her capacity as president of the National Woman Suffrage Association, Gage told readers of *The New York Evening Post* in 1875: “Its women exercised controlling power in peace and war, forbidding at will its young braves to enter battle, and often determining its terms of peace” (Wagner, 2001, 48, 71).

Henry Schoolcraft, one of Gage’s sources, wrote in 1847, that the war authority of women “exists to-day as incontestably as it did centuries ago. They were entrusted with the power to propose a cessa-

tion of arms. They were literally peace-makers” (Schoolcraft, 1847, n.p.). When the Wolf Clan adopted Gage in 1893, her Mohawk sister told her that the Council of Matrons would decide “as to my having a voice in the Chieftainship” (Gage, 1893). How amazing this must have been to a woman who went to trial the same year for voting in a school board election in her upstate New York village. Considered for decision-making authority in her adopted nation, she was arrested for voting in her own nation—and lost her case.

Alice Fletcher summarized the contrast between Native and non-Native women for suffragists in her 1888 International Council of Women speech in this way:

As I have tried to explain our statutes to Indian women, I have met with but one response. They have said: “As an Indian woman I was free. I owned my home, my person, the work of my own hands, and my children could never forget me. I was better off as an Indian woman than under white law.” Men have said: “Your laws show how little your men care for their women. The wife is nothing of herself. She is worth little but to help a man to have one hundred and sixty acres. . . . She has fallen under the edge of our laws” (Fletcher, 1888, 238).

Sally Roesch Wagner

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## Fishing Rights

Control of and access to natural resources has been a contentious issue throughout American Indian history. While conflicts over fur trapping and big game hunting characterized much of the period of westward expansion, in the latter half of the twentieth century the most serious conflicts in the United States have involved Native American fishing rights.

The nature of American Indian fishing can be traced through four historical periods that occurred similarly throughout Native North America but at different periods of time and of different durations.

Initially the traditional use of fisheries resources was part of the traditional round of subsistence activities. Access to, control of, and distribution of fisheries resources were vested in the kinship group and varied according to cultural custom. For example, in some areas of the Pacific Northwest, fishing locations were owned by extended families (kindreds) or clans, whereas in the Great Lakes area fishing locations were open access. During the early phase of European contact, these traditional systems of access persisted. Even when the European colonizers were interested in exploiting the fisheries resource, traditional American Indian systems of allocation and European concepts of fisheries as common property coexisted.

As the European and later the European-American populations increased, in step with demands on the fisheries resources, Native Americans were initially incorporated as producers and workers in the burgeoning fishing industries. This second period lasted only a few years in some areas, whereas in other areas it is evident to this day. This period was generally ushered in with the commercialization of fisheries resources, and Native Americans were often



Native Americans protest violations of tribal fishing rights along the Columbia River in Washington state in 1971. (Corbis)





in a position as fishers and processors to provide the knowledge and skilled labor necessary to effectively develop the resource on a large scale.

The third period of American Indian fisheries can be characterized as a time of marginalization. In most areas, increasing technological sophistication and increased capitalization worked to exclude small-scale producers from participation in the fisheries for commercially valuable species. Combined with federal policies designed to shift Native Americans from participation in traditional pursuits to settled agriculture, Native peoples were directed away from the developing fishing industries. Finally, American Indians brought about a fourth period by gaining reentry into the fisheries through legal channels. This has resulted in some of the most controversial court decisions in the history of the United States.

In the Pacific Northwest, the tribes of western Washington and the Columbia River have been actively pursuing fishing rights assured by treaty since the 1890s. It was not until the 1960s and 1970s, however, that favorable court decisions specifically guaranteed a Native allocation. The Native American fishers had been largely excluded from the salmon fisheries of the Pacific Northwest by the early 1900s. Increased commercialization and environmental degradation caused the salmon stocks to decrease dramatically so that by 1960 Native American fishers were taking less than 3 percent of the total harvest.

Salmon are an essential part of the economic and religious life of the Native peoples of the Pacific Northwest, and the fear that access might disappear altogether prompted several tribes to go to court to argue for a specific treaty Indian allocation. This resulted in two landmark cases. *Sohappy v. Smith* (1969), or the Belloni decision, stipulated that state regulatory agencies must provide an opportunity for treaty Indians to harvest a "fair share" of the salmon resource. *United States v. State of Washington* (1974), or the Boldt decision, went further to specify an allocation. Based on treaty wording, the court decided that the allocation should be established at 50 percent of the harvestable salmon resource. Since 1974, the treaty allocation has been extended to other commercially valuable species as well, such as herring, halibut, and shellfish. Especially controversial is the "fisheries clause" in the Treaty with the Makah, which enabled the 1999 harvest of a gray whale, the first in nearly eighty years. The fisheries clauses in the treaties with tribes in the Pacific Northwest have been at the heart of the controversies. All of the

treaties with tribes in western Washington and along the Columbia River contain wording securing the right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed places and to hunt and gather on open and unclaimed lands; some of the treaties contain further rights specific to the signatory tribes, such as whaling, the taking of shellfish, or the pasturing of horses.

The Great Lakes fishery followed a similar course of events. Commercialization of the resource started as early as 1836, and Native people were an essential part of this early development but were gradually squeezed out of the industry. By the late 1800s, the Native people of these areas were primarily involved in a subsistence fishery, marginalized as the commercial fishery developed. Overutilization eventually caused the collapse of the commercial fishery, and in the 1960s state efforts were focused on rejuvenating the Great Lakes fishery to attract tourism dollars into economically depressed areas. American Indian fishers also sought participation in the revived fishery based on treaty rights to the resource. After several state court cases, Native groups eventually won favorable decisions in federal court. Among others, *United States v. Michigan* (1979), the Fox decision, *Lac Courte Oreilles v. Voight* (1983), the Voight decision, and *Minnesota v. Mille Lacs Band* (1998) established treaty rights to fish in the Great Lakes and other waters of Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Unlike the Pacific Northwest treaties the Great Lakes treaties do not limit the traditional right. In the aftermath of these decisions there was a rash of anti-Indian activism.

Native American fishing rights in the United States are generally of two types: those on reservation lands and those on off-reservation lands. Off-reservation lands are usually ceded lands, but in the Pacific Northwest treaty fishing rights are expanded to "usual and accustomed areas," which may extend beyond lands ceded by treaty. On-reservation fishing rights are generally exclusive, whereas off-reservation fishing rights are generally shared with citizens of the United States.

Fishing rights controversies entered the courts as early as the 1880s, and throughout the early 1900s a long series of state and federal court decisions dealt with singular issues. For example in *United States v. Winans* (1905) the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Yakama fishers could not be excluded from their traditional off-reservation fishing locations by a non-Indian landowner. The treaty right to access usual and accustomed areas superseded the right of a nontreaty fisher to place a fishing device on the





Subsistence Language in Northwest Coast Treaties

Treaty	Date	Subsistence Clause
Medicine Creek	12/24/1854	The right of taking fish, at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations, is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing, together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses on open and unclaimed lands. Provided, however, That they shall not take shellfish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens, and that they shall alter all stallions not intended for breeding-horses, and shall keep up and confine the latter.
Point Elliott	1/22/1855	The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purposes of curing, together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands. Provided, however, That they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens.
Point No Point	1/26/1855	The right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians, in common with all citizens of the United States; and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing; together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands. Provided, however, That they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens.
Makah Treaty	1/31/1855	The right of taking fish and of whaling or sealing at usual and accustomed grounds and stations is further secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of the United States, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing, together with the privilege of hunting and gathering roots and berries on open and unclaimed lands. Provided, however, That they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens.
Quinalt Treaty	1/25/1856	The right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations is secured to said Indians in common with all citizens of

traditional location. In *Winans* the U.S. Supreme Court further determined not merely that the state could not regulate a treaty fishery except for conservation but also that the treaties must be interpreted “in accordance with the meaning they were understood by the tribal representatives” and in “a spirit which recognizes the full obligation of this nation to protect the interests of a dependent people,” thereby applying the canon of Utmost Good Faith to treaty fishing rights. In *Tulee v. State of Washington* (1942) a

Yakama fisher who was arrested for fishing without a state license argued that treaty fishing rights could not be regulated by the state.

During the 1960s several western Washington treaty tribes began to organize protests and legal proceedings to draw attention to how the commercial fishery had come to exclude treaty Indians. Numerous fish-ins were organized at conspicuous locations, most frequently in south Puget Sound, resulting in a series of courts cases known as Puyallup I, II, and III.





		<p>the Territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing the same; together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses on all open and unclaimed lands. Provided, however, That they shall not take shell-fish from any beds staked or cultivated by citizens; and provided, also, that they shall alter all stallions not intended for breeding, and keep up and confine the stallions themselves.</p>
Yakama Treaty	6/9/1855	<p>The exclusive right of taking fish in all the streams, where running through or bordering said reservation, is further secured to said confederated tribes and bands of Indians, as also the right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed places, in common with the citizens of the Territory, and of erecting temporary buildings for curing them; together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses and cattle upon open and unclaimed land.</p>
Walla Walla Treaty	6/9/1855	<p>That the exclusive right of taking fish in the streams running through and bordering said reservation is hereby secured to said Indians, and at all other usual and accustomed stations in common with citizens of the United States, and of erecting suitable buildings for curing the same; the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries and pasturing their stock on unclaimed lands in common with citizens, is also secured to them.</p>
Nez Percé Treaty	6/11/1855	<p>The exclusive right of taking fish in all the streams where running through or bordering said reservation is further secured to said Indians; as also the right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed places in common with citizens of the Territory; and of erecting temporary buildings for curing, together with the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their horses and cattle upon open and unclaimed land.</p>
Middle Oregon Treaty	6/25/1855	<p>That the exclusive right of taking fish in the streams running through and bordering said reservation is hereby secured to said Indians; and at all other usual and accustomed stations, in common with citizens, of the United States, and of erecting suitable houses for curing the same; also the privilege of hunting, gathering roots and berries, and pasturing their stock on unclaimed lands, in common with citizens, is secured to them.</p>

By 1971 this opposition had developed to the point where thirteen western Washington tribes were ready to pursue the issue in court. The tribes brought suit in 1973 with the federal government intervening on their behalf.

On February 14, 1974 Federal District Court Judge George Boldt decided that the subsistence clause of the 1854–1856 western Washington treaties must be interpreted to mean that treaty tribes are entitled to a guarantee of half of the harvestable allocation

of salmon because the state of Washington had been “either unable or unwilling” to ensure an allocation for treaty fishers. The immediate response of non-treaty fishers was one of indignation and violent resistance. The state of Washington initially balked at enforcing the adjudicated allocation and for four years the salmon fishery of Washington was in a state of chaos. A number of violent altercations ensued, a fourteen-year-old Indian fisher was shot at by a sniper on one occasion, and in another incident a fisheries





patrol officer wounded a nontreaty fisher with a shotgun. In July 1978 Judge Boldt assumed control of management of the fishery and called on the U.S. Coast Guard to enforce management decisions.

The Boldt decision has been one of the most controversial issues in American Indian history. Based on similar wording in articles contained in the five ratified western Washington treaties, the decision legally defined the phrase "in common with" that was part of the wording in the treaty subsistence clauses.

By dictionary definition and as intended in the Indian treaties and in this decision, the phrase "in common with" means *sharing equally* the opportunity to take fish at "usual and accustomed grounds and stations"; therefore, non-treaty fishermen shall have the opportunity to take up to 50 per cent of the harvestable number of fish that may be taken by all fishermen, and treaty right fishermen shall have the opportunity to take up to the same percentage of harvestable fish . . . " (*United States v. State of Washington*, 384 F Supp. 312 [1974]).

An important determination of the courts was the interpretation that fishing rights were *reserved* by treaty, whereas fishing was a *privilege* extended to nontreaty fishers. This interpretation of treaty language argues that treaty fishers owned the resource traditionally and through treaties relinquished a share of it. The public and the media generally do not understand that the Boldt decision did not "give" half of the fishery to the treaty tribes; rather, the legal interpretation is that they reserved half of what they originally owned in its entirety.

The Boldt decision was appealed and upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals in 1975. In 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court declined review of the case. The controversy surrounding the implementation of the decision and the state and federal attention it received compelled the Supreme Court to hear the appeal, the first time in the history of the U.S. Supreme Court that it reversed a decision not to hear a case. In 1979 the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the Boldt decision in a six-to-three ruling. Since 1979 the state of Washington has resumed management of the fishery and has implemented a management regime that has enabled the treaty tribes to reap their share of the harvest. The tribes have also assumed management of much of the treaty share of the fisheries. In 1974 the western Washington treaty tribes organized the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission to "assist and coordinate the development of an orderly and biologically sound treaty fishery in the Northwest." Elsewhere, similar organizations were

founded in the wake of sympathetic court decisions, including the Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission and the Great Lakes Indian Fish and Wildlife Commission.

In a repeat performance of the Boldt decision, the Fox decision in *United States v. Michigan* (1979) found that the treaty fishing rights of the Chippewas and Ottawas are protected by treaty and that these "tribes have unique, exclusive, off-reservation rights to engage in gill net fishing in waters of Lake Michigan, despite Michigan laws to the contrary . . . these treaties grant the Indians an absolute right to engage in gill net fishing in these waters free from any regulation by the State of Michigan or any limitations of time, place or manner generally applicable to other citizens . . . " The state of Michigan appealed the decision, and the U.S. Supreme Court declined to review it. Subsequently, similar decisions extended fishing rights to treaty tribes in Wisconsin and Minnesota.

Access and control of natural resources continues to be one of the most contentious issues for indigenous peoples and the states wherein they reside. With the universal problem of declining resources and increasing American Indian influence in management decisions, the repercussions extend beyond traditional rights of access to fish. A second component of the Boldt decision, known as Phase II, extends some influence over the environmental impacts to concerned Native American tribes. The Boldt decision reasoned that without fish there would be no fishing rights. Environmental concerns, such as development in watersheds, offshore oil drilling, and the breaching of antiquated dams will become the dominant issues in the near future as Native Americans continue their role as stewards of the environment and attempt to protect the natural resources on which they depend.

Daniel L. Boxberger

*See also* Ceremonies, Criminalization of; Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission; Dalles Trading Area; Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Economic Development; Great Lakes Intertribal Council; Red Power Movement; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Sohappy, Sr., David; Treaty Diplomacy, with Summary of Selected Treaties; Tribal Sovereignty; Water Rights.

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## Fur Trade

The North American fur trade comprised an important episode in the continent's history and had far-reaching consequences for the course of European-American westward expansion. Fur traders were the advance guard of European and American society and were typically the first Europeans to encounter Native Americans. The concept of trapping animals and selling their fur to distant consumers introduced a market economy to the Native Americans' world. In the process, the trade hunted many animals to extinction. Moreover, the fur trade was truly an international venture, including not only Native Americans but also the British, French, Russians, Spanish, Dutch, and Americans.

Before Europeans arrived in North America, Native Americans traded furs among themselves. The trade, however, occurred on the local level and served relatively small populations. Also, because many Native groups had migratory habits, Native Americans did not accumulate more furs than



Engraving of fur traders socializing with Native Americans in the seventeenth century. (Library of Congress)

could immediately be put to use or traded for other goods.

When Europeans arrived on the North Atlantic coast in the sixteenth century, they encouraged Native Americans to assist them in conducting a fur trade on a much larger scale. Presented with abundant and seemingly inexhaustible supplies of fur-bearing animals, Europeans desired sable, mink, otter, ermine, and especially beaver to use in the finest coats, clothes, and hats, establishing a trade both to Europe and to parts of Asia. For their part, Native Americans wanted iron tools and other items that only Europeans could provide.

The beginning of the fur trade exchange transformed Native American culture in the Northeast, as it would elsewhere later. After the French explorer Jacques Cartier found an abundant beaver population in the Saint Lawrence River Valley during his expeditions between 1534 and 1543, Paris hatmakers eagerly imported North American beaver pelts, setting a fashion trend that spread quickly to the rest of Europe and driving an even larger demand for furs.

Native Americans usually obtained the pelts for French, British, and Dutch employers, because they knew the land and had experience hunting. As the profits from the trade increased and animal pelts began to grow scarce, competition over trading territory among Native groups intensified and led to a





number of Iroquois wars in the midseventeenth century. The Iroquois and their British and Dutch trading partners virtually annihilated the Hurons, who had served as the region's largest fur brokers. This initial phase of the fur trade frequently pitted Native Americans against each other as various groups struggled to achieve or maintain dominance in a particular region.

Meanwhile, another rivalry developed between the European powers to protect their profitable trading empires. Although the French had established a stronghold in Montreal early in the seventeenth century, the British challenged French dominance in the northern and western fur trade by chartering the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. The French responded by putting more traders in the field. By 1680, 800 French traders worked in the backcountry and had established strong economic bonds with several Native American groups. The French aggressively continued to establish trading posts throughout the Great Lakes region until the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, which ended in their defeat at the hands of the British.

After the French had been swept from the North American continent, the Hudson's Bay Company faced competition from the North West Company, a combination of former French companies, and British, Scottish, and New England merchants. The Hudson's Bay Company and the Nor'westers, as the traders and trappers of the North West Company were called, moved aggressively throughout the interior of North America.

In the Ohio Valley and the region around the Great Lakes, the fur trade created a unique society. As in the colonial Northeast, Native Americans played a significant role in the interior fur trade, serving as guides when Europeans pushed into new regions and working as trappers. They were also an eager market for European goods, contributing to the trade's profitability, as Europeans not only made money trading with the Indians but also reaped significant rewards when the furs were sold in Europe. Each group, then, needed the other.

Native Americans often paid a high price for their involvement in the trade, however. American traders and trappers introduced alcohol and diseases to Native Americans, with devastating consequences. Epidemics of measles, mumps, influenza, and especially smallpox decimated tribal populations. The resultant decline in Indian populations further opened the door for white settlement, mak-

ing the fur traders vanguards of the American empire.

This capitalistic relationship also forged more personal ties between Europeans and Native Americans. European traders frequently married Native women. In fact, historians now estimate that as many as 40 percent of trappers may have married Native Americans. These unions generally benefited both parties, as European men desired companionship, and Native women often gained power among their own people and usually a level of material comfort. European traders also used their marriages to gain access to traditional Native lands and knowledge, as well as gaining hardworking partners for the arduous labor of the fur trade.

The children that resulted from these marriages were known as Métis, who paradoxically fit in both European and Native American societies but who were sometimes ostracized from both. Métis served as a cultural bridge to these separate populations, but ultimately such intermarriage undermined Native family patterns.

As trappers moved west, they pushed into the land of the Louisiana Purchase and the Mexican-controlled Rocky Mountain region. Here, such famous trappers as Jedediah Smith and Jim Bridger captured the imagination of the American public as they spent years in the mountains trapping beavers and other fur-bearing animals.

The Rocky Mountain trapping system differed substantially from the fur-trapping practices of the Hudson's Bay Company and other colonial traders. Rather than establishing a trading post and having Native American or British trappers periodically go to the post to exchange hides for goods, an American merchant named William Ashley created the annual rendezvous system in 1825. Every year, Ashley sent a supply train to a spot in the Rocky Mountains where American trappers, Native Americans, and Mexicans came to trade. The only social event of the year for these trappers, the rendezvous assumed something of a carnival-like atmosphere, with a variety of entertainments, storytelling, drinking, and dancing. The rendezvous became an important part of the culture of the Rocky Mountain fur trade.

The most successful of the traders was an American named John Jacob Astor. A German by birth, Astor had immigrated to America in the 1780s and shortly thereafter, opened his own fur-trading firm in New York City, naming it the American Fur Company. From there, he financed an army of trap-





pers who spread out over the North American interior. By 1820, he had nearly established a monopoly on the American fur trade, the profits from which he famously reinvested in Manhattan real estate. Wisely, he foresaw the decline of the fur trade in the mid-1830s and sold his interest in the business.

By that time, fur-bearing animal populations were seriously suffering, hovering on the brink of extinction in many areas of North America. The situation was so poor that in 1838 Mexico, which ruled much of the Rocky Mountain region at this time, declared a moratorium on trapping the animals to allow the populations a chance to recover. It marked the end of the trade in the interior, and by 1840 the Rocky Mountain trapping system had significantly declined. The fur trade in central North America was replaced by a thriving industry in buffalo hides, which would ensure the buffaloes' almost complete extinction by the end of the nineteenth century.

As some trappers explored the interior of the continent, others extended the trade along the Pacific Coast. Since the 1740s, the Russian-American Company had been taking sea otter pelts, which they dubbed "soft gold," in Alaska. Between 1743 and 1800, 100 separate business ventures, all sponsored by the Russian-American Company, obtained more than 8 million silver rubles worth of pelts. The Spanish empire also engaged in some fur trading activities along the Pacific Coast.

The trade along the Pacific Coast vastly accelerated at the close of the eighteenth century, after Great Britain's Captain James Cook anchored in Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island in 1778. While on the island, Cook obtained sea otter pelts from the Native Americans, and, when his ships reached China, the crew found that the otter pelts were worth a fortune. When news of this exchange spread, American and British merchants flocked to the Pacific Northwest to join in the trade, quickly out-harvesting Russian and Spanish traders. In fact, they were so successful that the sea otter population had dwindled to dangerously low levels by about 1815. The trade thus faltered, as too few sea otters remained to sustain a profitable business.

In 1811, however, the Pacific Fur Company, a subsidiary of Astor's American Fur Company, established a fur trading post at Astoria, Oregon, to counter British dominance in the region, which served as the basis for later settlements of American trappers. Undeterred, the Hudson's Bay Company then pursued a policy to make the rich Columbia

River region a "fur desert." This strategy, pursued by Peter Skene Ogden beginning in about 1834, involved hunting fur-bearing animals to near extinction, making it unprofitable for American fur traders to trap in the region and slowing American migration. For another decade or more, the British remained the dominant force in the Northwest, until the diplomatic maneuverings of President James K. Polk forced the British to relinquish their hold on the region.

By midcentury, the fur trade was exhausted in most of the United States. Only in Alaska did it continue to flourish. Although the U.S. purchase of Alaska in 1867 essentially expelled Russian traders from the region, it did not end the fur trade. Picking up where the Russians had left off, British, Canadian, and American entrepreneurs began trapping aggressively in Alaska. The Pribilof Islands, for example, generated more than 100,000 seal pelts per year until 1890, when scientific authorities recognized the fur seal population was dangerously low.

In response, representatives from the United States and Great Britain signed the Convention for the Protection of Fur Seals in Alaska (1892), which placed a limit on the number of seals that could be killed in the course of a year. Because Russia and Japan, two of the most aggressive fur-hunting countries, were not involved, however, the convention did not prove as effective as its proponents had hoped. Not until 1911 did representatives from the four countries gather and hammer out a more comprehensive agreement that significantly restrained the fur trade in Alaska.

Throughout the twentieth century, furs have remained popular in the fashion world, although hunting for fur has been prohibited in the United States. In the 1980s and 1990s, Americans became increasingly concerned with fur hunting in the Arctic Circle, most of which is conducted by trappers from other countries. Outrage over the practice of clubbing baby seals to death for their fur led to the emergence of a widespread movement to ban the wearing of animal furs. In several well-publicized incidents, protestors of the fur trade poured buckets of red paint on women wearing fur coats. Environmental groups in the United States have also organized large public rallies to protest the continuing fur trade. However, because most of the trade is conducted by trappers from other countries, American public opinion has had little effect.

*Adam Sowards*





*See also* Beaver Wars; Canoes; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; French and Indian War; Hudson's Bay Company; New France and Natives; North West Company; Northwest Ordinance; Russians, in the Arctic/Northwest; Trade; Warfare, Intertribal.

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## Ghost Dance Religion

What non-Indian observers deemed the Ghost Dance was a much older belief and ceremony among various Numic-speaking peoples that emerged as a pan-Indian faith in two movements; 1869–1870 and 1889–1890. Both movements began among the *Numu* (northern Paiutes) of the Walker River Reservation in western Nevada and promised the reunification of the living and the dead on a reborn earth, the return of game animals, and, by varying accounts, the elimination of non-Indians or nonbelievers. Both movements found adherents far beyond the *Numu* homeland. There were, however, important differences between the two movements, with the latter being more widespread and exhibiting much greater Christian syncretism. “Ghost Dance” is a non-Indian term; each American Indian people has its own specific name for the ceremony.

The Ghost Dance religion is a pan-Indian movement that exhibited similarities to pan-Indian religions stretching back to the eighteenth century. During the French and Indian War, the Delaware prophet Neolin preached that Native peoples must wean themselves of dependence on the Europeans in order to clear a path to heaven. His teachings were the spiritual underpinning of Pontiac's coalition of Native peoples that for a time stalled British expansion in the Ohio country. A half-century later, the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa announced a similar prophecy, which played a similar role in his brother Tecumseh's attempt to create a pan-Indian political

and military alliance. On the Columbia Plateau, the Prophet Dances and the Dreamer Religion of the Wanapum Prophet Smohalla also proposed a millennial vision of a pan-Indian future and identity.

The first pan-Indian Ghost Dance movement emerged from the vicinity of the Walker River Reservation around 1869. The 1870 Ghost Dance has remained far more obscure than the religious movement that followed two decades later. Contemporary non-Indian observers did not even recognize the larger pattern within scattered reports of religious excitement among Native peoples. The 1870 Ghost Dance prophet was Wodziwob (Gray Hair or Gray Head), a Fish Lake Valley Paiute who lived at Walker River, where he was also known as Hawthorne Wodziwob and Fish Lake Joe. Announcing his initial prophecies at communal gatherings, Wodziwob told his followers that Indian people could radically transform the present through supernatural means by practicing the prescribed ceremonies. He prophesied a return of the old ways with all the Indians living and dead reunited on a renewed earth.

The ceremonial base of both Ghost Dance movements was the Great Basin Round Dance, a rite that served a number of important ritual purposes during communal gatherings such as rabbit drives and fish runs. Men, women, and children all participated. Within the circle, they alternated sexes, interlocked fingers, and shuffled slowly to the left, all the while singing songs revealed to individual dancers in visions. The dances occurred five nights in succession, and the cycle could be repeated up to twenty times a year.

The 1870 Ghost Dance spread north and west to the Washoes, Pyramid Lake Paiutes, Surprise Valley Paiutes, Modocs, Klamaths, Shastas, Karoks, Maidus, and Patwins. In California, the dances inspired revivals of preexisting religions (the Kuku or God Impersonating cult) or were transformed into new belief systems (the Bole-Marú and Dream religions). Contrary to established historical opinion, the 1870 Ghost Dance spread at least as far east as the Rocky Mountains where Shoshones, Bannocks, and Utes all practiced the religion continuously throughout the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

The second Ghost Dance movement also began on the Walker River Reservation. The prophet Wovoka (also known as Jack Wilson) experienced his first vision on New Year's Day, 1889. He reported traveling to heaven and meeting God. He was instructed to return to earth and to tell the people to





*A Paiute Ghost Dance during the late nineteenth century. The Ghost Dance was a messianic movement started by the Paiute prophet Wovoka in the late nineteenth century that promised the return of a pre-contact golden age, including the return to life of deceased Indians. (Library of Congress)*

lead good and loving lives and to follow a ritual that, if faithfully obeyed, would reunite them with their deceased loved ones and friends in a world without “death or sickness or old age.” The first dances took place at Walker River shortly thereafter, and word of the prophecy spread rapidly to reservations across the West. Native peoples from across the Great Basin attended the second series of dances later that spring, and by the end of 1889 a delegation had arrived from the Lakotas and other Plains peoples.

Broad similarities notwithstanding, several aspects of Wovoka’s doctrine marked important departures from the earlier movement. First, the 1890 Ghost Dance was as “redemptive” as it was “transformative.” Wovoka did prophesy a radical transformation of the existing order—a renewal of the earth and the reunification of all American Indian people—but he also preached a gospel of peace, love, and accommodation that, by eliminating many of the causes of internal discord, served to strengthen Indian communities. Caspar Edson, an

Arapaho who visited Wovoka in August 1891, was the only Native person to record a written version of the doctrine: the famed Messiah Letter. Wovoka told his followers to live at peace with the non-Native immigrants: “Do not fight. Do always right.” On the other hand, his words also could be interpreted to suggest that non-Indians, or even Native nonbelievers, would not survive the coming cataclysm. Secondly, Wovoka’s doctrine exhibited far greater Christian influence than the earlier movement. As a young child, he had been exposed to Christian teachings (acquiring the name Jack) while working on the Mason Valley ranch of David and Abigail Wilson. By several accounts, Wovoka claimed he was Jesus and even reportedly showed the stigmata of crucifixion to a number of Native seekers including the Cheyenne holy man Porcupine.

In most accounts, the Ghost Dance of 1890 has been inextricably linked to the tragic events that took place on the Lakota reservations. The popularity and perceived militancy of the religion among the





Lakotas (many Lakota dancers wore Ghost Shirts, which were reputed to be bullet-proof) panicked non-Indian settlers and elicited an overwhelming military response. Following Sitting Bull's assassination at Standing Rock, the Minneconjou Lakota headman Bigfoot led his band south toward a hoped-for refuge at Pine Ridge. Instead they were intercepted by the U.S. Seventh Cavalry and on December 29 1890, along the banks of Wounded Knee Creek, Bigfoot and well over 150 of his people died as the soldiers' attempt to take them into custody degenerated into a slaughter.

Contrary to popular understanding, the Ghost Dance religion was not a short-lived phenomenon. In many cases, it inspired cultural revitalization among Indian peoples. The Lakotas continued to practice the religion for at least two years after the massacre at Wounded Knee. In 1902 the Lakota apostle Kicking Bear once again visited the prophet Wovoka and later introduced the religion to the Fort Peck Reservation in Montana. From there, an Assiniboiné man named Fred Robinson took his interpretation of the doctrine—emphasizing Wovoka's admonition to lead a "clean, honest life"—to the Wahepton Sioux of Saskatchewan, where it survives as the New Tidings religion. The Ghost Dance religion also facilitated the revitalization of Pawnee culture in the 1890s and early twentieth century, while the Kiowas practiced a modified version of the dance from 1894 to 1916. Moreover, the Ghost Dance continues to be practiced today among Paiutes, Shoshones, Bannocks, and Utes, where it was a customary religious practice long before the movements of 1870 and 1890.

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*See also* Assimilation; Bole-Maru Religion; Dreamer Cult; Smohalla; Wovoka.

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## Graham, Mount (Dzil Nchaa Si An), Controversy over

Mount Graham, at 10,720 feet, is one of the tallest mountains in Arizona; it is also a sacred pilgrimage

and ceremonial site for the Apache Indians. Also known as Dzil nchaa si an, Mount Graham is the central source of Apache spiritual guidance and home to the Gaahn, tribal spiritual deities to whom prayers are offered. Atop the sacred mountain Apache Indians procure medicinal plants, bury medicinal leaders, and perform religious rituals.

Because of Mount Graham's unique height and location, its ecology possesses more life zones and vegetative communities than any other solitary mountain range in North America. Specifically, the sacred mountain is home to at least eighteen species and subspecies of plants and animals found nowhere else on the planet, including the endangered Red Squirrel. Yet, despite the unique ecosystem of Mount Graham, and its sacred and cultural significance to the Apache Indians, the site has been designated as a preeminent location for astronomy and the construction of a new astrophysical complex, which would contain the most powerful telescope multiplex in the world.

Beginning in the 1980s, University of Arizona astronomers and an international group of researchers proposed the construction of eighteen advanced-technology telescopes on top of Mount Graham. Characterizing the telescope construction as cultural genocide, the San Carlos Apaches immediately initiated a campaign to halt construction. Similarly, national and international environmentalists became involved arguing that construction of the telescope complex would destroy Mount Graham's unique ecosystem. Radical environmentalists staged road blockades and stole or destroyed equipment intended for the telescopes. Subsequently, lawsuits were filed and a public relations offensive was launched.

Although the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service's Draft Environmental Impact Statement recommended limiting the project to five telescopes, the University of Arizona demanded a new evaluation for a proposal of at least seven telescopes. In anticipation of project disapproval if a public hearing was conducted under the National Environmental Policy Act (NEPA), the University of Arizona lobbied and convinced Congress to grant exemptions from NEPA for construction of the first three telescopes.

Currently, construction of the Max Planck and Vatican telescopes has been completed and construction of the Columbus Scope has been started; however, due to relentless opposition from American Indians, grassroots organizations, and environmental groups, the University of Arizona is having difficul-





*Mount Graham and the Gila River are seen at sunset. Apache Native Americans vigorously opposed building a telescope on the mountain, which they consider a sacred site. (David Muench/Corbis)*

ties in securing sufficient funds to complete the large binocular telescope. Controversy surrounding the construction has labeled Mount Graham a national symbol for religious intolerance and disrespect of American Indian spiritual practices and sacred sites.

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*See also* Ceremonies, Criminalization of; Sacred Sites.

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*Native American students, supporters, and community leaders take part in a song of blessing at the start of a 24-hour vigil at the University of Minnesota in 2002 protesting the Mount Graham observatory. (AP Photo)*

## Hohokam Culture

The Hohokam occupied an ecologically and geologically diverse environment that extended from the low desert country of northern Sonora and southern Arizona northward up to the Mogollon Rim escarpment and onto the Colorado Plateau's southwestern edge. Rainfall in this region averages only around seven to ten inches per year. Hohokam culture flourished from the first millennium to approximately 1450. Archaeologists divide the Hohokam culture into four major periods. The first, called the Pioneer phase, extends from 300 to 550 CE; the Colonial era runs from 550 to 900; the Sedentary phase goes from 900 to 1100, with the final stage of Hohokam culture, termed the Classic, spanning the years from 1100 through 1450. The origin of the Hohokam culture is uncertain. Some archaeologists argue that the Hohokam were immigrants from Mesoamerica,

while others theorize that the culture developed from local hunting and gathering groups who lived in the Sonoran Desert since 7000 BCE.

During the Pioneer phase, Hohokam people settled in small villages near the Salt, Gila, and Santa Cruz Rivers. Their settlements consisted of small clusters of wattle-and-daub pithouses arranged around a common plaza with spaces set aside for work sites and for cemeteries. In the work areas they processed food, produced well made plain clay bowls and jars and manufactured tools. The cemeteries were used for the interment of human remains and also for cremation.

To survive in the harsh desert, the Hohokam developed the most advanced canal irrigation system in the Americas. They built dams of brush and logs to divert water from nearby rivers into irrigation canals. Using log-and-brush headgates, they were able to direct the flow of water into networks of





distribution ditches to fields or to village cisterns and reservoirs. Within a 1,400-year period they built over 1,000 miles of canals using wedge-shaped stone hoes, stone axes, and wooden tools. They irrigated thousands of acres of farmland on which they grew maize, lima and tepary beans, squash, tobacco, cotton, barley, and amaranth.

During the Colonial phase, villages increased in size, extensive trade networks developed, and the Hohokam culture spread beyond the Salt, Gila, and Santa Cruz Rivers. The people improved their farming and irrigation techniques, and canals were cut deeper to minimize surface evaporation. The plain pottery of the Pioneer phase was replaced by buff pottery with red designs. Cremation became the standard mortuary practice; the ashes of the deceased were gathered, placed into a ceramic jar, and then buried in a small pit.

In the Sedentary phase, villages continued to increase in size, and platform mounds dominated the landscape. The largest platform mounds were located at the head of major canal systems and were

spaced approximately every three miles along the canals. Many researchers believe that the mounds were tied to the organization and operation of the canal systems. Artisans made far more elaborate red-on-buff pottery, and stone and clay figurines appear. Mortuary practices began to change, as cremation became less common and inhumation became the preferred custom.

Another interesting feature of the Hohokam culture appearing in the Sedentary period is the ball court. The oval bowl-shaped courts varied in size, averaging 80 to 115 feet long and 30 to 50 feet wide. The playing surface was smoothed caliche and surrounded by a nine-foot-high embankment. Unfortunately, the exact nature of the game played in the courts is not known.

During the Classic period, some villages disappeared while others increased in size. The people continued to build pithouses but they also constructed multistoried adobe surface structures, called big houses. The bottom floor was a platform mound with three to four additional stories built on



*A canal built by the Hohokam peoples is excavated at Pueblo Grande Museum and Park in Arizona. The Hohokam was a civilization of Native American farmers who lived in present-day southern Arizona from ca. 300 BCE to 1400 CE. (Jan Butchofsky-Houser/Corbis)*





top. There were several rooms on each floor, and the interior rooms were covered with a fine white plaster. Some of the walls were etched with depictions of humans, animals, or lightning, which possibly had religious or ceremonial significance. The purpose of the big houses is unclear. Some researchers argue that the structures served as astronomical observatories while others believe they served as watchtowers for defensive purposes.

Artisans continued to make red-on-buff pottery and to develop redware polished ceramics in a variety of shapes and sizes. Toward the end of the Classic period, the people ceased building ball courts and the quality of their pottery diminished. By 1450 the Hohokam abandoned their villages. Hypotheses regarding the disappearance of the Hohokam include soil salinization, disease, warfare, floods, droughts, and climatic changes.

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*See also* Archaeology and the First Americans.

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## Hopewell Culture

Also referred to as one of the cultures known as the Mound Builders as well as the "Woodland culture," Hopewell refers to a Native American culture that grew out of the earlier Adena culture and that existed from 200 BCE to 400 CE in the eastern Woodlands of the United States. The Hopewell culture is characterized by its monumental earthen structures, complex mortuary rituals, diversified art forms, and vast trade networks known as the Hopewell Interaction Sphere that stretched from the Dakotas and Canada to Florida and Louisiana. Well-known Hopewell sites include Mound City, Ohio; Mound House, Illinois; the Effigy Mound, Iowa; and the Serpent Mound, Ohio. Smaller Hopewell sites are found across the eastern United States. Reasons for the collapse of the Hopewell culture are still unknown: Some scholars attribute it to the evolution of cultural ideas and sole reliance on agriculture, while others



*Members of the Hopewell culture gather crops of maize and squash. The Hopewell were the first Native American people fully committed to agriculture. (North Wind Picture Archives)*

state that famine, warfare, and plague destroyed the Hopewell people.

Warren King Moorehead, one of the first archaeologists to work on Hopewell sites, coined the term "Hopewell." It refers to Captain C. M. Hopewell, the owner of the property on which the first excavations of the cultural group occurred. There is no known single point of origin for the Hopewell culture. The universal features shared by all Hopewellian settlements include complex mortuary rituals associated with large mortuary mounds, diversified art, and extensive trade networks. The Hopewell people are considered hunter-gatherers as well as agriculturists, although it is believed that they placed a greater reliance on agriculture than on hunting and gathering. Evidence indicates that the Hopewell exploited a great number of local domesticates, including squash, marsh elder, goosefoot, sunflower, erect knotweed, may grass, little barley, sump weed, and chenopod. The Hopewell people also exploited local game and riverine resources.





The Hopewell culture is believed to have been made up of multiple chiefdom settlements, the majority of which were clustered around major waterways and areas with plentiful resources. These settlements varied in size, though an average settlement had a population density between 1,290 and 4,500 people. Permanent settlements were created around the periphery of a central ceremonial complex and were often made up of single-family or extended-family communities. There is evidence of social stratification within Hopewellian societies, as illustrated through their mortuary rituals.

The Hopewell people are known for their complex mortuary rituals consisting of monumental earthen mounds as well as funerary rituals that took a couple of months to years to complete. Hopewell people also had various types of funerary customs that appear to be reserved for certain status groups. Excavations of mortuary mounds have yielded information illustrating this practice as related to the status of the deceased through the evidence of differing burial treatment. The dead were interred in a variety of ways: primary burials, burial shortly after death, laid out in either an extended or flexed, or fetal, position; secondary bundle burials, burial after the removal of the flesh from the bones, be it from an extended period of time or intentional removal of the flesh from the bones; and cremations.

Social stratification is illustrated in Hopewell burials through the diversity of burial goods, or the lack thereof, found with the deceased. Many burials have been found with a rich assortment of grave items, including clothing, fabrics, costuming, household items such as cooking pots and grinding stones, and occupational items such as bone needles and projectile points of varying degrees of craftsmanship and material types. Items that are formed from rare or exotic materials are believed to be associated with higher-status individuals, and the lack of grave goods in a burial is believed to be associated with lower-status individuals, which is evidence of social stratification within the Hopewell culture. There is also a notable gender difference in the distribution of burial goods, with household items associated with women and hunting items associated with men. There do not appear to be any patterns associated with age and gender for burial type that are universal for the Hopewell culture.

Burial mounds are geometric structures with a charnel house at the summit. The charnel houses were the locations for ritualized cremation cere-

monies. It is also believed that both the charnel houses and the mounds were aligned with an astronomical body such as the moon. Given the diversity of mortuary rituals utilized by the Hopewell people, it is believed that it may have taken months to years for these rituals to be completed and they were undertaken by groups of people. It is further believed that the family of the deceased may have helped with these mortuary rituals.

The monumental earthworks of the Hopewell are associated not just with mortuary ritual but with general ceremonial practices as well. Religion may have played a role in the creation of these earthworks. These mounds take the shape of various geometric designs and span wide areas. The most famous of these geometrically shaped mounds is Serpent Mound in Adams County, Ohio, although it is unclear if the Hopewell peoples or a previous cultural group built this mound structure. Other shapes include squares, circles, ovals, semicircles, and combinations of these.

There is evidence outside of the mounds themselves that points to the presence of shamanistic religious practices within Hopewell culture. Such evidence includes animal effigies, the use of animal symbolism in Hopewell artworks, and household artifacts. A number of sacrificial caches have been found within Hopewell settlements that are associated with the dominant religious practice. These sacrificial caches included effigy pipe, flint disk, shell bead, pearl and copper celt caches. The effigy pipe and shell bead caches showed evidence of intentional ritual sacrifice as they were “killed”—that is, rendered useless by holes punched through them.

Artifacts common in Hopewell culture include ceramic vessels, various types of smoking and effigy pipes, clay human figurines, conch shell artifacts, mica mirrors, panpipes, flint bladelets, nonutilitarian celts, awls, projectile points, modified human remains, jewelry, weaponry and armor, fabrics, buttons, beads, cutouts, and tinklers. These artifacts were created out of a variety of local and nonlocal materials, including animal and human bone, vegetation, and minerals such as copper, iron, galena, hematite, silver, gold, mica, quartz crystal, chalcedony, hornstone, pipestone, sandstone, steatite, gypsum, and cannel coal. Animal and human motifs are illustrated in many of the commonplace artifacts and are not limited to ceremonial artifacts. Hopewell pottery is known to have been cord-marked (imprinted with rope while the clay was





still wet to leave a textured design upon firing); rocker-stamped (produced by rocking a sharp instrument back and forth across the wet clay before firing); and incised (geometric designs scratched into the wet clay).

Although it appears that local resources were exploited most often, the use of nonlocal resources (such as obsidian, silver, and mica) for the creation of various artifacts supports the long-distance trading network that the Hopewell culture is known for: the Hopewell Interaction Sphere. The term was first coined by archaeologist Joseph R. Caldwell in 1964 and is defined as being a long-distance trade network that spanned from the Dakotas and Canada to Florida and Louisiana. This trade network is also credited for being the reason for the spread of Hopewell culture throughout the eastern Woodlands. It is also from this vast trade network that it is believed that the Hopewell peoples spoke either various dialects of the same language or different languages. This is unclear as there is no evidence of the Hopewell having any form of written language.

Evidence of the fall of the Hopewell culture indicates that it started around 200 CE in some areas and that the culture had completely fallen everywhere by 400. Various hypotheses exist to explain the decline. One hypothesis states that the culture evolved into a more advanced version of itself due to the emergence and acceptance of maize agriculture. Another hypothesis states that the Hopewell peoples disappeared due to plagues, warfare, or drought. Presently there is not sufficient evidence to support either of these hypotheses.

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*See also* Adena Civilization; Archaeology and the First Americans; Mound Cultures of North America; Pottery; Trade.

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## Horse, Economic Impact

Before horses diffused into Indian Country from Spanish settlements, the only beast of burden used by American Indians was the dog, which could pull small loads on a travois (a frame slung between trailing poles). Not surprisingly, horses were first greeted as a larger, stronger kind of dog. Native peoples who acquired horses usually affixed travois to them before learning to ride. A number of Native peoples gave horses names based on their earlier nouns for dogs: The Assiniboines called them sho-a-thin-ga and thon-gatch-shonga, both meaning "great dog." The Gros Ventures called horses it-shou-ma-shunga, meaning "red dog." The Blackfeet called them ponokamita, for elk dog. The Crees called horses mistatim, meaning "big dog." The Sioux called their newly domesticated beasts honk-a-wakan, meaning "mystery dog" or "amazing dog" (Roe, 1955, 61), or tesunke, "big dog."

Horses may have been introduced to some Native American peoples by the Coronado expedition of the early 1540s, but the most likely genesis of Native American horse culture probably sprang from the herds the Spanish kept at Santa Fe following the Oñate expedition a half century later. Some horses escaped Spanish herds and bred wild in New Mexico and Texas. These were "Indian ponies," averaging less than 1,000 pounds in weight, smaller than modern-day riding horses. These agile, fast horses were interbred with larger animals acquired from Spanish (and later Anglo-American) herds. The Pawnees, especially, had access to these horses and to others traded to them by Native merchants who tapped supplies in Mexico (Wissler, 1914, 2, 10), and they became among the most prolific and best horse traders on the Plains.

By 1659, Spanish reports indicate that the Apaches were stealing horses from them, despite their best efforts to keep the valuable animals out of Indian hands. At roughly the same time, the Apaches and Pueblos traded for horses; by shortly before 1700, the Utes and Comanches had acquired mounts. After that, Native peoples' use of horses diffused throughout the continent. Ethnohistorian Dean Snow described the diffusion of the horse





*The Battle between the Blackfeet and Peigans, a painting by Charles M. Russell, ca. 1897. Russell's painting shows how much of a necessity horses had become to some Native Americans in battle, hunting, and travel. (Corel)*

throughout the Plains: "The Shoshones adopted Spanish horses quickly, taking them north and east, introducing them to the Indian societies of the Great Plains. Algonquians such as the Blackfeet, Gros Ventres, and Arapahos, as well as some Crees and Ojibways, abandoned forest hunting and gathered to become mounted nomadic hunters on the Great Plains. . . . Later, the horticultural Cheyennes (Algonquians) entered the Plains as well, quickly becoming the quintessential American Indian nation in the eyes of many" (Snow, 1996, 193). By 1750, the horse was recognized as far north as Montana as transportation and as a unit of barter and wealth. By roughly 1700, the horse frontier had reached a line stretching roughly from present-day eastern Texas, northward through eastern Kansas and Nebraska, then northwest through Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, and Washington. Horses became such an essential part of many North American Indian cultures that the Apaches, for example, incorporated them into their oral history as gifts of the gods.

Having acquired horses, a number of Native peoples migrated to the Plains because mounts made economic life there, especially the buffalo hunt, more tenable. Some of these peoples also were being pressured westward by the European-American settlement frontier. The various Lakota-Nakota-Dakota bands moved westward before widespread white contact, as did the Omahas and many others. The horse extended Native peoples' ranges, as well as control over their environment. A Native group on foot was limited to a few miles a day, while, with horses, a camp could be moved thirty miles or more in the same period. A small party of warriors on horseback could cover 100 miles of rough country in a day or two.

Native Americans explored different ways of training horses. Unlike the English and Spanish, the Cheyennes, for example, did not usually "break" their horses. Instead, they "gentled" them. Boys who tended horses stroked them, talked to them, and played with them. An owner of a horse might sing to it or smoke a pipe and blow smoke in its face. At age





eighteen months, the horse would begin more intense training, but was still sung to, smoked over, and stroked with eagle wing fans. Gradually, the horse was habituated to carrying a human being, saddle, and bridle. Horses meant for war or hunting were trained specifically in those skills.

The horse shaped economic behavior in many ways. One was the productivity of raiding, which acquired considerable status. By the early nineteenth century, raiding on horseback was the Apaches' major economic activity; the greatest fame a Crow could earn came when he was able to snatch a tethered horse from under the nose of an enemy. "What must certainly be considered a really remarkable feature in the Plains Indian horse culture is the almost phenomenal rapidity with which they mastered their early fears and developed into one of the two or three foremost equestrian peoples on earth," commented historian Frank Gilbert Roe (Roe, 1955, 56).

The horse also turned a subsistence lifestyle on the harsh High Plains of North America into a festival of ornamentation for a few decades, until diseases also imported from Europe killed a large majority of Native peoples there. Maximilian described the Sioux in 1833: "Many of the Sioux are rich, and have twenty or more horses, which they obtained originally from the Spanish . . ." (Roe, 1955, 90). Many Native nations on the Plains and adjacent Rocky Mountains, such as the various divisions of the Lakota, Nakota, and Dakota, the Crow, and the Nez Percé, became rich in horses. The wealth in horses and the wealth produced by them affected ceremonialism as well, which among many Plains groups became more lavish than in preequine days.

Horses changed some peoples' housing styles from fixed lodges to mobile teepees. They also allowed the size of the average teepee to increase, because a horse could haul a teepee as large as eighteen to twenty feet in diameter, much larger than a dog or a human being could carry. Some teepees weighed as much as 500 pounds and required three horses to carry. The horse reduced economies of scale in hunting, especially of buffalo, making hunting parties smaller. The increased mobility brought by horses energized trade, as well as intertribal conflict, because ease of transport brought more contact between diverse peoples, friendly and not (Anderson, 1995, 59–61).

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See also Buffalo; Spanish Influence; Trade; Warfare, Intertribal.

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## Humor, as Value

Humor is a ubiquitous aspect of human interaction. It smooths relationships, enhances communication, moderates behavior, assists with managing emotions, and delineates identity. Given the trials and tribulations American Indians have suffered and continue to face, humor in the context of Indian life might be considered by some a hard-pressed value. In his manifesto, *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969), Vine Deloria, Jr. regards knowing what makes a people laugh as one of the best ways to understand them. He observes that in humor life is redefined and accepted and that irony and satire often provide keen insights into the collective psyche and values of a group; he advises that, when a people can both laugh at themselves and at others, then it would seem that they can survive.

Although public imagination often envisions and expects stereotypic "wooden Indians"—solemn and stoic—humor is in abundance in Indian country. Some American Indians have even wondered how anything is accomplished because of the apparent overemphasis on the comedic in Indian life. Regard-



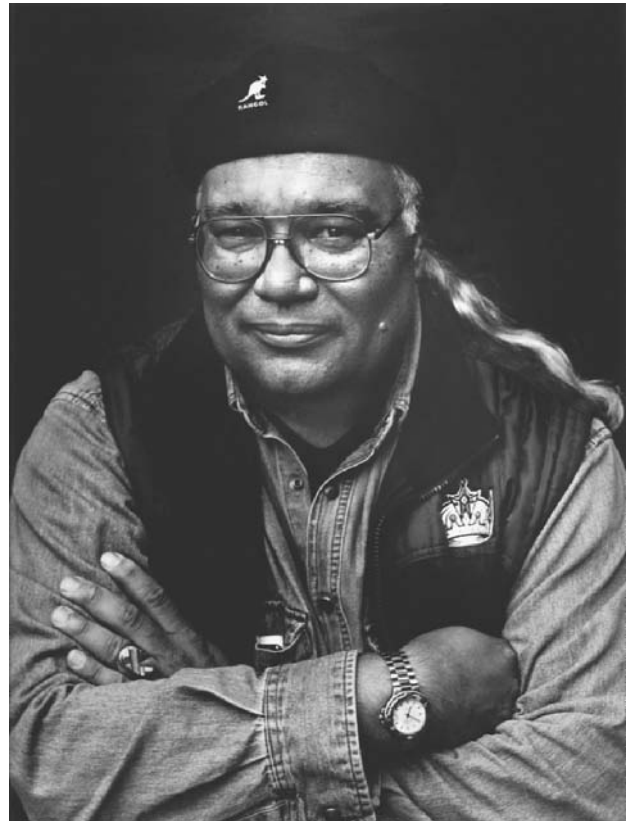


ing past and present injustices, Indians have found a humorous side to nearly every problem, with life experiences often so well-defined through jokes and stories that they become things unto themselves. This should not, however, suggest that American Indians do not take serious things seriously, only that humor often serves as a salient mode of communication through which the serendipitous and somber are negotiated.

This negotiation can be performed in numerous ways. In addition to jokes and storytelling, it includes the practice of “razzing” or “ribbing,” which may occur in normative contexts defined by intragroup relations as well as in larger, less normative intergroup or pan-Indian contexts. Though usually employed among Indians, given the situation, non-Indians may also be recipients. Serving both constructive and instructive purposes, razzing is usually conducted in good fun, thus enabling the situation, or as a public corrective concerning improper social behavior, therefore disabling the situation. Even though it can be quite cutting and may even offend, it is rarely very serious.

Other practices might appear more standardized in form and function, directed internally toward the group and externally toward those considered foreign, however defined. An example can be found in the ceremonial buffoonery, or tradition of “clowning,” found most prominently among the Pueblo groups of the Southwest, as well as among groups on the Great Plains, in California, and throughout the Pacific Northwest. Although group-specific themes certainly exist, the most common themes are those that possess greatest emotional appeal or human interest in variance across groups. One such theme involves the derision and burlesque of things, persons, and activities otherwise deemed sacred, including the mockery of lifeways and mores considered essential to the function of society. Other common themes include sexuality and obscenity, misfortune and daily life, and the caricature and burlesque of those deemed foreign to the group.

Another example of standardized humor is found among the Kwakwaka'wakw (Kwakiutl), a group indigenous to the central coast of British Columbia in the Pacific Northwest, who have staged a type of “play potlatching” involving elaborate skits in which both neighboring Indian groups and those of European heritage are impersonated and in this manner lampooned or derided. Likewise, the western Apaches residing on the Fort Apache Reservation in southeastern Arizona have performed stereo-



*Oneida tribe member Charlie Hill is a successful Native American comic. (Christopher Felver/Corbis)*

typic caricatures of “the white man,” understood and employed as models for dealing with whites and the concomitant problems they represent. As a symbol of what “the Apache” is not, these humored portraits express as much about Apaches’ conceptions of themselves as they do about Apaches’ conceptions of whites and the values of society at large.

In recent years so-called “Indian humor” has entered the mainstream. The exhibition, *Indian Humor*, was organized in 1995 by American Indian Contemporary Arts and traveled for several years throughout the United States. It featured eighty-seven works in various media by thirty-eight contemporary Indian artists addressing the issue of Indian humor from different perspectives. Award-winning authors, including Louise Erdrich (Ojibwe) and Sherman Alexie (Spokane/Coeur d’Alene), have captured the imaginations of readers with their charm and wit. Indeed, an Alexie short story was adapted for the first all-Indian cinematic production, *Smoke Signals* (1998), a tragicomedy that garnered both critical and audience acclaim. And stand-up





comedians like Charlie Hill (Oneida) continue to emerge and amuse through their comedic insights and social critique.

In the face of hardships and inequities, humor can serve as a social vent as well as a survival mechanism through reinforcement of group orientation, cohesion, and solidarity. More often than not, humor emerges from puns, word play, allusions, insults, irony, miscues, exaggeration, conflicts, mistakes, and misunderstandings borne from the experience of being human. As in most human groups, the fundamental value of American Indian humor is rooted in its role as a social lubricant witnessed not only in the aforementioned fun making, but in everyday, ordinary social interaction.

Timothy J. McCollum

See *also* Identity; Worldviews and Values.

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## Identity

An American Indian may be identified in three ways: One is through self-identification; another is by tribal identification and definition; and a third is by legal definition, as defined by the U.S. government. Legal definition has created many issues for American Indians regarding their identity, affecting their abilities to receive federal benefits such as health and education benefits, their rights for leadership in Indian nations, and their cultural heritage. American Indians are the only minority group in the United States whose members carry an identifying card with a number, tribal affiliation, and blood quantum attached to it to receive recognition for federal benefits.

History has often portrayed America as a "melting pot" of cultures and ethnic groups. Only in recent years has that version of identity definition been challenged. In 1971, Hazel W. Hertzberg wrote a 362-page book on *The Search for an American Indian Identity* (1971). In this book, she discussed the issue of how the indigenous people of the United States defined them-

selves as part of American society and whether they embodied the melting pot theory or some other form of pan-Indianism, the amalgamation of various Indian groups to share cultural similarities.

Society has treated people from distinct cultures as having pureblood stock. Even immigrants who came to this country were treated as being either pure German, Italian, Spanish, French, English, Dutch, or whatever. It has been assumed as well that, when those of European stock came to North America and intermarried with the indigenous people, their pure European bloodlines and those of the indigenous people became diluted. When intermarriage produced children, they became identified as "half-breeds," a term that also becomes an issue of identity. One has only to read Maria Campbell's book *Halfbreed* (1982) to get a picture of the issues associated with the label of being a half-breed Indian.

Prior to 1887 and the passage of the Dawes Allotment Act, most American Indian people were easily identifiable. They lived in separate communities and identified themselves as such. They lived a different lifestyle vis-à-vis European immigrants. They ate different foods and dressed in a different manner. Their entire cultures and religions were based on a subsistence lifestyle directly connected to the land. They identified themselves by their nations: Dakota, Cheyenne, Anishinabe, Dine, Absaalooke, Mohawk, Huron, Delaware, and so on. It was the Europeans who identified them as Indian. This would be not only the name applied to them across the board, but also a name that would be applied to them all for 500 years. Then in the 1970s this name would be changed to American Indian or Native American. Even today there is confusion as to what to call the indigenous people of this country. Most American Indian people identify themselves as Indian or by their tribal affiliations. Some like to say that they had the name "Indian" for 500 years, and then it was changed to "Native American." Some have explained that the name "Indian" came from the Spanish term *indios*, which means "of God," in which case the term may be preferable to "Native American."

It is only when money, land, or some other benefit is legislated for the indigenous people of America that the United States became involved in developing a legal definition of an Indian. When land allotments had to be made to individual Indians, the federal government wanted to make sure that only "American Indian" people were getting the allotments, not





non-Indians who either had married into the tribal groups or had been adopted into the tribal groups.

This problem came from the American Indian tradition of “adopting” outsiders into their cultures and it caused politicians much concern. The adoption of outsiders meant that individuals from other cultures and ethnic backgrounds who had befriended American Indians could be invited to become full-fledged members of a given tribe. An elaborate ceremony could take place within the tribal community during which the invited person would be adopted into the tribe with full participation and benefits. If a non-Indian had been adopted into a tribal group, most politicians believed that it was not legal for non-Indians, so adopted, to receive any benefits from the federal government through reparations to Indian tribes. The government was faced with trying to identify legal members of tribal groups.

Indian nations exercise a sovereign right to determine their own membership qualifications. As a community that was confined to a specified area of land (reservations), a tribe knew who the members of their community were. As the twentieth century approached and the movement to urban areas of many tribal members became a reality, the identification process became difficult. Yet, tribes still have the sovereign right to identify their own tribal members. Many tribes who are federally recognized were encouraged under the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 to adopt the federal definition of Indian identity. Books such as Felix Cohen’s *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (1941) and David H. Getches’ *Federal Indian Law: Cases and Materials* (1979) are good sources of discussion of the legal definition and the Indian Reorganization Act.

The federal and legal definition of an Indian has wreaked havoc on Indian people and will forever impact American Indians in some negative way. Felix Cohen said: “If a person is three-fourths Caucasian and one-fourth Indian, it is absurd, from the ethnological standpoint, to assign him to the Indian race. Yet legally such a person may be an Indian” (Cohen, 1941, 2). The federal (legal) definition is that a person must be an enrolled member of a federally recognized tribe and have at least one-quarter Indian blood. Further, in the lower forty-eight states, a person can be enrolled in only one tribal group. Once enrolled in one tribal group, the identifying blood quantum of other tribal groups disappears. Adding to that confusion is the discussion of what happens when marriage takes place between two people of

two different tribal groups. Parents are forced to pick a tribe for their children. What happens to their other tribal blood? It disappears.

Which tribes are federally recognized and how did they get federal recognition? A tribe became federally recognized when its members made their identity known to the U.S. military in some fashion. Throughout American history, “recognition” often happened through confrontation of some kind. Currently more than 500 federally recognized Indian tribes exist in the United States, as well as roughly 300 nonfederally recognized tribes.

How does a parent decide where to enroll children? This is not a simple matter. Some Indian nations are matrilineal, meaning that the children belong to the clan of the mother. Some Indian nations are patrilineal, meaning that their children belong to the clan of the father. Depending on the family dynamics, the decision to enroll one’s child will depend a great deal on internal discussion with the birth parent, with the grandparents, and with the extended family. It would be easy if decisions could be based on lineal clanship alone, but with so many intermarriages between different tribal groups as well as intermarriage with “whites,” the process becomes complicated. What if the married couple belong to tribes that were traditional enemies? This can create a lot of animosity among families.

Some parents in today’s society have chosen to go with the Indian nation that has the strongest economic prospects. For example, a tribe may have developed a natural resource, such as coal, oil, or natural gas, or may be building a casino. The potential for economic sustainability in a tribe with such prospects can be enormous, and young parents in particular may opt to align the future of their children with the economic development of one tribe over another.

Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians are not under the same constraints as the Indians of the lower forty-eight states. For example, an Alaska Native can be identified with several tribal groups should their parents be from different tribal groups. Therefore the blood of two tribes is included in their identity.

What good does it do a person to have federal recognition? Treaty rights become a factor. Many of the traditional elders signed treaties fully aware that they were signing them as representatives of sovereign nations who were negotiating with another sovereign nation and were to receive education and





health benefits forever as well as certain sovereign rights.

Lastly, self-identification is an ideal that will always exist regardless of federal or legal definitions. A person who grows up with an Indian identity and takes it on as his or her own believes that he or she is an Indian, regardless of the law. If a grandparent is enrolled and the adult parents are not enrolled, then the grandchildren may not be eligible for enrollment. Despite that, the grandparent may raise the grandchildren with the cultural traditions. Is that grandchild any less “Indian” than one who meets the legal and tribal definitions?

American Indian people today stand at a crossroads on the issue of identification. They see that their numbers are decreasing, and the decrease is all due to the complexities of the legal definitions versus their own rights to identify their members. Parents have intermarried with non-Indians but their children may be just as “Indian” as the grandparents. Why is the federal government still insisting on its definition?

Jeanne Eder

*See also* Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Canada, Indian Policies of; Cohen, Felix; Kennewick Man; Osage, and Oil Rights; Pan-Indianism; *Standing Bear v. Crook*.

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## Indian Shaker Movement

The Indian Shaker movement is a Native American religion that originated in northwestern North America and the first pan-Indian religious movement to establish itself legally under state law. It is

not related to non-Indian eastern Shakerism. The Indian Shaker Church is a fusion of indigenous spiritual practices, Catholicism, and Protestantism that originated among the Salish people of Washington State during the early 1880s. It continues to have an active membership among Native peoples in the western United States and Canada.

The movement was founded by a Squaxin tribal member, John Slocum in 1882, who, at forty years of age, came back to life after a logging accident with a revelation that Native peoples could achieve salvation by turning away from drinking, gambling, and smoking and by rejecting the ministrations of shamans and traditional healers. Slocum, a charismatic man who was baptized Catholic, claimed that God would give his followers greater medicine than was held by the shamans.

The name of the movement originated with Slocum's wife, Mary. A year after Slocum revealed his vision, he suddenly fell very ill. Mary, who shared a strong faith in Slocum's vision, went to the river to pray and while praying was overcome by an uncontrollable trembling. She entered the house and continued to shake while she prayed over her husband's head. John Slocum began to recover, and Mary's shaking was deemed the medicine God had promised. Thus Mary is known as the bearer of “the shake,” which is believed to bring healing to those spiritually or physically ill.

People from all over the Puget Sound region came to hear the prophet's message, and many experienced shaking similar to Mary's. Early converts included Luis Yowaluck (Mud Bay Louis) and his brother, Mud Bay Sam. Missionaries and Indian Agents made attempts to squelch the movement, but the Shakers defied or avoided restrictions as the movement gained momentum, spreading outward from the Skokomish Reservation, east to Idaho, south to California, and north to British Columbia.

In 1892, the Shakers legally constituted themselves as a church to protect their religious freedom, on the advice of lawyer James Wickersham. John Slocum became a church elder, and Mud Bay Louis became leader (Amoss, 1990, 633). In 1897, Slocum died, as did Mud Bay Louis in 1905. In 1910, the church was incorporated under Washington State law. The structure of the Shaker Church involved a bishop and a board of elders who elected the bishop every four years. Mud Bay Sam was elected the first bishop.

A disagreement over the role of the *Bible* created a split in the Shaker movement. Some members





wanted to read from the *Bible* during services, while others believed that Shakers had no need for a written text and that their inspiration came from “the Spirit” (Amoss, 1990, 634). Eventually, a formal separation occurred. The pro-*Bible* group became known as the Indian Full Gospel Church and the more conservative Shakers retained the title of the Indian Shaker Church.

General Shaker beliefs involve an all-powerful God, Jesus, and the Spirit of God. It is believed that the Spirit provides the power to heal and to exorcise evil. The Spirit also brings the “shake.” The faithful believe that sin interferes with the ability to receive the power of the spirit and that sickness can be caused by sin, sorrow, or supernatural factors. Some elements of Guardian Spirit beliefs stem from the Puget Sound traditions (Amoss, 1990, 636).

Formal Shaker rituals include Sunday meetings, “shakes,” funerals, weddings, and dedications, and they are often held in a modest and extremely clean church. Candles and handbells used in healing ceremonies and prayer are kept on the prayer tables. Charity is a basic element in Shaker practice, and members readily minister to the sick whenever asked. The church is respected outside the membership for its success in teaching against the use of alcohol.

Aliki Marinakis

See also Assimilation.

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## Iroquois Great Law of Peace (Kaianerekowa)

The Great Law of Peace is the oldest constitution in North America defining a system of participatory

democracy that has sustained the Iroquois Confederacy for perhaps 1,000 years. At a time of terrible war, say tribal elders, a Great Peacemaker emerged to inspire the warriors to bury their weapons of war (the origins of the saying, “to bury the hatchet”). The Peacemaker planted on top of the weapons a sacred Tree of Peace and established a code of laws called *Kaianerekowa*, the Great Law of Peace.

Mohawk Wolf Clan Chief Jake Swamp explained: “The powerful story of the birth of democracy began long, long ago. In the beginning, when our Creator made humans, everything needed to survive was provided. Our Creator asked only one thing: ‘Never forget to appreciate the gifts of Mother Earth.’ Our people were instructed how to be grateful and how to survive” (Schaaf, 2004, 7).

“During the dark age of our history 1,000 years ago, humans no longer listened to the Original Instructions. Our Creator became sad, because there was so much crime, dishonesty, injustice, and war. So the Creator sent a Peacemaker with a message to be righteous and just, and make a good future for our children seven generations to come,” said Swamp (Schaaf, 2004, 7).

Six historic accounts of the Great Law of Peace exist. The versions exhibit minor variations. The New-house edition was the first published account. The Chiefs’ edition was a joint collaboration by the chiefs of the Six Nation Council. Linguists at the Smithsonian Institution translated the Gibson edition. The Wallace, Buck, and Mohawk editions included the highlights of the Peacemaker’s life.

Iroquois elders widely agree that the Great Peacemaker was a divine being who was sent by the Creator to make peace on Mother Earth. The Great Peacemaker is said to have been the result of an immaculate birth on the shores of the Great Lakes. As a child, he displayed extraordinary talents thwarting early attempts to take his life.

War raged for generations 1,000 years ago around the Great Lakes and present-day upstate New York. The Peacemaker and Hiawenthe (Hiawatha) bravely marched into the middle of the battle. No one harmed the holy men, but the warriors at first did not stop fighting. Armed only with logic, reasoning, and their spiritual message, they conducted Condolence Ceremonies with the battleworn warriors. They convinced the original five Iroquoian nations, one by one, to make peace and to unite as the Iroquois Confederacy.

The Peacemaker then unveiled a new form of government—participatory democracy—and a legal





system called the Great Law of Peace. The core teaching of the Great Law is that “peace was the law, and the law was for peace.” Under the Great Law, fifty chiefs and clan mothers were organized in a three-part system of government, with executive, legislative, and judicial divisions. The Onondaga nation became like an “executive branch.” The “legislative branch” was formed when the Mohawk and Seneca were organized like the U.S. Senate, and the Oneida and Cayuga (later joined by the Tuscarora) formed a sort of U.S. House of Representatives. The “judicial branch of government” was turned over to the clan mothers; thus the women gained veto power over war and the power to nominate the chiefs.

Mohawk Bear Clan Chief Tom Porter described how chiefs are raised: “Women deserved 90 per cent of the credit in raising the children. Oh, we men do a little. We might change a diaper or two, but in the middle of the night, when a baby cries and we men are sound asleep, momma gets up and rocks the babies back to sleep. The mothers watch the children carefully as they are growing up. The ones who are greedy and push around the weaker children will never be chosen to be a chief. The ones who are kind, unselfish, and always helping others are considered for future leadership positions. Honesty is the first requirement for leadership” (Porter, 1986).

The Iroquois Grand Council provided a model for the American colonists. As early as 1754, Benjamin Franklin proposed: “One general government may be formed in America, administered by a President General . . . and a Grand Council to be chosen by representatives of the people of the several colonies . . .” (Franklin, 1754). The main difference in the original Iroquois system as compared with the U.S. Constitution is that the Women’s Council constitutes the Supreme Court and the judicial branch of government. Under the Great Law of Peace, the women nominate the chiefs and have the power to impeach any chief who violates the Great Law of Peace or the dignity of leadership. The Women’s Council retained veto power over war. The men could not go to war if the women said no. Women also held in trust the title to the land and the property in their homes. If the delegates to the U.S. Constitutional Convention had embraced all facets of the Great Law of Peace, then there would be Founding Mothers, as well as Founding Fathers.

Another main difference exists between the Great Law of Peace and the U.S. Constitution. The U.S. system is a form of “elective” democracy versus the Iroquois form of “participatory” democracy. Iroquois cit-

izens must actively participate in their governance. Their system encourages direct citizen involvement.

To better analyze the similarities and differences between the Great Law of Peace and the U.S. Constitution, a project began in 1980 to organize the two documents in two columns showing the parallel passages side by side. The comparison clearly illustrated similarities and differences in the two founding documents. In 1987, the evidence was submitted as testimony before U.S. Senate hearings on the origins of the Constitution. For the first time in history, Congress officially recognized that the U.S. government was “explicitly modeled” after the Iroquois Confederacy (Congressional Record, 1987).

Mohawk Chief Jake Swamp further commented: “Our Iroquois chiefs and clan mothers have long said that the Great Law of Peace served as a model for the U.S. Constitution. We know that our ancestors met personally with Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison and others involved in drafting the U.S. Constitution” (Swamp, 1983).

Comparisons with the Great Law of Peace allow students to see the U.S. Constitution in a new light. Featuring high qualifications for leadership, political rights for women, and a remarkable system of justice, the Great Law of Peace may inspire people to reconsider the founding principles of the United States. For example, why were the rights of women guaranteed in the Great Law of Peace, but denied under the original U.S. Constitution? The logical conclusion would be a difference in philosophy regarding fundamental human rights. Under the Iroquois system slavery was illegal. There were no taxes or prisons. The recognition of equal rights for all was the law.

Iroquois women to this day hold greater rights in accordance with the Great Law of Peace, than their non-Indian female counterparts under the U.S. Constitution. Interviews with Iroquois clan mothers revealed their Native philosophy. Women choose the leaders, because they devote the most time to raising the babies. Women have veto power over war, because they give birth and respect the sanctity of life in a special way. Land title is passed down through the women, because one always knows for certain who the mother is. Iroquois social structure is matrilineal and land title is passed down through the women.

The women nominate men for leadership positions based on the following qualities: “The Chief Statesmen shall be mentors of the people for all time. . . . Their hearts shall be full of peace and good will,





and their minds filled with a yearning for the welfare of the people. . . . With endless patience they shall carry out their duty, and their firmness shall be tempered with a tenderness for their people. Neither anger nor fury shall find lodgment in their minds, and all their words and actions shall be marked by calm deliberation" (Schaaf, 2004, 22–23).

The clan mothers explained why warriors and war chiefs were forbidden from being civil leaders: If you choose a war leader to be a leader in your civil government and your country is constantly at war, whom do you have to blame but yourselves?

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*See also* Albany Congress, Native Precedents; Deganawidah; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Hiawatha.

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## Katsinas

*Katsina*, also spelled *Kachina* or *Katcina*, is a Hopi word that has three definitions: (1) a spiritual "friend," one of more than 300 deities who help keep the world in balance; (2) a ceremonial dancer who represents one of the spiritual "friends"; (3) a wooden carved doll used to teach children about the spiritual world.

The Katsina Society is a religious organization of both men and women who carry on the spiritual function of their religion. Perhaps 1,000 years ago, the Katsina Clan, a group of extended families, moved from Mexico into the American Southwest. They are believed to have walked with the Parrot Clan upstream along the Rio Grande into central New Mexico. They visited many hundreds of Keresan- and Tewa-speaking pueblos, where they established their religious societies. Their religion still



Hopi masked dolls represent the katsinas, ancestral spirits who dwell in the clouds and serve as intermediaries between humans and the spirit world. (Corel)





exists in the Rio Grande pueblos, although they are hidden in secret societies. Reference to them is whispered as the “K Society.” Only rarely do they emerge from their kivas, religious chambers that symbolize the womb of Mother Earth.

Members of the Katsina Clan and Society spread westward to the Acoma, Zuni, and Hopi pueblos. The Acoma Katsina Society is secret, like those along the Rio Grande. At Zuni, the Katsina Society is very revered, even as they come out of the kivas and dance in the plazas. The largest Zuni ceremony is called Shalakó; it occurs during the winter solstice when eight-foot-tall spiritual deities are fed at designated homes. At Hopi, the Katsina Societies remain very strong and well attended. Each village sponsors a Katsina Society where children are initiated during the spring Powowmu, or Purification Ceremony. At the end of summer, hundreds of Katsinas gather in the plazas for the Home Dance, a beautiful and awe-inspiring ceremony. The Katsinas then depart for their winter home atop the San Francisco Peaks near Flagstaff, Arizona.

In 1894, Smithsonian anthropologist Jesse Walter Fewkes published the first of three major studies on Katsinas. Thousands of people began attending the Katsina dances. Among the throngs were individuals who were excited to collect Katsina dolls, as well as paintings, baskets, pottery, and other Hopi arts and crafts. The finest Katsina dolls now sell for more than \$100,000 at Sotheby’s and other international auction houses.

In 1906, a split occurred at Hopi over the issue of whether children should be removed from homes to attend government boarding schools. At Old Oraibi, the dispute resulted in a tug-of-war. The traditionals lost and were forced to establish a new village. At the boarding schools, Hopi children were forbidden to speak their language. However, when some teachers secretly allowed Hopi children to paint freely, they created colorful paintings of Katsinas and sacred clowns. Fred Kabotie, Waldo Mootzka, Raymond Naha, and others became successful fine art Katsinas painters.

In 1959, Harold S. Colton first published a book that allowed collectors to identify hundreds of different Katsina figures by name and attributes. He described the unique features and color combinations that distinguish each Katsina doll. The book became a best seller by Indian art standards, being reprinted over and over again.

In the 1970s, two distinctive styles emerged: traditional dolls with or without feathers and realis-

tic dolls featuring finely carved wooden sculptures of Katsinas. Walter Howato, Jimmy Koots, and Orin Pooley were among the most popular traditional doll makers. Cecil Calnimpewa, Ronald and Brian Honyuti, Dennis Tewa, Loren Phillips, and Ros George emerged as popular realistic carvers. They studied books of Michelangelo’s sculptures and *Gray’s Anatomy* to perfect their renditions of the human form. To demonstrate their mastery of carving, top artists began to make “one-piece dolls.” A new category was created for them at Indian Market in the Heard Museum Show in Santa Fe, Phoenix, and at the Hopi Show at the Museum of Northern Arizona in Flagstaff. The prize ribbons won by top Hopi carvers attract major collectors who compete with passion for the best dolls.

Gregory Schaaf

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## Kennewick Man

Kennewick man—also known as The Ancient One—is the name given to the human skeletal remains discovered in the Columbia River at Kennewick, Washington, on July 28, 1996. The remains exhibited features of Caucasian populations and became the subject of contention, legal and otherwise, among Indians, scientists, and other interest groups. Indian groups were interested in reburial of the skeleton, whereas scientists and others wanted to study and preserve the remains. The scientists’ quest for access was ultimately victorious and the remains continue to be held at the Burke Museum in Seattle, Washington.





The events began when two young men discovered a skull protruding from the Columbia River and called the police. The local coroner, Floyd Johnson, contacted James C. Chatters, owner of Applied Paleo-science, to perform forensic skeletal analysis. Chatters and Johnson unearthed what turned out to be a nearly complete intact male skeleton.

The completeness and unusually good condition of the remains, led Chatters to believe that the skeleton was that of a relatively recently deceased European settler. Controversially, however, Chatters also used forensic methods of racial classification (such as nose shape, mandible shape, and cranial index) to identify the skeleton as Caucasoid (exhibiting characteristics typical of Caucasian populations) rather than Mongoloid (exhibiting characteristics of Asian populations)—a group to which American Indians are most often classed. The physical characteristics of Kennewick man/The Ancient One are said to most closely resemble those of the Ainu indigenes of Japan.

Chatters questioned this classification when a Cascade projectile point was found embedded in the skeleton's right ilium (upper hip). Cascade projectile points are typical of southern Plateau assemblages from 8500 years BP to 4500 BP, though similar styles were used up to the nineteenth century in parts of the western United States. Adding to the confusion were the physical characteristics (such as the shape of the eye orbits) of the remains that are associated with neither European nor Indian populations.

After discovering these ambiguities, Johnson ordered radiocarbon and DNA testing. Radiocarbon dating performed on the left fifth metacarpal (the pinky finger) returned an isotopically corrected age of 8,410  $\pm$  60 years BP (7300–7600 BCE). Although DNA from the skeleton remained intact, testing was inconclusive.

Four days after the radiocarbon dates were returned, the Army Corps of Engineers, the group with authority over the federal lands where the remains were found, halted any further scientific research on the remains and took possession of the skeleton. The Corps published their intention to repatriate the remains in the local *Tri-City Herald* on September 17 and 24, 1996, to a group of five tribes—the Umatillas, Yakamas, Nez Percé, Wanapums, and Colvilles—as outlined by provisions of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). These groups, filing a joint claim, intended to immediately bury the remains in an undisclosed location.

A group of eight high-profile archaeologists, physical anthropologists, and other scientists launched a lawsuit on October 17, 1996, to gain access to the remains for study. Likewise, the California-based Asatru Folk Assembly, a group practicing a Norse religion, launched a lawsuit on October 26, 1996, to prevent the Corps from repatriating the remains. This group argued that the skeleton could be their ancestor and represent a European presence on the continent at a much earlier time than is generally believed.

U.S. Magistrate Judge John Jelderks presided over the cases and rebuked the Corps strongly for their intention to repatriate and their secretive contact with the tribes. On September 3, 1998, Jelderks ordered the remains transferred from a Richland, Washington, lab to the Burke Museum at the University of Washington, where the Department of the Interior studied the remains to determine cultural affiliation. In September 2000 the department decided that the remains should be repatriated to the tribes—a decision without much force.

After much legal wrangling and testimony, Jelderks eventually ruled in favor of the scientists on August 30, 2002. In his decision he criticized the government for their hasty decision to repatriate and their slow movement throughout the ordeal. Further, he cited the insufficiency of oral tradition and geography in attempts to repatriate material as old as the remains.

On October 29, 2002, four tribes—the Nez Percé, Umatillas, Colvilles, and Yakamas—launched an appeal of Jelderks' decision. Similarly, the U.S. Justice Department filed an appeal of Jelderks' decision on October 29, 2002. On February 4, 2004, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Jelderks' decision, citing the lack of adequate means or evidence to establish cultural affiliation. The court subsequently refused a request by the tribes to have the case reheard in front of a full court on April 20, 2004. Shortly after the tribes declared that they would not continue their legal battle, the U.S. Justice Department declared that it would not appeal the decision on July 22, 2004; scientists subsequently began to study the remains.

The battle for Kennewick man/The Ancient One is often viewed as one for control of the past. It also represents one of the most recent struggles between American Indians and academics, lawmakers, and the wider sociopolitical system. This confrontation has multiple antecedents in various events throughout the historical relationship





between Indians and the wider power structures: Thus it is not viewed in isolation by most Indians.

The use of population-based racial identification and its frequent portrayal in the popular media as racial essentialism remains one of the most controversial aspects of the ordeal. This is particularly true for those groups—including many Indians—who reject the value and relevance of notions such as race. These concepts could have significant political implications at a time when race has significant social and political relevance in the United States.

Adding to this controversy have been the claims of groups like the Asatru Folk Assembly of a European presence on the continent for a significant period of time. Similarly, Kennewick man/The Ancient One and several other skeletons of great antiquity have led scientists to question their traditional migration theories and suggest that there have been multiple “waves” of migration by distinct populations who came to inhabit North America. Efforts of Indians to assert sovereignty and a political presence in the contemporary United States could be hampered by assertions that they lack claims to the land and rights through descent and prior inhabitation.

These migration theories have also proved controversial in that they are contrary to the traditional beliefs of Indian groups who believe that they have lived on the continent since time immemorial. Individuals who perceive this as a marginalization of Indian tradition find further evidence in the court rulings of Jelderks as well as the appeals court that denies the relevance of oral tradition and prior habitation in asserting legal and political claims. Many find offensive the notion that the relevant Indian tribes cannot reburial the remains in accordance with their customs. All of these circumstances explain why the struggle has been frequently and inaccurately portrayed as one of “science” versus “religion”—labels that appear to have hurt the image of tribal groups in the United States, casting them as timeless and antiscientific.

The struggle over Kennewick man/The Ancient One has important ramifications elsewhere. Within academic disciplines like archaeology, physical anthropology, and cultural anthropology, the issue divided colleagues along ethical fault lines as well as those between science and humanism. Legally and politically, many felt that NAGPRA was antiscientific, and some, including Congressman Doc Hastings (Republican, Washington), have attempted to change legislation in a way that would allow for the study of the remains. This move was opposed by the

Clinton administration. Others, however, felt that Jelderks’ ruling and the appeals court upholding of it were contrary to the spirit of NAGPRA in that it did not balance interests and marginalized the desires of Indian groups. Senator John McCain (Republican, Arizona), an individual who played a key role in the drafting and passing of NAGPRA in 1990, introduced a bill in April 2005 to amend the legislation (Senate Bill 536 §182) so as to allow for the increased ability of Indians to reburial their remains. This move was opposed by the administration of George W. Bush and many in the scientific community.

Though Kennewick man/The Ancient One has faded from news headlines, the implications are still tangible and many are unknown. Academics and Indians are attempting to rebuild damaged relationships, while others in each camp continue to lobby for legal reform and access to skeletal remains. What this ordeal has proved most, however, is the fragility of relationships between Indians and the wider society and that there are significant political implications to the study of and access to the past.

Christopher A. J. Little

See also Archaeology and the First Americans; Bering Strait Theory; Identity; Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).

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## Lacrosse

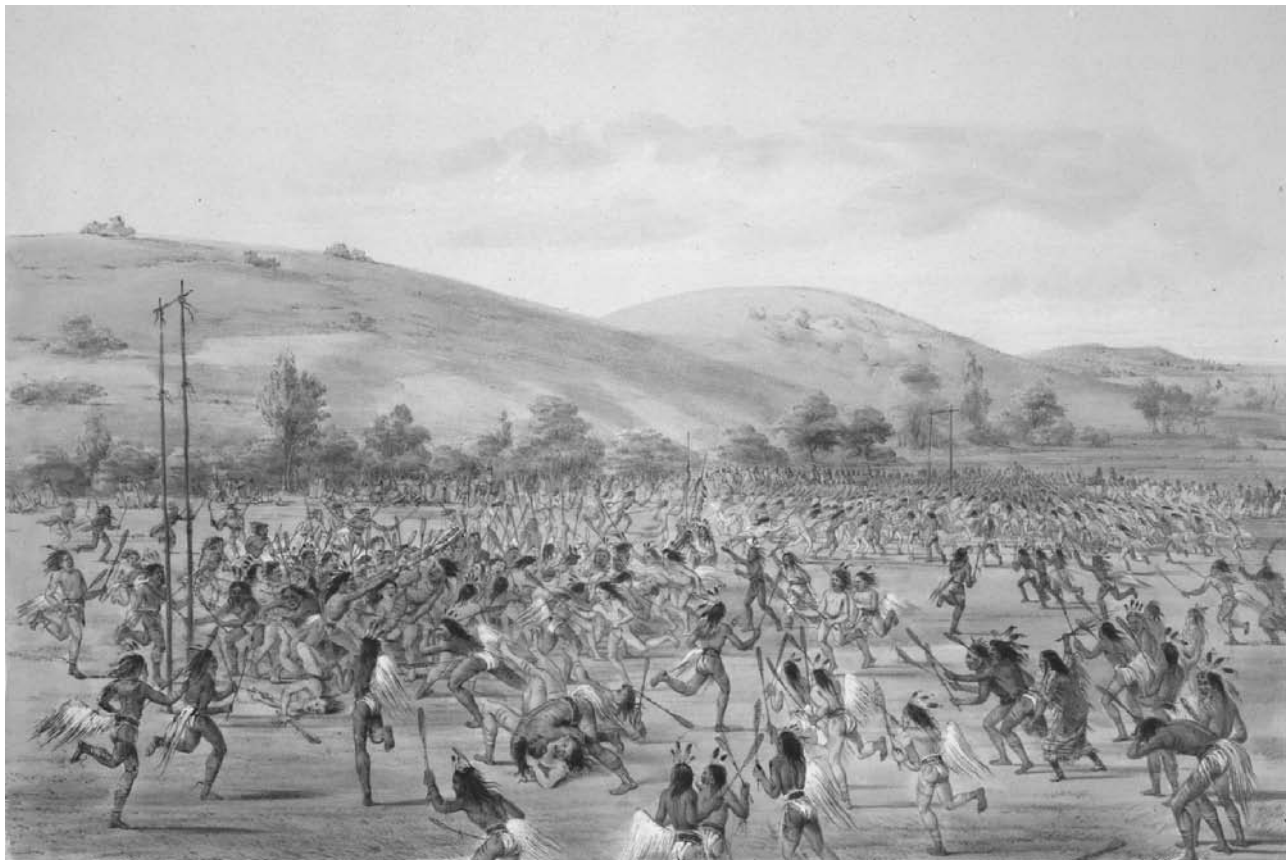
The name “lacrosse” refers to a number of indigenous games played by teams using a ball and sticks. It undoubtedly has become the most popular sport native to North America. In amateur clubs, intercollegiate competitions, professional leagues, and international matches, thousands play, watch, and enjoy modern renditions of the traditional ball game. Importantly, lacrosse remains a vital element in some American Indian communities, nurturing ethnic identity, social relations, and cultural traditions.

Aboriginal lacrosse was concentrated around and to the east and southeast of the Great Lakes. Two teams, often numbering in the dozens and occasionally in the hundreds, faced off in a huge playing field. Ostensibly, the object of the sport was to score more goals than the opposing team. For indigenous participants and spectators, however, lacrosse was more than a recreational activity; the game possessed important spiritual components,

reinforced local, kinship-based social organization, and had deep associations with physical combat.

In some Native societies, lacrosse was considered sacred. Individual Potawatomis convened matches to honor their guardian spirit. Other Native groups, like the Iroquois League, played the game in connection with key religious rites. Lacrosse was frequently associated with funerary and memorial ceremonies. Further, medicine men and conjurers played a key role in the sport, blessing players and equipment alike, while often engaging in combat with one another through spells. Finally, some people viewed its medicinal powers as evidence of the sacred character of lacrosse. Some tribes, like the Hurons, believed lacrosse could cure diseases, whereas others, such as the Potawatomis, thought it could prevent illness.

Beyond its spiritual significance, lacrosse had profound social importance as well. Matches were grand gatherings of people, encouraging economic activity and cementing social relations. Moreover, games were the occasion of intense gambling.



*Choctaw Indian men and boys play a game similar to lacrosse in the 1840s near Fort Gibson, Oklahoma. (Library of Congress)*





Lacrosse also provided a means for individual distinction and culturally sanctioned competition. In fact, many American Indian communities understood the game to be a surrogate for warfare, often speaking of the two in similar terms, employing shared rituals and designing lacrosse sticks after war clubs.

In the seventeenth century, French missionaries offered the first written description of the sport. For much of the next century, largely in New France, Europeans watched and wagered on matches between Native Americans, sometimes engaging in competitions against them. Beginning in the early nineteenth century, Euro-Canadians, particularly in the vicinity of Montreal, began playing the game among themselves, systemizing it in 1867. Although indigenous peoples outside Canada played lacrosse, it did not capture much public attention in the United States until after the Civil War, when it became an established intercollegiate sport in the northeast by the 1880s. As lacrosse was systematized in the United States and Canada, American Indians were excluded and marginalized. More recently, an indoor version of lacrosse, known as box lacrosse, has served as the basis for the professionalization of the sport.

The institutionalization of lacrosse in the United States eclipsed, but did not eradicate, indigenous forms of the sport. Throughout the twentieth century, indigenous communities continued to play local versions of the ball game and began to embrace modern lacrosse as well. Importantly, for many Native Americans, the ball game has fostered the rediscovery of cultural heritage and the validation of ethnic identity. Indeed, the formation of the Iroquois Nationals team in 1983 marked a pivotal moment in indigenous activism and sport. In 1990, the Iroquois Nationals team played the U.S. team in the Lacrosse World Cup.

At the start of the twenty-first century, lacrosse remains a vital sport summarizing the Native American experience: a powerful tradition replete with religious and social meanings; a cultural complex taken from indigenous peoples, then modified to fit the ideals of western sport and society; a game in which American Indians were discouraged from further play and banned from participation in established leagues; and, most recently, a sport repossessed as a resource of ethnic identity and an emblem of indigenous resurgence.

C. Richard King

*See also* Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System.

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## Language and Language Renewal

Linguists estimate that nearly a thousand languages were spoken in North, Central, and South America before the arrival of European colonists. In North America about 300 languages were spoken, but because of assimilation pressures only about half of these languages still have speakers, and fewer and fewer children are learning them. A number of factors have led to this language loss. Since 1492, most colonial governments and missionaries have actively worked to keep children from speaking their indigenous languages in schools. However, in the twenty-first century, when languages are less suppressed in schools, it is mass media, particularly television and movies, that are moving Native children in the Americas rapidly away from their heritage languages toward international languages such as English and Spanish.

As fewer and fewer children speak their Native languages, many parents and grandparents are becoming increasingly concerned that their languages soon will lose fluent speakers, and with the language their culture will be lost. In response, efforts are being made across the Americas to revitalize indigenous languages. One of the problems with revitalization, however, is that there are so many languages and they can be very dissimilar. Linguists have divided North American indigenous languages into six or more major language phyla (large related groups of languages). The following is a list of widely accepted phyla with some sample languages from each group:





1. Eskimo-Aleut includes the “Eskimo” family of languages, such as Inuit and Yupik and the Aleut family.
2. Na-Dené, or Eyak-Athabaskan, includes more than forty Athapaskan (Athabaskan) languages, extending from Tanaina in Alaska, Dogrib and Sekani in Canada, to Apache, Hupa, Navajo (Diné), and Umpqua in the Southwest of the United States.
3. Salishan encompasses Pacific coastal groups from British Columbia to Oregon, as well as Flathead, Kalispel, and Spokane in Idaho and Montana.
4. Cochimí-Yuman, in Upper and Lower (Baja) California and Arizona, takes in Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, and Mojave.
5. Aztec-Tanoan is made up of Uto-Aztecan, one of the largest language families spoken from Oregon to Panama (some members are Comanche, Paiute, Shoshoni, Hopi, Pima, Tarahumara, and Náhuatl), as well as the Kiowa-Tanoan family.
6. Macro-Siouan is made up of the Siouan family of Assiniboine, Catawaba, Dakota, Ho Chunk (Winnebago), Crow, and Mandan; the Iroquoian family, including Cherokee, Tuscarora, Huronian, Seneca, and Mohawk; and the Caddoan family, including Caddoan, Pawnee and Wichita.
7. Macro-Algonkian is made up of the Algonquian family, spread from California to the East Coast and from Canada to Mexico (some of this family’s members are Arapahos, Blackfoot, Cheyennes, Crees, Fox, Kickapoos, Menominees, Ojibwas, Shawnees, Miamis, and Yuroks), and the Gulf Branch families, including Alabama, Chicksaw, Choctaw, and Seminole (adapted from Midgette 1997 and Campbell 1997).

In addition, isolates exist, such as Zuni, that resist classification into the larger American Indian language groups. While there have been attempts to link some American Indian languages to current European and Asian languages, including Welsh and Japanese, these efforts have been uniformly rejected by the vast majority of linguists for lack of evidence.

James Estes (1999) lists 154 indigenous American languages still spoken in the United States with Navajo having the most speakers (148,530), followed

by Ojibwa with 35,000 speakers, Dakota with 20,355, Choctaw with 17,890, Apache with 12,693, and Cherokee with 11,905 speakers. Seven languages are listed with only one speaker. They include Coos and Kalapuya in Oregon, Eyak in Alaska and Coast Miwok, Plains Miwok, Pomo and Serrano in California. In Canada, the Summer Institute of Linguistics’ *Ethnologue* estimates that Cree has 80,550 first language speakers, and in Mexico Náhuatl has 1,376,898 speakers (Gordon, 2005). The various dialects of Quechua, the language of the Incas, still have millions of speakers in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, and other South American countries.

Linguists who study American Indian languages see the many languages of today as having evolved from one or more early languages that began to differ as groups of people repeatedly divided and went their separate ways, populating the Americas. Linguists even try to roughly date when separations occurred by the degree of difference between languages. Because some groups are more ready to borrow words from their neighbors’ languages than others, it is difficult to date these hypothesized separations. However, the vast differences that occur even in one language phylum indicate that the people who spoke these languages have lived in the Americas for many thousands of years. English is one language that has borrowed words from hundreds of languages, including many Indian languages, especially the names of animals and plants that were new to Europeans. Some of these words were first loan words into Spanish and French and then were borrowed into English. In addition, many place names in the Americas are of Indian origin.

While most indigenous languages lacked any system of writing before the European invasion, the Aztecs, Mixtecs, Zapotecs, Epi-Olmecs, and Mayans had hieroglyphic writing systems. After 1521, the Spanish burned most of the Mayan codices (ancient bark paper books), because they were seen as pagan. During colonial times interested amateurs such as Thomas Jefferson made word lists in different indigenous languages. These lists can be compared to check their similarities, but vocabulary is only one measure of a language’s uniqueness. Looking at word order (syntax) is another way to compare the differences and similarities between languages.

Missionaries went even further than compiling lists. They developed writing systems for various indigenous languages and worked with tribal informants to translate Christian texts. John Eliot





worked with Indian informants to translate the *Bible* while others translated catechisms and prayer books. Eliot's *Indian Bible* in the Massachusetts dialect of the Algonquian language was printed at Harvard University in 1663. Other missionaries produced dictionaries that are still useful today, such as Stephen Riggs' 1852 *Grammar and Dictionary of the Dakota Language* and the Catholic Franciscan Fathers' 1919 *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navajo Language*, printed at their St. Michael's mission. In some cases, the word lists of early amateur scientists and later linguists, as well as the translations and dictionaries produced by missionaries, are all that remains of languages that no one speaks today, and these remnants are being used by descendants to reawaken their ancestral languages.

While most of the missionaries' early writing systems for Indian languages were attempts to phonetically spell Indian words using a European alphabet, in sharp contrast a non-English-speaking Cherokee, Sequoyah, independently developed a unique syllabary of eighty-five symbols representing the sounds in his language. Sequoyah, who moved westward to avoid whites, hoped his writing system would help preserve Cherokee culture. A missionary, Samuel Worcester, printed Sequoyah's syllabary in 1821, and the Cherokees used it in their bilingual newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*, started in 1828, and in private correspondence. Unfortunately, the Georgia Guard soon destroyed the *Cherokee Phoenix*'s printing press, and the Cherokees were forcibly removed to Indian Territory on the Trail of Tears. There, between 1835 and 1861, Worcester's new mission printed almost 14 million pages, many in Sequoyah's syllabary. John B. Jones, the Indian agent at Tahlequah in Indian Territory, wrote in 1872 that, "Almost the whole of those Cherokees who do not speak English can read and write the Cherokee by using the characters invented by Sequoyah" (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 54).

John Wesley Powell, the explorer of the Grand Canyon, published in 1877 *An Introduction to the Study of Indian Languages* and in 1879 became the first director of the U.S. Bureau of Ethnology. In 1891 he published *Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico*, listing fifty-eight separate language families, which became a foundation for future research by anthropologists and linguists such as Franz Boas, Roland Dixon, Alfred Kroeber, Edward Sapir, J. P. Harrington, Robert Young, Kenneth Hale, Akira Yamamoto, and Leanne Hinton.

Sapir was able to reduce the number of major language groups down to six. These linguists used Native speakers as informants.

Linguists have moved from merely studying Indian languages to helping keep remaining languages alive by developing writing systems (orthographies), helping schools develop bilingual education programs, training tribal linguists, and improving language teaching techniques. For example, University of California linguist Leanne Hinton (Hinton, 1994; Hinton and Hale, 2001; Hinton, Vera, and Steele, 2002) is helping to develop the master-apprentice training program to help young adults to learn languages spoken only by a few elderly tribal members, a situation all too common in California.

While linguists tend to see languages as evolving, as English has evolved from the time of Chaucer, to the time of Shakespeare, to today with pronunciations changing and new words being added over time, traditionally American Indians have viewed their languages as sacred gifts from the Creator. For example, the Northern Arapaho Language and Culture Commission has stated that its language is the foundation of Arapaho culture and spiritual heritage. Without it, the Arapahos believe that they would not exist in the manner that the Creator intends.

The connection between language and culture and how and if language shapes the way people understand the world they live in has received much discussion. Many see language as embodying culture. This point of view was expressed by a Cheyenne elder who said, "Cheyennes who are coming toward us are being denied by us the right to acquire that central aspect of what it means to be Cheyenne because we are not teaching them to talk Cheyenne. When they reach us, when they are born, they are going to be relegated to being mere husks, empty shells. They are going to look Cheyenne, have Cheyenne parents but they won't have the language which is going to make them truly Cheyenne" (Reyhner, 1997, vii).

Some linguists have argued that languages determine how we think about and see the world. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis argues for this determination, while other researchers see languages as having only an influence. One can do a good job of translating from one language to another, although sometimes it takes a whole phrase in one language to get at the meaning of a single word in another language. Some words are very hard to translate.





Sally Midgette (1997, 40) gives the example of “the Navajo word *hózhó*, which lies at the heart of their worldview. This word can only be translated by three separate English words: peace, harmony, and beauty. Some languages do not use verbs to mark past, present, and future as English does, but that does not mean, as some have contended, that speakers of these languages cannot express those concepts.

Using another example of how languages can differ, Midgette (1997, 33) describes how Navajo and other Athapaskan languages use different verbs to express whether an action is instantaneous, repeated, or takes a long time. Navajo is a polysynthetic language unlike English, which is an analytic language. In an analytic language, sentences are made up of relatively short and simple words while a polysynthetic language uses very complex words, with roots, prefixes, and suffixes occurring in a fixed order. One complex polysynthetic word can express the meaning of a whole sentence in English. An example Midgette gives is the Navajo word *Naa’ahéłgo’* that translates into the English as “I pushed them and made them fall over one after another.” These words are always verbs with the noun incorporated into the verb, such as “we are going berry-picking” (verb) instead of “we are going to pick berries” (verb plus noun).

While linguists who study Indian languages quickly see how sophisticated they are. Yet the popular view of Indian languages by many non-Indian Americans in the nineteenth century was that they were “barbarous” primitive dialects incapable of expressing complex ideas. The U.S. government’s Peace Commission reported in 1868 that “between Indian and white it was, the difference in language, which in a great measure barred intercourse and a proper understanding each of the other’s motives and intentions. Now, by educating the children of these tribes in the English language these differences would have disappeared, and civilization would have followed at once. . . . Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment, and thought; customs and habits are moulded and assimilated in the same way, and thus in process of time the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated” (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 74).

This attitude toward the role of language ignored the fact that, in the bloody Civil War that ended only three years before, both the North and the South had spoken English.

Commissioner of Indian Affairs J.D.C. Atkins in his 1887 annual report ordered only English to be used in schools on Indian reservations:

Every nation is jealous of its own language, and no nation ought to be more so than ours, which approaches nearer than any other nationality to the perfect protection of its people. True Americans all feel that the Constitution, laws, and institutions of the United States, in their adaptation to the wants and requirements of man, are superior to those of any other country; and they should understand that by the spread of the English language will these laws and institutions be more firmly established and widely disseminated. Nothing so surely and perfectly stamps upon an individual a national characteristic as language (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 76).

Some missionaries who effectively used bilingual education to first teach reading and writing in their students’ Native language before teaching English vigorously opposed Atkins’ approach. For example, Stephen Riggs found teaching English “to be very difficult and not producing much apparent fruit.” It was not the students’ lack of ability that prevented them from learning English, but rather their unwillingness. “Teaching Dakota was a different thing. It was their own language.” Riggs’s son at Santee Sioux School in Nebraska found that learning to read in their Dakota language and then using illustrated bilingual books “enables them [the children] to master English with more ease when they take up that study; and he thinks, also, that a child beginning a four years’ course with the study of Dakota would be further advanced in English at the end of the term than one who had not been instructed in Dakota” (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 79). Dartmouth College’s president wrote in 1887, “The idea of reaching and permanently elevating the great mass of any people whatever, by first teaching them all a foreign tongue, is too absurd ever to have been entertained by sane men” (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 77).

Various methods were used in schools to keep students from “talking Indian,” including washing student’s mouths out with lye soap if they spoke their Native languages. When these students became parents, they sometimes did not teach their children their language so that they would not be punished in school like their parents. Over time, some languages ceased to be spoken. It was thought





that once American Indians spoke only English, they would do well in school, but in the many Indian communities in the twenty-first century where children no longer know how to speak their ancestral language, the academic achievement gap between Indian and middle-class white students is still wide. Recent research (Reyhner, 2001) has shown that students who still speak their Native language and practice traditional activities do as well or better in school as those who do not. This fact, along with the breakdown of families and the increase in gang and other antisocial activities in Indian communities, led to a movement in the late twentieth century to teach Indian languages in locally controlled schools.

American Indian languages are not the only ones that have been suppressed in U.S. schools. Spanish-speaking students were prevented from and punished for speaking Spanish in schools for more than a century in the Southwestern United States, and as a group they had poor academic achievement. In 1968, at the height of the Civil Rights Movement and the War on Poverty, President Lyndon B. Johnson, who had taught Mexican-American students in Texas as a young man, signed the Bilingual Education Act. American Indians quickly took advantage of this new source of funding to establish bilingual education programs of their own. However, there was a lack of trained teachers who were fluent in Indian language, and students often ended up learning only a few words in their Native languages.

Ironically, as direct efforts to suppress American Indian language through schooling decreased with the Civil Rights Movement during the 1960s, language loss actually accelerated among many Native peoples, as paved roads reduced isolation and English-language radio and then television entered Indian homes in North America. The recognition of the accelerating rate of language loss led some tribes to pass language policies. The Navajo Tribal Council passed educational policies in 1984 supporting local control, parental involvement, Indian hiring preference, and Navajo language instruction. It declared:

The Navajo language is an essential element of the life, culture and identity of the Navajo people. The Navajo Nation recognizes the importance of preserving and perpetuating that language to the survival of the Nation. Instruction in the Navajo language shall be made available for all grade levels in all schools serving the Navajo Nation. Navajo language

instruction shall include to the greatest extent practicable: thinking, speaking, comprehension, reading and writing skills and study of the formal grammar of the language (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 310).

These policies also required Navajo history and culture courses. In his preface to the policies, Tribal Chairman Peterson Zah wrote, "We believe that an excellent education can produce achievement in the basic academic skills and skills required by modern technology and still educate young Navajo citizens in their language, history, government and culture" (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 310). The Northern Ute Tribal Business Committee passed a similar resolution the same year declaring that Ute is the official language of the Northern Ute Nation and may be used in the business of government—legislative, executive and judicial—although in deference to, and out of respect to speakers of English, it may be utilized in official matters of government. "We declare that the Ute language is a living and vital language that has the ability to match any other in the world for expressiveness and beauty. Our language is capable of lexical expansion into modern conceptual fields such as the field of politics, economics, mathematics and science," the statement said (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 310–311).

Fears of a proposed constitutional amendment to make English the official language of the United States and a desire for language revitalization, especially by Native Hawaiians, led to the passage in the United States of the Native American Languages Act in 1990. This act declared that, "the status of the cultures and languages of Native Americans is unique and the United States has the responsibility to act together with Native Americans to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages." The Act made it U.S. policy to "preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages. . . . The right of Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies to use the Native American languages as a medium of instruction in all schools funded by the Secretary of the Interior" is recognized. In addition, "the right of Native Americans to express themselves through the use of Native American languages shall not be restricted in any public proceeding, including publicly supported education programs" (Reyhner and Eder, 2004, 309).

Multilingualism is more common than monolingualism outside the United States, and researchers





(Baker, 2002) have found that knowing more than one language is an asset rather than a handicap. One does not have to cease speaking their mother tongue to learn a second language or one of the “global” or “international” languages spoken widely around the world. Researchers (Baker, 2002) indicate that an average of one to two years is required to acquire speaking ability in a second language, compared to about six years to master reading it (and writing in a new language and to do well academically in it). Unfortunately, voters in the United States have been seduced with “English for the children” propaganda, starting in 1998 in California, Arizona, and Massachusetts. These initiatives largely ban the use of bilingual education in public schools. While aimed at speakers of Spanish, this legislation is affecting negatively indigenous language programs in public schools.

During the last quarter of the twentieth century many indigenous peoples became more aware of the dire straits their languages had encountered. The Maori in New Zealand realized that, if nothing was done soon, no one would be speaking their language in a few years. In addition, their English-speaking children were not doing well in school. In 1982, they started Maori language preschools, called *Te Kohanga Reo* (language nests), staffed by elders who spoke only Maori with the young children in their care. The number of these preschools increased rapidly. By 1991, 700 had been started, with 10,000 students. The Maori originally came from Hawai’i, and the Hawaiian language was in the same imperiled condition as Maori. Native Hawaiians quickly saw the success of the Maori and started their own language nests, called *Punana Leo*, in 1984. Their mission statement reads:

The *Punana Leo* Movement grew out of a dream that there be reestablished throughout Hawai’i the mana of a living Hawaiian language from the depth of our origins. The *Punana Leo* initiates, provides for and nurtures various Hawaiian Language environments, and we find our strength in our spirituality, love of our language, love of our people, love of our land, and love of knowledge (Reyhner, 2003, 3).

According to parents and staff, the *Punana Leo* embody “a way of life . . . you have to take it home” that is bringing back the moral values of the culture and mending families. Parents were asked to learn Hawaiian along with their children and provide vol-

unteer help to the preschools, and in 1986 they were able to get the 1896 state law outlawing the use of their language in schools repealed so that their children graduating from the language nests could continue their Hawaiian language education in the public schools. In 2003, there were twenty-three public schools with Hawaiian-immersion classes, and the first immersion students graduated from high school in 1999. Both in New Zealand and Hawai’i students can also now take university-level teacher education courses in their indigenous language, and they are working to Hawaiianizing the curriculum they teach rather than just translating it from English. Immersion programs like the one in Hawai’i are still in their infancy in the continental United States.

Throughout most of history in the United States, Indian education has been English-only and assimilationist. However, after World War II, many Native peoples experienced the Civil Rights Movement, demanding more self-determination, including the right to run their own schools. One of the first Indian-controlled schools was Rock Point Community School on the Navajo Nation. Rock Point tried to raise test scores through using English as a second language (ESL) teaching techniques in the early 1960s, with only limited success. They then tried bilingual education starting with two-thirds of a day of Navajo immersion kindergarten in 1967, then adding one grade a year until they had a K–12 bilingual program. Students were immersed in Navajo one-half of the school day in grades one through three and then about one-fourth of the day through high school. While not reaching national averages, the bilingual program raised students’ English-language test scores substantially. Children at this time were still coming to school as Navajo speakers in this isolated community and, with the bilingual program, math was taught emphasizing understanding with manipulatives and science was taught as a hands-on process. In high school the students were taught applied Navajo literacy and social studies (Reyhner and Eder, 2004).

As more and more students came to school with Navajo as their first language, the Rock Point model of Native-language maintenance and English-language development needed to be changed to a language-revitalization model. In 2005, the Window Rock School District’s Diné (Navajo) immersion program exemplified this new type of program. Located at the capitol of the Navajo Nation in Arizona, Window Rock’s immersion program provides for the unique cultural and academic related needs of





Navajo children by bringing back traditional Diné cultural values.

Parents must choose to put their children into the *Tséhootsooí Diné Bi'ólta'* (Diné Language Immersion School) where in kindergarten and first grade the language of instruction is Navajo. Starting in second grade, English instruction is added until in sixth grade, half of the instruction is in English. The Navajo Nation's *Diné Cultural Content Standards* are used along with Arizona state academic standards for reading, writing, math, foreign language, science, and social studies as the framework for instruction, resulting in students who are speakers and thinkers in Diné while meeting Arizona's academic and English language expectations. The district's goal is to revitalize the Diné (Navajo) language among school-age children through a culturally and linguistically relevant educational program. The school enrolls some 200 students taught by fifteen teachers instructing only in Diné and three English language teachers. The Navajo's tribal college offers teacher education courses taught in Navajo.

The district's vision is to be "an exemplary student centered learning organization reflecting the Diné values of life-long learning." Test data show that Diné language immersion students outperform in most subject areas Navajo students who are getting their instruction in English. Contrary to what many people commonly believe, bilingual education research (Francis and Reyhner, 2002) has found that learning to speak, read, and write a Native language can help students increase their English language skills. In addition, the use of the Diné language and integrating the Diné culture validate students' identity. Window Rock's immersion students are gaining Diné language proficiency at a time when fewer and fewer Diné children are speaking Navajo, and they are staying in school to graduate at a higher rate than other Navajo students.

Window Rock's efforts are supported by various studies (Reyhner, 2001) showing that students who speak their tribal language and participate in traditional activities do as well as in school or better than students who have lost their tribal language. Today, language revitalization programs working to keep Native languages alive are part of a larger process seeking to heal the wounds of colonial oppression that often sought to stamp out all aspects of Native culture. Sally Midgett writes, "I have heard several Native Americans speak about their

sense of rootlessness and despair, and how they recovered when their grandmothers taught them to speak Tolowa, or Navajo, and they regained a sense of themselves and their heritage" (1997, 39). Evangeline Parsons Yazzie found in her doctoral research that, "Elder Navajos want to pass on their knowledge and wisdom to the younger generation. Originally, this was the older people's responsibility. Today the younger generation does not know the language and is unable to accept the words of wisdom." She concluded, "The use of the native tongue is like therapy, specific native words express love and caring. Knowing the language presents one with a strong self-identity, a culture with which to identify, and a sense of wellness" (Reyhner 1997, vi). Richard Littlebear, president of Chief Dull Knife College, concluded that his Northern Cheyenne language can be an antidote to the forces pulling the youth of his tribe into joining gangs.

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See also Language, Written in America, Pre-Contact; Sequoyah.

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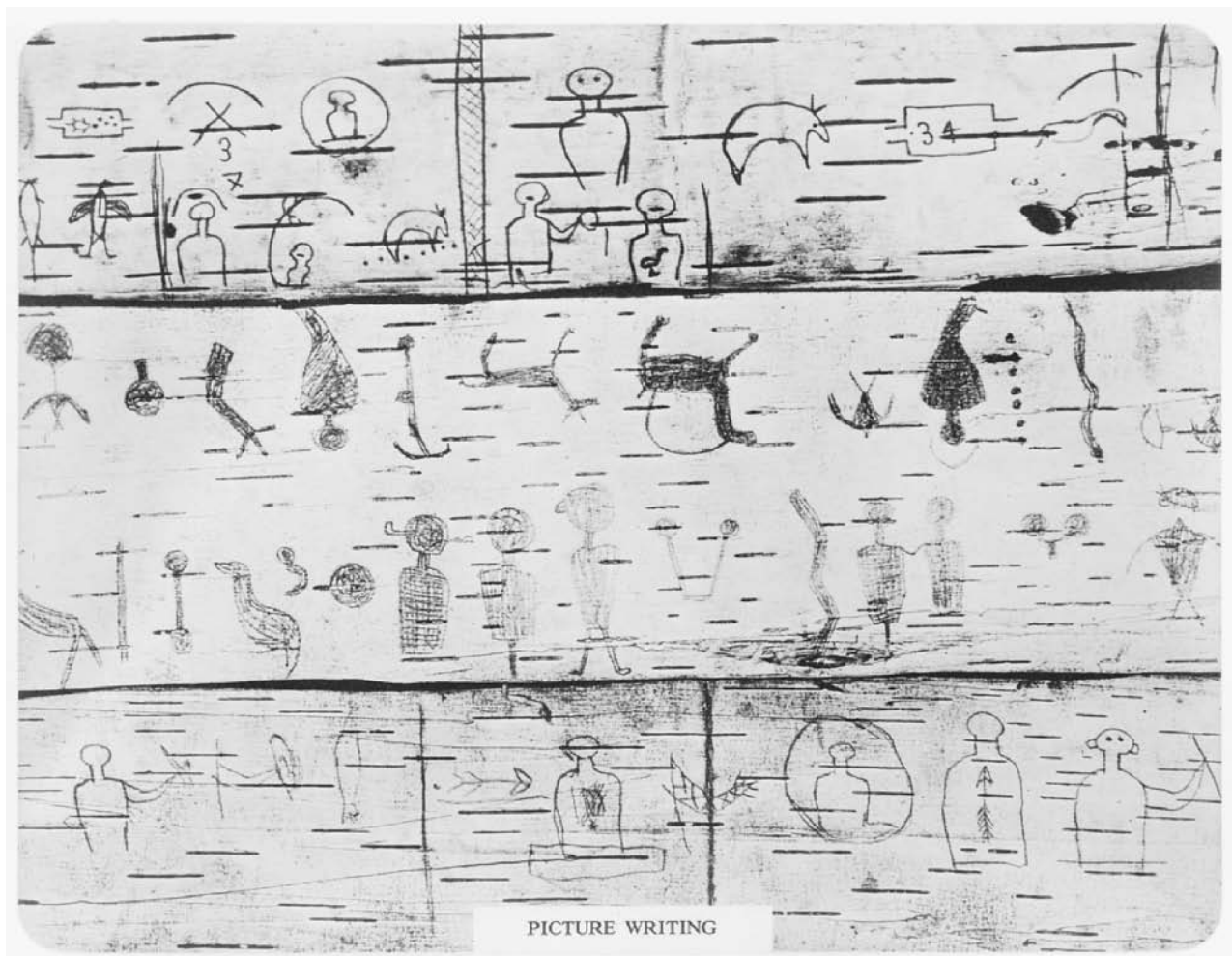
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## Language, Written in America, Pre-contact

Written languages existed throughout the Americas during the long pre-contact period, albeit in nonalphabetic form. Stories and messages have been encoded in the Aztec and Mayan codices, in wampum belts, and in petroglyphs and pictographs, as well as on rocks, hides, teepees, clothing, and ledger books. The nomadic Blackfeet and Shoshone peoples used Writing-on-Stone Provincial Park, located in a canyon on the Milk River in southern Alberta, as a campground for centuries. Consequently, many messages were left there, some of which detail hunting, warfare deeds, and daily life; others, the introduction of horses, guns, and metal. Some may represent ceremonial information. This writing dates back as far as about 1,800 years and as recently as around 1730. Some of the petroglyphs in the Southwestern United States, such as those found at the Ancestral Puebloan settlements at Chaco Canyon, are connected with calendrical counts and may have been used in conjunction with the astronomically aligned buildings to determine the proper solar, lunar, and stellar alignments used in ceremony. These glyphs date back nearly a thousand years. The petroglyphs and pictographs, using the same symbol systems, are distinguished by scholars from one another by their manner of creation. Pictographs are made using paints or pigments, often red ochre (pulverized iron ore and water), or drawn with a small piece of limestone. Petroglyphs are cut into rock with antlers, bones, other rocks, or, in more recent times, metal tools.

The documentary film, *The American Indian's Sacred Ground*, reveals that sign languages used in intertribal communication directly correspond to the corresponding written forms. The sign for snow, for instance, made by extending both arms from the elbow slightly above the waist with the fingers loose and making a wavy motion downward, relates to the petroglyph made by applying paint to the fingers and making the sign over the surface of the rock. This correspondence suggests an ingrained system, one that had been used for an extensive period of time, highly organized and systematic, pervasive across many tribal lines. In her article "On the Probable Origin of Plains Indian Sign Language," Patricia Kilroe, like the documentary film, notes the connection found by some archaeologists between North American petroglyphs and Plains





*Pictographs on birch bark recording a chant used in religious ceremonies. (Library of Congress)*

Sign Language (PSL)—particularly a Tule River, California, glyph that includes the signs for rain, for nothing here, and for hunger; an Alaskan woodcarving from the late nineteenth century that shows the signs for nothing and for winter lodge, made by two men in a boat; and Dakota petroglyphs with an ear of corn representing the Arikara, signed in PSL as corn shellers and a figure making the sign for Kiowa (rattle-brained), made by circling the hand or hands horizontally on one or either side of the head.

Kilroe also lists at length correspondences between PSL and Mayan and Mixtec pictography. As opposed to some of the glyphs found in the continental United States and Canada, the Mayan and Mixtec figures all seem to be of the same sort as for the preceding sign for Kiowa—a figure gesturing the sign rather than a reproduction of the pattern of the sign, like that for snow or sacred place. The Dresden

codex includes a figure signing the PSL for yes and one signing the same; one Mixtec figure makes the PSL for fire; another makes the sign for to give; and connections exist between the signs for sun, moon, accession, and water or drink. Kilroe further points out Helen Neuenswander's 1981 finding that some contemporary Mayans seem to use signs, at least in regard to lunar cycles and seasons, that bear a correspondence to ancient lunar series glyphs.

Not only do these correlations suggest a once extensive network of a widely used, visually based linguistic system, but the Mayan codices and other ancient Meso-American "writings" themselves demonstrate remarkable evidence for the extent to which a semipermanent visual recording of knowledge might have been part of the pre-contact past, with perhaps as much cultural import as the alphabetic system of recording has for contemporary cul-





tures. As Zelia Nuttall says in the introduction to *The Codex Nuttall, A Picture Manuscript from Ancient Mexico*, “Ancient Mexican screenfolds are remarkably versatile as forms of information storage. It is possible to view several pages simultaneously and even to consult the obverse at the same time as the reverse. Clearly, the screenfold format was devised as a solution to the need of non-Western, non-lineal patterns of thought” (O’Neill et al., n.d.). These once plentiful codices were stored in vast repositories, but only a few were saved by Catholic monks and smuggled to Europe, escaping burning by the other Spaniards.

Due to the nature of their complexity, however, anything included here about the scope of Meso-American writing systems must be hugely oversimplified; an overview of these systems is necessary to understanding the history of the visual recording of thought in the Americas. Ancient writings—almost twenty of which are in the form of the folding screen books and others of which appear on walls, on vases, on individual sheets, and on a variety of other artifacts—are extant from several cultures: Mayan, Aztec (or, more properly, Mexica, pronounced Meshi-ka), Mixtec, and Zapotec. The Mayan system, though it is glyphic, is fundamentally agreed on by scholars to have developed into a phonetic system of sorts, while the Mexica, Mixtec, and Zapotec systems appear to be pictographic. These pictographic screenfolds in particular are thought to have been intended to accompany, not necessarily to replace, the spoken word, as PSL often does in contemporary Plains discourse.

A more recent sort of pictographic writing in terms of indigenous cultures can be found in the Plains ledger books. Though Plains peoples had recorded pictographs prior to this period on a variety of surfaces—notably hides, teepees, and clothing in addition to the petroglyphs—between 1860 and 1900, a number of pictographic books were created in accountants’ ledger books with crayon, colored pencil, and sometimes watercolor. The books first recorded war exploits and later ceremonial information and details from daily life. The accurate accounting of war deeds was extremely important in Plains cultures, because warfare had important ceremonial implications. The ledger books continued a long tradition by the warrior/artists of the Plains. They recorded their deeds pictographically to aid in their preservation in the oral tradition of the people. An old saying goes, “The picture is the rope that ties memory solidly to the stake of truth” (*Cheyenne Dog Soldiers*, 1999).

One of the earliest of these books was created by the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers in the years following the Sand Creek Massacre of 1864. The book was given to the Colorado Historical Society (CHS) on November 30, 1903. Though the book originally was produced with 144 blank pages, one 114 pages remain in the book as it is. The CHS has determined that the book is the work of fourteen author artists. Several issues, including sequencing and a seemingly patterned order of blank pages, complicate interpretation for scholars. The CHS states that the largest problem, however, is that they are “severely limited by an incomplete oral tradition,” a complication that arises from the fact that, again, these recordings are pictographic and meant to accompany, not replace, the oral. The pictographic method, if not the symbols themselves, is very close to that found in the codices, containing figures for both the names of the warriors whose deeds are recorded in it and for objects associated with the deeds.

Like the other media written of in this section, the Plains ledger books provide ample evidence of a strong visual recording tradition in the Americas, a tradition in accordance with the right-hemispheric tendencies of cultures that revered and still revere the visual receiving of knowledge. With differences in media, origin, geography, and symbol systems, pre-contact Americans found ways to write and transmit information about important historical events, territorial boundaries, sacred spaces, hunting, ceremony, trading, and their daily lives all over these lands in ways far more permanent than books.

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*See also* Language and Language Renewal; Sand Creek Massacre.

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## Longhouse Religion

The Iroquois Confederacy (or Haudenosaunee, meaning "people building a longhouse") represents the coming together of five Iroquois nations—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Senecas, and Cayugas—for the purposes of political and military cohesion and strength. By 1722, a sixth nation—the Tuscaroras—joined the confederacy. While there are some differences between nations in regard to language and traditions, overall the nations of the confederacy followed the same practices and traditions and could understand the language of one another without much difficulty.

Initially, the longhouse was a building in which Iroquois families lived. In modern times, the longhouse building has become a place for people who continue to follow the traditional Iroquois ways to gather for social, political, and ceremonial events. Many of these more traditional Haudenosaunee people refer to themselves in everyday language as being "Longhouse," that is, belonging to one of the six Iroquois nations that constitute the confederacy and following the traditional customs and traditions of the people of the longhouse. This does not necessarily exclude people who are "Longhouse" from embracing other religious traditions. While some purists may argue that these people are somehow less authentic in their beliefs, it is a reflection of the reality of different cultures interacting and sometimes clashing for several hundred years.

The phrase "longhouse religion" is a term most often used in the United States to describe the Iroquois people who follow the Handsome Lake Code. As with many indigenous peoples, the nations that were known as the Iroquois Confederacy were affected in all aspects of their lives by the arrival of Europeans on their lands. After contact with Europeans, a Seneca man by the name of Handsome Lake

spoke about a system of rules and guiding principles that he believed were given to him by the Creator to pass on to others for their benefit, to lead a better life. These principles became known as the Handsome Lake Code (*Gai'wiio*, good words). It has been argued by some traditionalists that this code was merely a melding of traditional Haudenosaunee ways with Judeo-Christian principles (such as those found in the Ten Commandments) and therefore does not reflect the "authentic" beliefs and traditions of the Iroquois. The debate continues to this day and in many communities there are two branches reflecting traditional Haudenosaunee beliefs: the more purist or traditionalist longhouse and the Handsome Lake longhouse.

Handsome Lake, of the Seneca nation, was born in 1735 and was the half-brother of the renowned Chief Cornplanter. Throughout his life, Handsome Lake had problems with alcohol and was very ill for several years from excessive drinking. It was during this time of illness that he began to seriously contemplate life, and he experienced visions or revelations that would change his life (Parker, 1913, 9). Handsome Lake's teachings came at a time when the Seneca and other Iroquois nations were experiencing severe hardships, poverty, and loss of their traditional lands, and Handsome Lake gave people hope and faith for a better future. He was even commended for his teachings and efforts by President Thomas Jefferson (Parker, 1913, 10).

Initially despised and belittled for his teachings, even by Cornplanter himself, Handsome Lake was at times quite discouraged. Some individuals continued to remind him of his alcoholism and former ways and could not believe that such an imperfect person could be a true prophet. In time, however, a significant group of followers developed.

Through his code, Handsome Lake encouraged his followers to reject alcohol, witchcraft, charms, abortion, and gossip against other people. He also encouraged couples to remain together, to not divorce or separate, to not have children outside of marriage, and to not physically abuse one another. While he rejected many of the traditional practices of the Iroquois nations, he maintained that certain specific traditional dances and activities should continue: the Great Feather Dance, the Harvest Dance, the Sacred Song, the Peach Stone game, and the Midwinter Festival (Parker, 1913, 27–81).

Handsome Lake continued to teach these principles for sixteen years, until his death on August 10, 1815, in Onondaga, New York (Parker, 1913, 6, 81).





After his death, Chief Cornplanter, who had come to accept the Handsome Lake Code, said of his half-brother:

He made mistakes, many mistakes, so it is reported, but he was only a man and men are liable to commit errors. Whatever he did and said of himself is of no consequence. What he did and said by the direction of the four messengers is everything—it is our religion. [Handsome Lake] was weak in many points and sometimes afraid to do as the messengers told him, He was almost an unwilling servant. He made no divine claims, he did not pose as infallible nor even truly virtuous. He merely proclaimed the Gai'wii' and that is what we follow, not him. We do not worship him, we worship one great Creator. We honor and revere our prophet and leader, we revere the four messengers who watch over us—but the Creator alone do we worship (Parker, 1913, 14).

*Lysane Cree*

*See also* Cornplanter; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Handsome Lake.

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## Mascots

For more than a century, non-Natives have used names, symbols, and material culture associated with or built on their stereotypes of indigenous peoples to create mascots for high school, college, and professional sport teams. Although such imagery remains common in the United States, increasingly, over the past thirty years, Native American leaders and educators, advocates for social justice, and a variety of professional and political groups have called for an end to the misappropriation and misrepresentation central to Native American mascots. The movement against the misuse of Indian symbols in sports has been ignored or even resisted by some schools, sports fans, and athletic organizations, but it has had a noticeable and positive impact across the United States.

## History

Native American mascots are a common feature of sports in the United States. Although it is difficult to arrive at an exact count, most scholars agree that several thousand schools have used names, symbols, and/or cultural artifacts associated with indigenous peoples, referring to their teams as Warriors, Braves, Indians, Redskins, or others. At the collegiate level, according to the National Coalition on Racism in Sports and Media, more than eighty institutions have Native American mascots. Dozens of professional and semiprofessional teams have employed images of Indians. Significantly, indigenous peoples stand alone as the only racial or ethnic group to be misappropriated and misrepresented in this mass fashion, more than a half century after false and psychological injurious images of blacks, Latinos and others became problematic.

Educational institutions, professional franchises, and amateur clubs have used American Indian symbols for a variety of reasons. Some, like Dartmouth College, chose Native American mascots to reflect an historical link between an institution and indigenous people (Dartmouth was founded as an Indian school). Others, like the University of Illinois or the University of Utah, selected such symbols to enshrine regional history and legitimately claim territory occupied by indigenous peoples. Still other uses are largely accidental, hinging on school colors (often red), the team play (described as savage or wild), or the enthusiasm of an individual (whether a coach, band leader, student, or alumnus) for Indians and Indianness.





*Native Americans protest the Washington Redskins' mascot name in 1991. (Wally McNamee/Corbis)*

Whatever their specific origins, Native American mascots crystallized in an historical context that made it possible, pleasurable, and powerful for Euro-Americans to incorporate images of Indians in athletic contexts. First, beginning with the Boston Tea Party, Euro-Americans crafted identities for themselves by “playing Indian.” Second, the conquest of Native America simultaneously empowered Euro-Americans to appropriate, invent, and otherwise represent Native Americans and to aspire for aspects of the cultures damaged by conquest. Third, countless spectacles, exhibitions, and other sundry entertainments centered on Indianness proliferated during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Native American mascots built on these patterns and traditions.

Not surprisingly, given these sociohistorical foundations, while Native American mascots have afforded many Euro-American individuals and institutions a means to fashion identity, to many indige-

nous peoples these athletic icons perpetuate inauthentic and injurious images. Halftime performances, fan antics, and mass merchandizing transform somber and reverent artifacts and activities into trivial and lifeless forms that simultaneously reduce Native Americans to a series of well-worn clichés, effacing the complexities of Native American cultures and histories.

## Stereotypes and More

Mascots stereotype American Indians for pleasure and profit. They offer misleading, flat, and fictional renderings of Native Americans, frequently trapping them in the past, while reducing them to stereotypical bellicosity, wildness, and savagery. Sports teams and educational institutions have used clichéd elements associated with Indians and Indianness, often borrowed without permission from tribes or, worse, copied directly from Hollywood westerns, to rearticulate values important to them, such as pride, valor, aggression, strength, and tradition.

Native American mascots do more than stereotype; they also reveal much about the unequal position of American Indians. Indeed, such imagery reflects and contributes to the denial of cultural self-determination for Native Americans. The acceptance of misleading and injurious images, such as Chief Wahoo of the Cleveland Indians, makes it impossible for American Indians to be recognized as fully human social actors and to exercise the rights and protections accorded them under the law. Consequently, it is difficult for American Indians to be recognized as Indians and heard as meaningful actors; they must contort themselves to fit white stereotypes. Significantly, Native American mascots negatively impact American Indian youth.

Even as they dehumanize indigenous peoples, Native American mascots empower Euro-Americans, allowing them to fashion identities, histories, and communities. Indianness in sports lays the foundation for the construction of intimate networks, powerful spaces, and meaningful traditions. It is not simply defined in white terms, but through individualism that presumes that individuals can choose who they are, fashion their own identities, and opt to choose or reject stereotypical imagery and the identities that come with it.

Indian imagery in sports does more than recreate Native American identity in a white cast. It also contributes to the production of nationalism, gender bias, and social hierarchy. Native American mascots





reflect core ideas of what it means to be traditionally American, white, and male. On the one hand, such renderings of Indianness are best understood in a broader, comparative framework that connects indigeneity with whiteness and blackness. On the other hand, the true meaning of Native American mascots cannot be appreciated without reference to gender: Predominantly white institutions create images of savage warriors that affirm accepted connections among masculinity—aggressiveness, violence, bravery, and honor—while confirming the righteousness of conquest.

Schools using Native American mascots contribute to stereotyping and the mistreatment of American Indians. They miseducate students, teaching them the dominant culture's perceptions of history, culture, and power. As a consequence, American Indian nicknames and symbols transform schools and stadiums into hostile environments for indigenous peoples. Perhaps because of their centrality to miseducation and the maintenance of problematic ideas about race, history, and nation, such imagery increasingly has become the site of social struggle.

## Change

Although indigenous peoples long have protested popular misrepresentations and impersonations, beginning in the late 1960s, energized by a political, cultural, and social resurgence throughout Indian Country, Native Americans critiqued the tradition of playing Indian at halftime, demanding its end. Although initially successful, forcing retirements at Dartmouth College and Stanford University, as well as changes at Marquette University and the University of Oklahoma, the movement encountered strong resistance among fans, alumni, and boosters, failing to make much progress for the following two decades. Then, during the early 1990s, activists confronted mascots with renewed energy, fostering public debates and policy changes. During the subsequent decade several universities retired mascots, including St. John's University and the University of Miami, or revised their uses of Indianness, among them Bradley University and the University of Utah. A number of school districts (notably in Los Angeles and Dallas) and state boards of education encouraged or required the end of Indian mascots; countless political, social, and professional organizations (from the National Congress of American Indians and the National Association for the Advancement

of Colored People to the American Anthropological Association and the National Education Association) condemned such symbols and spectacles; and the federal Trademark Trial and Appeal Board voided the trademark rights of the Washington Redskins of the National Football League, finding that the name and logo used by the team were disparaging and hence violated the law. The ruling was voided by a higher court on a technicality, however, and the imagery continued to be used.

More recently, two important developments have occurred at the national level. First, the United States Civil Rights Commission has held that Native American mascots infringe on the basic human rights of American Indians, encouraging discrimination and prejudice. Second, in 2004, the National Collegiate Athletic Association issued a prohibition on teams using American Indian imagery in post-season tournaments. While it has granted exceptions to schools that it deems have the support of specific Native nations or tribes, this marks an important move toward a more proactive agenda outside of Indian Country to challenge Native American mascots.

Despite these trends, it is unlikely that Native American mascots will disappear from American sports anytime in the near future. For the most part, Euro-Americans have failed to grasp the significance of playing Indian at halftime, refusing to appreciate the implications of Euro-American privilege or the pain caused by their casual abuse of ethnic imagery. Indeed, the continued use of Indians and Indianness in sports will likely serve as a barometer of the extent to which Americans have come to terms with racism, the conquest of North America, and the humanity and sovereignty of Native America. At the same time, the persistent protests of American Indian imagery in sports offer forceful reminders of the insistence of indigenous peoples to be understood as citizens worthy respect and inclusion.

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*See also* American Indian Movement; Myth of the Noble Savage.

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## Mississippian Culture

The Mississippian peoples were hierarchical mound builders who occupied much of the eastern part of North America between 700 and 1550. Connected culturally and technologically, these eastern Woodland Native Americans lived along the Mississippi River, on its tributaries, and in the riverine basins along the Gulf of Mexico and Atlantic Oceans. Their domain stretched from Florida through the Appalachian Mountains and extended to the eastern part of the Great Plains.

Although early Spanish conquistadors, such as Hernando de Soto and others, left descriptions of the Mississippians as they existed at the end of the era, archaeology provides most of what we know about these cultures. The Spanish and archaeological sources both describe densely populated centers in the Mississippian era. Population estimates vary, but the Mississippians probably numbered in the millions.

The intense cultivation of maize enabled Native Americans to produce the surpluses necessary to support the growing populations and political hierarchy. Although men continued to hunt and women still gathered nuts and fruits, the introduction of cleared-field corn agriculture in about 800 provided the means for the rise of large Mississippian chiefdoms. Women primarily controlled the fields in Mississippian society, and eventually their corn, beans, and squash provided most of the food.

The Mississippian chiefdoms spoke mutually unintelligible languages, competed for trade and hunting grounds, and waged wars of conquest with one another. Warfare was the norm in Mississippian society, providing both the means for territorial expansion and the threat of conquest. As the palisades at Cahokia attest, Mississippians lived with an omnipresent fear of invasion. Other evidence points to the esteem afforded to those warriors who proved themselves in battle. Other social and cultural similarities likewise connected the chiefdoms

into a complex network of competing chiefdoms. They shared the technology that allowed shell-tempered pottery, lived in similar forms of circular housing, hunted with bow and arrows, used short-handled hoes made of stone or shells, and lived in hierarchical societies where chiefs from elite lineages received tribute. Trading networks also connected the chiefdoms, allowing elites to create goodwill with neighbors as well as to obtain the exotic goods required to maintain one's social and sacred position.

Mississippian societies also shared the Southeastern Ceremonial Complex. This artistic tradition contained a shared set of symbols and iconography that reveals aspects of the Mississippian cosmology and social structure. Many scholars assert that the paramount chiefs were believed to have had spiritual powers and were expected to use them to benefit their communities. Chiefs also were believed to have possessed a special relationship with the sun, perhaps explaining the construction of the mounds to bring them closer together.

Mound building was the most distinguishable characteristic of the Mississippian people. The mounds were usually pyramidal and most often (but not always) part of large urban centers. Cahokia, located in Illinois near today's St. Louis, Missouri, was the largest of these centers. Monk's Mounds was the largest of its mounds, measuring about 100 feet high and 1,000 feet in length. This rectangular mound had several flat tiers with sacred buildings on top. Cahokia had more than 100 other significantly smaller mounds across its two hundred acres. Mississippians built various public buildings and houses for their paramount chiefs and other elites on top of these mounds, while other mounds contained the graves for their leaders. The grave goods at this site contain items from as far away as the Great Lakes, Rocky Mountains, and Gulf of Mexico. At its height, wooden palisades surrounded Cahokia, and it served as the centerpiece of a theocratic chiefdom containing tens of thousands of residents. Cahokia collapsed by 1150, prior to the arrival of the Europeans, and other smaller chiefdoms took control of their territory. The other excavated mounds have tended to be smaller, but similarly the center of large concentrations of people. In total, the Mississippians built more than a thousand mounds in the United States.

Instability characterized the Mississippian era. Warfare and conquest created some instability, but





the rise and fall of chiefdoms likely had more to do with the internal problem of succession. The death of paramount chiefs may have resulted in the renewed competition of different networks of kin to replace deceased leaders. Disagreements resulted in migrations and the splintering of communities. Even when a successor was found, the Mississippian structure remained fragile. If followers feared that their successor lacked the spiritual power to protect the community, some societies collapsed, while others simply became depopulated as a result of massive migrations. The arrival of the Europeans and their diseases in the sixteenth century brought disruptions that the Mississippian chiefdoms could not withstand.

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*See also* Agriculture; Natchez Culture.

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## Mogollon Culture

Mogollon is one of four major cultural areas archaeologists recognize in the American Southwest. The others are Ancestral Puebloan, Hohokam, and Patayan, each of which has subregional variations (see Ancestral Puebloan for a discussion of archaeological designations). The Mogollon people resided in the mountainous areas of western and southern New Mexico and eastern Arizona. Their neighbors to the north, the Ancestral Pueblos, resided on the Colorado Plateau and along the Rio Grande River and its tributaries, and their neighbors to the south and west, the Hohokam, resided in the lowland desert regions. The Mogollon peoples lived primarily at higher elevations, but some groups also resided in the adjacent lower desert regions to the south and east. The Mogollon region is generally bounded by the Little Colorado River on the north, the Verde River on the west, and the Pecos River on the east. Mogollon peoples also lived in the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua, but few surveys have been undertaken to establish how far south the culture

area extended. Some researchers have suggested that the Mogollon peoples are the ancestors of the Tarahumara (Ramamuri).

The Mogollon as a cultural, temporal, and regional concept was introduced by archaeologist Emil W. Haury in 1936 based on work he and others conducted at the Mogollon Village and Harris Village sites and from extensive survey in the region. The idea was initially met with great skepticism by archaeologists who did not want to distinguish the region from the Ancestral Puebloan cultural sphere or question the sweeping Pecos classification (see Ancestral Puebloan Culture), but by the mid-1950s it had become accepted.

Archaeologists today consider the Mogollon cultural traditions to have flourished from the end of the Archaic phase (1,800 BP/200 CE) until the arrival of the Spanish about 1540 CE. Some archaeologists, however, think that the Mogollon lost their distinctive identity as a regional culture around 1,000 BP/1000 CE and that the people amalgamated into the Ancestral Puebloan cultures, especially in the Cibola region (near Zuni); others feel they remained distinct until peoples migrated from the region in large numbers around 600 BP/1400 CE. The differences probably reflect regional variation between northern and southern peoples. There are still extensive scholarly debates as to the direct descents of the group. Some communities are definitely ancestral to the Hopi and Zuni, as documented in clan migration stories; other groups probably merged with O'odham and Sobaipuri communities, western Apache bands, and peoples in northern Chihuahua.

Culturally, Mogollon is characterized by pit-houses, distinctive burial patterns, head deformation, and coil-and-scraped brown pottery that changed over time and had regional variations. The brown wares were generally corrugated with incised or painted designs, although some types were polished redwares or decorated red-on-brown ceramics. In terms of settlements, Mogollon communities are characterized by Pueblo villages that focused inward on a plaza and rectangular kivas found within the room blocks. Archaeologists distinguish six basic regional variations that express long, continuous occupation: San Francisco Valley (Pine Lawn and Cibola) and Mimbres in New Mexico, Point of Pines, San Simon Valley and Forestdale in Arizona, and Jornada near present-day El Paso, Texas. There is also evidence of extensive intermingling of peoples in





these groups so that the branches are not as distinct as those noted for the Ancestral Puebloans.

Archaeologists divide Mogollon history into three basic time periods: Early Pithouse, Late Pithouse, and Mogollon Pueblo (some others conceptualize five phases of continuity and gradual change). These are further subdivided by regional variation. The Early Pithouse period dates from 1,800 BP/200 CE), growing out of the late Archaic in the desert areas, and is marked by the introduction of plain brown pottery followed later by red-slipped wares with simple geometric designs. Lifeways exhibit great continuity from earlier times as well as evidence of seasonal mobility of households. Most easily recognized are small, circular or bean-shaped pithouse villages sited on hilltops and ridges, which were occupied for only part of the year since the people moved often to gather wild foods. A few villages were larger, with up to fifty houses. This settlement pattern would reflect an adaptation to life in the mountains and its seasonal and scattered food resources as well as the need for communities to come together for social and religious activities. There is also evidence of limited agriculture at lower elevations reflecting a longer growing season.

The Late Pithouse phase begins around 1,400–1,350 BP/600–650 CE, marked by the appearance of red-on-brown pottery and an increase in population. There is also more regional variation, reflecting greater trade and communication with different Hohokam and Ancestral Puebloan peoples. All groups began to use their local environments more intensely, including the valley floors adjacent to lands they were cultivating, especially in areas with rivers. Peoples still needed hunting and gathering, but the greater reliance on horticulture may explain the larger population size. Seasonal mobility is still evident in the range of settlement types. All communities reflect a change in pithouse styles seen in the development of rectangular rooms with lateral ramp entrances and interior hearths. Special pottery types were also developed. The people in the Mimbres Valley, for example, began to use a cream slip with red decorations and increasingly complex designs; later in the period they experimented with oxidizing firing and produced black-on-red or white designs.

The Pueblo period began with the construction of aboveground, masonry villages, first seen in the Mimbres Valley of New Mexico about 1,000 BP/1000 CE and in communities in the Arizona (Point of Pines and Grasshopper) mountains a hundred to

three hundred years later. Continued contact with outside groups is reflected in regional variations in settlement, housing, and pottery styles. In general, villages are larger and suggest greater aggregation of peoples. Villages of 100 to 250 rooms were built over the ruins of older pithouse villages. Around 700 BP/1300 CE communities of up to 800 to 1,000 rooms are seen. These consist of several blocks of contiguous, surface roomblocks built of unshaped masonry stone around plazas. Large subterranean ceremonial rooms are located between roomblocks or on the edges of the pueblos while surface ceremonial chambers are incorporated into the roomblocks. Point of Pines Village, for example, had 800 rooms, a large rectangular great kiva, two plazas, and a surrounding wall set in a grassland plain in the mountains. There is evidence of a great deal of building, rebuilding, and remodeling, suggesting changes in uses for rooms and common areas. Interspersed in some areas are smaller sites, which may have been seasonal farm hamlets for extended families. There is also an influx of population, probably a result of clan migrations of Ancestral Puebloan peoples into the area. The migrants lived in Mogollon villages and established their own communities. For example, at Point of Pines Village, Kayenta Ancestral Puebloan migrants built a small, seventy-room addition to the main pueblo with a D-shaped kiva. The same subsistence patterns of seasonal hunting and plant gathering and dry-farming horticulture in the mountains and irrigation farming in the valleys continued but with evidence of more intensive agriculture and deforestation as farmers cleared the land.

This pattern continued with significant regional variation in periods of smaller and larger sites, as well as the introduction of cliff dwellings and adobe structures, until around 500 BP/1400–1450 CE. At this time, some groups moved from the central Arizona mountains to look for better farmlands elsewhere, and others established a lifestyle less dependent on farming. Some groups merged with the widespread Salado peoples (700–650 BP/1300–1450 CE) and lived in cliff dwellings with adobe structures, large rooms, and formally walled plaza areas. Some of these communities were very short-lived, with people moving often. At the end of this period, Apachean groups moved into the area and established it as their homeland.

Of all the Mogollon subregions, the Mimbres branch stands out because of its significant artistic achievement: decorated black-on-white pottery that was traded extensively throughout the Southwest,





Texas, and northern Mexico. Unfortunately, it is also distinguished because Mimbres sites have been the most looted and all but obliterated as pothunters search for the Classic styles (1,000–820 BP/1000–1180 CE), which fetch large sums in the antiquity and fine art markets. Classic Mimbres pottery dates from the Pueblo period and has stylized animals and humans in black designs painted on a white slip before the pottery is fired in an oxidizing atmosphere. In addition to the figurative designs, Mimbres potters produced nonfigurative ware noted for its symmetry and use of negative and positive space. Archaeologists speculate that this reflects an ideological statement about life and death. The pottery is so specialized that archaeologists suspect that some potters were specialists. Some pottery was ceremonially “killed” during funerals; the bowls were placed over the head of the deceased as they were buried beneath the floors of habitation rooms or in the plazas. The pottery ceased being produced by 800 years ago, most likely a result of the collapse of the economic system due to overpopulation and worsening climatic conditions. Smaller groups remained and reorganized themselves into more flexible and mobile groups. New trading centers like Casas Grandes formed in northern Chihuahua.

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See also Ancestral Puebloan Culture; Pottery.

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## Mound Cultures of North America

For both the scholar and the general reader, the Native American mound cultures of North America linger in relative obscurity, compared to the renown of Central and South American cultures. However, the North American mounds are monumental works of human ingenuity, with some—including the City of Cahokia, at the confluence of the Missouri, Mississippi, and Illinois Rivers; the 10.4-square-kilometer ceremonial complex, at Newark, Ohio; and the Poverty Point Earthworks, in northeastern Louisiana—rivaling the Pyramid of Giza and Stonehenge as wonders in the ancient world (as noted in Mann, 2005, 252; Fagan, 1998). These cultures are, as yet, only tentatively dated by archaeologists but are placed between 3000 BCE and 1400 CE, depending upon the culture.

The ancient mound centers of North America coalesced primarily along important waterways, particularly the Mississippi and Ohio River valleys, although mounds dot the landscape throughout much of North America. North American mounds come in a variety of types:

- *Platform mounds*. High mounds, flat on top, were primarily ceremonial and/or living space for elite leaders, with the houses of ordinary folk ringed around their bases, although, according to Native tradition, everyone could scramble up to the platforms for safety during emergencies such as floods.
- *Conical burial mounds*. Burial mounds might be large or small, depending on both the area of the country and the nation that built them. These were heavily plundered, bulldozed, and plowed under in the nineteenth, and well into the twentieth, centuries. Hundreds of thousands of sets of human remains were carted off to universities and museums, large and small, including the Smithsonian, to serve as the bases of racial studies (Mann, 2003, 7–8, 29–46).
- *Planting mounds*. These mounds were waist high, round-topped (Parker, 1968, 27, who envisioned the hills as breasts [“bosoms”] of Mother Earth, 36, 37) or square (Lindeström, 1925, 179, and n 15), depending on the nation that built them, and used exclusively by women, who were the farmers of Native North America. Planting mounds formed the





centerpiece of the massive agriculture practiced by, especially, woodlands cultures. Mound cultures might have been abandoned for the most part between 1100 and 1400, but women's planting mounds continued into modern times. To this day, some Natives plant in mounds.

- *Loaf mounds.* These occurred either in connection with ceremonial sites, in which case they were long, narrow ovals, or in connection with graded highways. In conjunction with wide highways, they marked the sides of the road, much as white striping edges the highways of today. The best-known example of roads is the so-called Great Hopewell Road, which runs nearly 60 miles (90 kilometers) south from Newark to Chillicothe, Ohio, connecting its circle-octagon observatory with the only other circle-octagon observatory still in existence, at nearby High Bank (Lepper, 1995).
- *Geometrical ceremonial mounds.* Specifically ceremonial sites existed, whose mounds outlined geometrical shapes. Simple circles, concentric circles, and concentric semicircles existed throughout the Mississippian cultures. In the Ohio River valley, circle-square mounds were also common. As traditional iconography, these designs referenced the twinned cosmos of Native North America, the complementary halves of Earth and Sky (often described west of the Mississippi as Water and Air, respectively, and sometimes given as Blood and Breath, respectively). For concentric circles, in the Woodlands, the innermost circle was the back of the turtle (of Turtle Island fame, i.e., Earth), with water around, often as a middle concentric circle. The outer circle was Sky. In the semicircles, the same intention applied, with the lower hump being the back of turtle, and the higher rise, the dome of sky. With the circle-square design, the circle indicated Sky, and the square, the four directions holding down Earth (Mann, 2003, 197–212). The spectacular circle-octagon complexes at Newark and High Bank, Ohio, are a variation on the circle-square theme. They hosted sophisticated observatories, capable of tracking the standstills of the moon, an event that occurs but every 18.61 years (Hively and Horn, 1982, 1984).

- *Animal effigy mounds.* Effigies are mounds in the shape of Earth or Sky animals. Perhaps the best-known is the extensive and long Great Serpent Mound of Adams County, Ohio. He is the Horned Serpent of tradition, standing as the male symbol of Earth (Mann, 2003, 169–238). Contrary to popular archaeological belief, Ohio Natives hold that it is not “an egg” in his mouth but rather his medicine bag, slung between the horns he shows only when he travels. He is an observatory, too, although Western scholars are still debating this (Fletcher and Cameron, 1988). Just as his scales (mica sheets) and horn (flint chips) were used to bring rain and make other Earth medicine, so were the humps of his form used as sighting lines for astronomical events, Sky medicine. (Pulling Sky and Earth together this way makes for very strong medicine.)

Based on both the historical traditions of North American Indians and archaeological research, the cultures that produced the mounds were agricultural and hierarchical. Native traditions from the Ohio valley recount that massive wars were fought in the time of the Mound Builders, including revolutions to overthrow what became oppressive governments, leading to the participatory democracies common to the Eastern Woodlands. There are even traditions discussing how to build mounds (Mann, 2003, 112–168).

From the eighteenth century until nearly through the twentieth, archaeology handled the mounds quite poorly, leading to two centuries' worth of the “slaughter” of, particularly, the burial mounds (Prufer and McKenzie, 1967, 267). Until the 1940s, archaeologists and hobbyists (it was sometimes hard to tell the difference) ripped the mounds open for little more than idle curiosity's sake. As archaeology became more sophisticated in the midtwentieth century, the destruction continued apace, despite archaeologist William Lipe's pointing out in 1974 that ancient sites were “non-renewable resources” (Lipe, 1974, 213).

For their part, farmers plowed the mounds flat in many places, often selling artifacts and human remains taken from them for a secondary source of income. A magnificent burial mound in present-day Columbus, Ohio, was dismantled so that workers could use its clay to make bricks to build the original state capital. Meantime, highway and railroad engineers simply blasted their way through any inconve-





nient mounds, oblivious of or indifferent to their significance. The work crews building the Ohio Canal in 1848 and the Ohio Railroad from 1852 to 1855 destroyed the burial mounds, a square, and a large platform mound at the Newark Complex. The remaining circle-octagon complex is currently leased until 2088 to a members-only golf club by the Ohio Historical Society (Fagan, 2000; Mann, 2003, 102–103, 306–307).

Most unfortunately, workers and farmers quickly plundered the impressive stone mounds of Ohio, taking them down to bare earth to use the worked stones to build their cellars and reservoirs. A splendid sandstone mound outside tiny Thornville, Ohio, was plundered to build the unnecessary Licking Reservoir between 1831 and 1832. Between ten and fifteen *thousand* wagonloads of worked stones were carted from that one mound, which measured 183 feet in diameter at its base and 55 feet at its apex (Fowke, 1902, 2: 389). Outside Jasper, Ohio, archaeologist Gerald Fowke destroyed a Shawnee mound built of 150-pound stones for his 1902 survey (1902, 1: 375). Due to such wanton destruction, many people, including many modern scholars, are ignorant of the fact that large stone mounds were built in Ohio, continuing the false impression that Native North Americans did not build in stone.

The results of such extensive manhandling were devastating to the mounds. For example, Ohio sported 12,000 mounds of various types in 1870. By 1951, the total number of Ohio mounds was down to 5,000, with some fairly spectacular sites, including a third circle-octagon complex, wiped clean from the earth.

The destructiveness of Euro-Americans toward the mounds was exceeded only by the lunacy of their explanations of the mounds and their builders. For political reasons, non-Natives were reluctant to attribute clear signs of civilization, including agriculture on a massive scale, to the same North American Natives they had defined as “savages,” ripe for extermination. Strong Native American traditions of Mound Builder cultures were studiously ignored throughout the nineteenth century. As a result, bizarre theories, seriously propounded, identified the “lost civilization” of Mound Builders as variously Carthaginian, Chinese, Roman, Egyptian, Hindu, Persian, Phoenician, Spanish, Welsh, and Atlantean, among other candidates (Mann, 2003, 53–86; Silverberg, 1968; Williams, 1991). After Cyrus Thomas finally and conclusively identified the

Mound Builders as Native North Americans in 1894, interest in them almost ceased.

Now that scholars are noticing the disastrous effects of racial bias on intercultural studies and are taking steps to erase old biases, scholarly interest is on the increase regarding the remaining mound sites. At the same time, Native American descendents of the Mound Builders are pressing their cases for, first, being consulted in discussions of their own history and, second, having the hundreds of thousands of Mound Builder remains that were so casually disinterred by museums and universities through the 1980s returned to them for proper reburial. As political agendas sort themselves out, a wider and better appreciation of mound cultures is emerging.

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*See also* Cahokia; Hopewell Culture; Ohio Valley Mound Culture.

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## Muskogean Language

The parent of several tribal languages originally spoken in what is today the Southeastern United States, the remnants of Muskogean language now exist primarily in Oklahoma and, to a much lesser extent, in Florida and Alabama. The Muskogean language family evolved over thousands of years to a point that it was the primary language spoken among the people of the southeastern Woodlands until the arrival of Hernando de Soto in 1540. Modern descendants of the Muskogean-speaking peoples include the Muscogee (Creek), Seminole, Chickasaw, and Choctaw peoples, as well as smaller groups in independent towns who had treaties with the U.S. government prior to the removal and the formation of those contemporary nations, such as the Alabamas, Apalachees, Hitchitis, Mikasukis, and Koasatis.

Subsequent to the war between Creek traditionalists, known as the Red Sticks, and the U.S. government that culminated in the Battle of Horseshoe Bend (1814), many Muscogee speakers migrated to Florida, where other Creek and Hitchiti speakers already had moved due to disenchantment with Native leaders who had sided with colonial agents or due to European encroachment on aboriginal lands. These people became collectively known as the Seminoles, itself a word derived from the Spanish *cimarrón*, meaning "wild" or "untamed."

By 1828, many Muscogee (Creek) people realized that removal from their Alabama and Georgia





homelands was inevitable, causing roughly three thousand Creeks to move to Indian Territory and establish homes in the contemporary area of Tulsa. In 1836 and 1837, the United States enforced the removal of the remaining Creeks to Indian Territory on what became known as the Long Walk, in which nearly 40 percent of the 24,000 people who were compelled to make the journey died. A second group of forced migrants settled in the lower Creek nation of Indian Territory, which remains a relatively rural area in the early twenty-first century. In this area, the Muscogee language was still used widely at churches and ceremonial grounds by speakers beyond the age of forty. However, due to attempts to erase Native cultures during the twentieth century, the number of Muscogee (Creek) speakers has been dwindling. By 2000, the language was being taught at Oklahoma State University and the University of Oklahoma, and several materials are available in the Muscogee (Creek) language.

Following the Second Seminole War (1835–1842), roughly 4,000 Seminoles were deported via boats across the Gulf Mexico and up the Mississippi River to Indian Territory, where land for them had been set aside by the United States adjacent to the Muscogee (Creek) people. The Third Seminole War (1855–1858) proved too costly for the United States to continue, leaving about 300 Seminole people in the Florida Everglades as the remaining speakers of Muscogee in the area. Today, the Muskogean language is still spoken by some Seminole elders in Oklahoma, but by the Seminoles' own admission, the language is slowly slipping away. Hopes of rejuvenating the language now rely on local public schools that are introducing Seminole children to the language.

The Choctaw nation of Oklahoma has also placed a significant emphasis on preserving its branch of the Muskogean language. By 2005, the tribe was offering courses by certified teachers in high schools, colleges, and community centers, as well as via Internet and satellite distribution. The Choctaws were the first of the five major Southeastern groups removed to Indian Territory from their traditional homelands in Alabama and Mississippi. Choctaws who did not move are now known as Mississippi Choctaw and are the keepers of much traditional culture, including the language that has been lost by the Oklahoma Choctaws. Very close to the Choctaw language branch of the Muskogean linguistic family is the Chickasaw language, at one time the language of commerce along the lower portion of the Mississippi River where the Chickasaws resided

before their removal to Oklahoma beginning in 1837. In 2005, the Chickasaws paired a fluent speaker with a learning facilitator at sites throughout the Chickasaw nation in Oklahoma to teach the language.

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*See also* Language and Language Renewal; Seminole Wars; Trail of Tears.

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## Myth of the Noble Savage

One of the most enduring, ironic, and perhaps damaging of the concepts used to describe American Indians is represented both by the idea of a "noble savage" and by the phrase, "myth of the noble savage." In the first instance, the oxymoronic pairing of words and the myth that has surrounded them put Native peoples in an untenable social position. In the second instance, the myth idea has been used to dismiss the legitimate contributions, worldviews, and qualities of indigenous people.

Christopher Columbus may have started the concept of the noble savage with his first reports about the islanders he "discovered" in the new





world. He described them as being generous, innocent, peaceful, and easy to make servile while rationalizing his treatment of them because they were nonetheless savages. Throughout European and American literature, poetry, paintings, and film, the noble savage was depicted as being totally innocent, physically perfect, always fearless, highly instinctive (without thinking or emotional skills), peaceful, free of social restraints, and an extremely brutish part of nature when provoked. In literature, such attributes made for good fantasy. They also played to European audiences as they set the stage for showing how the stronger, more realistic characteristics of Europeans could be used to conquer the weaker, “outdated” primitives. Historically and politically, such images of indigenous people may have helped rationalize genocidal atrocities on the one hand and assuage guilt for such crimes on the other.

Although the phrase “noble savage” was first used to describe the Natives of Mexico in the fictional writings of John Dryden around 1672, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and others gave significance to the idea in political discourse. Rousseau used it to criticize dominant European political and educational assumptions and as a backdrop for his own political agenda in the mid-1700s. In so doing, he mentioned authentic indigenous approaches to democracy and equality that would later be used by the founding fathers of the United States to develop its constitution. However, like Thomas Hobbes and John Locke, he also dehumanized and disenfranchised the American Indians by placing them in a state of evolution to which “civilized” humans could not return. These writers wrongly promoted the idea that indigenous people merely wandered freely in nature and did not have social institutions that might otherwise cause them to be less equitable in their lifestyles and cultures.

The Jesuit missionaries also contributed to the noble savage myth. Wanting to achieve martyrdom, they described the danger and savagery of the indigenous people. Wanting to rationalize their Christian missions, they also had to convey that the people were nonetheless children of God and deserving of being saved by their missionary agenda. Thus, they gave the indigenous populations the noble attributes of innocent children, as were favored in the noble savage myth, simultaneously with those of the brute savage with whom they took great risks for God’s work.

After the conquest and submission of American Indians, many people subscribed to the ideas about

their nobility and strengths to legitimize their own right to the land and to challenge new immigrant “invaders.” The settlers themselves now could claim to be Native to the land. In so doing, they could rationalize their right to resist the migration of new settlers who brought their foreign, ignorant, and threatening ways with them. Later, in the 1800s, American pioneers may have used similar appropriations about indigenous virtues in their stories about such “heroes” as Red Cloud, Sitting Bull, and Crazy Horse to convey their own strength and their own claims to the land.

The myth of the noble savage has been but one of the European ideas that served to colonize and oppress American Indians. Even in contemporary times, the media has made American Indians appear as anything but who they really are: a perfect sidekick for a white hero, a dangerous foil for the military might of other white heroes, or a romantic artifact of the past.

Throughout history, this ironic phrase has been used to rationalize physical and cultural genocide against indigenous people. It supported manifest destiny. Scholars employed the concept in discussions about human nature and social progress. Politicians refer to it as a way to promote Euro-centric superiority. And it continues to be used to dismiss legitimate potential contributions that might offer a proven challenge to the worldview, policies, and practices of the dominant Western culture.

*Four Arrows—Don Trent Jacobs*

*See also* Democracy and Native American Images among Europeans; New Agers, “Indian” Ceremonies and.

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## **Na-Dene Peoples**

“Na-Dene” is the name of a language stock that includes the Athapaskan language family, Tlingit and Eyak, and possibly Haida. The Na-Dene peoples (also called Proto-Na-Dene) are hypothesized to be the ancestors of today’s Athapaskan, Tlingit, Eyak, and possibly Haida peoples. Na-Dene is a grouping that posits a genetic relationship among these languages. Eyak and Athapaskan form a lan-





guage group called Eyak-Athapaskan. Tlingit is also related to this group, and together they form the language stock Na-Dene. Haida was once thought to be a member as well, but many linguists dispute this today.

The languages of Tlingit, Haida, and Eyak are spoken along the northwest coast of British Columbia and Alaska, whereas the Athapaskan languages are spread throughout the west of Canada and the U.S. Pacific coast and Southwest. Eyak is northernmost of the three, spoken in traditional territories on the northern part of the Alaskan Panhandle. The traditional territories of the Tlingit reach below the Eyak to the coast just north of the Queen Charlotte Islands of British Columbia, now known as the Haida Gwaii, home to the Haida people.

The term "Na-Dene" is sometimes used to refer to the Athapaskan peoples specifically, which includes groups like the northern Dene and the Navajo. The term "Athapaskan" is not universally endorsed by peoples of that heritage; "Na-Dene" presents a more generalized but relevant term because it includes the common linguistic root for the word "people" or "person."

The Na-Dene peoples are also believed to have been the second wave of migration into North America, which occurred approximately 8,000 years ago. They are believed to have emigrated from Asia, possibly in boats. Migrations from the Northwest of Canada took populations south, eventually distributing Na-Dene peoples throughout the continent. About 1,500 years ago, the ancestors of the Navajo and Apache peoples reached the southern United States.

Edward Sapir coined the term "Na-Dene" in 1915 as a reference to a grouping of Tlingit, Haida, and Athapaskan. It is coined from the Haida name for house (*na*) and the Athapaskan and Tlingit word for person (*dene*). When Sapir gained access to Eyak language data, he recognized its relationship to Athapaskan and included it in the grouping as well. His theory was met with skepticism, but Michael Krauss later undertook a study that supported the relationship between Eyak and Athapaskan. The relationship between Tlingit and Eyak-Athapaskan is remote, but now considered well established. Whether Haida is related as well is still unclear due to the considerable time separating it from the other languages.

The Na-Dene grouping was supported by Joseph Greenberg in 1987 when he published an article containing a controversial assertion that all of the

languages in the Americas belonged to three major groups, with Na-Dene being one of them. Although many linguists maintain that Old World and New World language stocks are not related, Greenberg postulated three migration waves that began at least 11,000 years ago with the Amerind, followed 6,000 to 8,000 years ago by the Na-Dene, and 3,000 years ago by the Eskimo-Aleut.

Greenberg's model supports the prominent Clovis first model of American aboriginal origins. According to this theory, the North and South American continents have been populated for approximately 12,000 years. Similar technology of Siberian populations and the Proto-Na-Dene group offered the link of timing and origins of the second Na-Dene migration.

The complexity and number of Native languages are an important indicator of how long the Americas have been occupied by human beings. Today, new evidence from archaeology and linguistic theory suggests a much longer human occupation in the Americas than previously thought. Prominent models by Joanna Nichols and Richard Rogers lend support to the archaeological evidence of human occupation in South America from about 30,000 years ago.

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*See also* Archaeology and the First Americans; Language and Language Revival.

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## Natchez Culture

The Natchez were a temple-mound people who survived, atypically, into the period of sustained contact with Europeans. Their culture was thus something of a living window on other similar ones that had vanished or changed markedly by the time non-Natives arrived.

The Natchez were ruled by a man called the Great Sun, whose pronouncements regarding individuals were absolute and despotic. In decisions regarding the nation, however, he was subject to the consensus of a council of respected elders. Unlike the Pueblos, whose houses were egalitarian, the Natchez gave their ruler a large house, twenty-five by forty-five feet, built atop a flat-topped earthen mound eight to ten feet high.

A French observer said that, when the Great Sun "[g]ives the leavings [of his meal] to his brothers or any of his relatives, he pushes the dishes to them with his feet. . . . The submissiveness of the savages to their chief, who commands them with the most despotic power, is extreme. . . . If he demands the life of any one of them he comes himself to present his head" (Champagne, 1989, 59–60). Nearby, on another mound, stood a large building, with two carved birds at either end of its roof—the temple in which reposed the bones of earlier Great Suns. Only the Great Sun (who was also head priest as well as king) and a few assistants could enter the temple.

The sons and daughters of the Great Sun, the younger members of the royal family, were called Little Suns. Below the royal family in status was a class of Nobles, and below them a class of Honored Men. The rest of the people occupied the lower orders and were called the Stinkards. The term was not used in the presence of Stinkards themselves because they considered it offensive. Into this hierarchical society, the Natchez introduced marriage customs that included real class mobility. A Great Sun had to marry from among the Stinkards. The male children of Great Suns became Nobles, who were also obliged to marry Stinkards. The male children of Honored Men became Stinkards. Descent followed the female line, and children of female Suns



Engraving of a Natchez Indian from a French history of Louisiana, ca. 1758. (Library of Congress)

became Suns themselves. The system was matrilineal, but in the household the man's word was law.

The Natchez military was hierarchical, with different warrior grades, including apprentices (at the bottom), ordinary warriors, and warrior chiefs. The whole was governed by a council comprised of the most experienced warriors. People of Stinkard status could rise in rank through valor in war. Another way to rise in status was by means of meritorious religious action. When a king died, a father and mother could sacrifice a child in the king's honor. A person also could sacrifice him- or herself upon a king's death. Thus were remaining family members elevated in class. By the time the first English colonists established themselves on the eastern seaboard of





North America, Spanish explorers had crossed the Mississippi Valley and the regions southeast and southwest of it, fruitlessly seeking gold and other riches, meanwhile meeting the Natchez people. In 1540, the Spanish explorer Hernando de Soto became the first European to visit the area. In 1673, Father Jacques Marquette and trapper Louis Joliet traveled down the Mississippi River and landed near the Natchez Trace; in 1682, René-Robert Cavelier, Sieur de La Salle, claimed the land along the Mississippi River for France.

In the late 1720s, the Natchez chaffed under French colonialism in the newly established Louisiana Colony and rebelled against the growing French presence. The war resulted in the defeat of the Natchez, many of whom were sold into slavery and sent to the Caribbean islands, while some remnants escaped to live with the Chickasaw and Creek nations.

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*See also* Archaeology and the First Americans; Mound Cultures of North America.

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## New Agers, "Indian" Ceremonies and

Prior to the 1960s, very few white Americans, other than anthropologists and other scholars, paid much attention to Native American spiritual and religious practices. What little most Americans knew (or thought they knew) about Native beliefs, was dismissed as paganism or superstition. But a profound change took place in the 1960s with the advent of the counterculture. Many young Americans felt dissatisfied with what they regarded as a spiritually deadened, materialistic popular culture, and they sought alternatives to the mainstream Judeo-Christian tradition. Many of these young people became curious about Eastern religions and other alternatives to traditional mainstream religions, including Native American spiritual practices. While some of these young Americans were sincere in their desire for a

more satisfying religious and spiritual experience, many were merely experimenting.

While young Americans were becoming interested in Native spiritual beliefs, another movement, usually dubbed New Age by the media, appeared in the 1980s and attracted the notice of spiritual seekers. New Age practices cannot be easily defined, since the term refers to a hodgepodge of individualized spiritual practices and the appropriation of religious observances from a variety of cultures. Some New Age practices involve environmentalism, channeling, and the use of tarot cards as well as quartz crystals. Eschewing formal religions and religious doctrines, New Agers tend to choose whatever spiritual practices they feel most comfortable with and gravitate toward religions that are little known and somewhat exotic to most Americans. A number of New Agers have adopted what they believe to be Native spiritual practices. The notion that Native Americans have a special relationship with the earth permeates popular American culture. As a consequence, New Agers with an ecological bent often set out to adopt Native religious beliefs.

One prominent feature of the New Age movement is syncretism, and some practitioners often combine Native (or what they think are Native American beliefs) and non-Native beliefs, with little regard for Native people's sensibilities. The result has been a bastardization of Native spirituality, which has outraged many Native people, who object to the use of sacred dances, sweat lodges, and sage being used in ways that were never intended and by New Agers who do not understand their true meaning.

The New Agers' quest for an "authentic" Native American spiritual experience has led to a proliferation of entrepreneurs who bill themselves as shamans and medicine men, who for a fee will help enlighten or provide a customer with a spiritual quest of some sort. Many of these entrepreneurs claim to have had training from Native people; however, in most cases they are unable to provide proof to back up their claims.

Many Native people have been upset with what they view as the cultural misappropriation of their spiritual practices and ceremonies for profit. Many of the so-called shamans and medicine men are in reality businesspeople who recognize the potential for profit.

Most New Age practitioners are content to purchase books for their spiritual fix. Taking as their model John Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* from the 1930s, authors of these tomes often claim to have





been trained by Native clan mothers, medicine men, and sorcerers. Many of these works tend to blend small elements of some Native spiritual traditions with others. Nor is it unusual to find the spiritual practices of disparate Native groups mixed in with Buddhism and Druidism. Some of the claims in these works are clearly in the realm of fantasy. For example, one book mentions a flying horse that transforms itself into a dolphin, while another (perhaps with a nod to *Chariots of the Gods?*) claims that Pueblo katsinas came to earth in a flying saucer.

With the advent of the Internet, many of these marketers are able to reach a wider audience. For example, a search on the Internet reveals a number of individuals who sell “authentic” Cherokee tarot cards.

Native people have objected vigorously to the appropriation, commercialization, and bastardization of their sacred practices by non-Native people who often do not understand (or care to understand) the significance behind Native ceremonies and spiritual practices. Some Native activists have confronted peddlers of Native spirituality at their workshops. Some New Agers argue that their appropriation of Native American spiritual practices is justified as a form of free speech and as freedom of religion.

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*See also* Black Elk; Katsinas.

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## Ohio Valley Mound Culture

Ancient Native North Americans created vibrant and long-lived cultures throughout the Eastern Woodlands, but especially along the Ohio and Mississippi River Valleys. One major seat of culture, dating back to 2450 BCE, was in Ohio and along its portion of the Ohio River (Webb and Baby, 1975, 103). In the year 1908, even after two centuries’ worth of destruction by settlers, 12,000 mounds still existed in Ohio (Randall, 1908, 16). By 1951, between “developers” and archaeologists, that number was down to 5,000 (Shetrone, 1951, 6).

There were four consecutive Mound cultures in the Ohio Valley. Archaeologists call the first Adena, the second Hopewell, the third Erie, and the fourth Fort Ancient. Natives reject as racial slurs the terms Adena and Hopewell, and, since 2004, they have forced Ohio Historical Society personnel to stop using these terms to name Native peoples, not the least because tradition names exactly who the Mound Builders were. Of the first two, the so-called Adena were the Moon-Eyed People, and the Hopewell the Cherokees. The Eries—a true, Iroquoian name—were western Senecas. Simultaneous with the Iroquois (the Eries) in the north were the Lenápes in the southeast. Somewhat later, the Shawnees came into the southwest of the Ohio Valley to form the so-called Fort Ancient culture.

Mounds are artificial hills or mountains created by hand, in various shapes. There are planting mounds, platform mounds, conical burial mounds, animal effigy mounds, geometric “ceremonial” mounds, and long, straight loaf mounds running along either side of wide, straight, depressed highways that connect ceremonial centers. Mounds often tower sixty or seventy feet in the air, although the tallest have since been dismantled by the settlers. According to Ohio tradition, since Mother Earth is a woman, it was the women who carried and packed high the dirt of the mounds, often transporting basket loads of it from their home villages to the mound sites.

Ohio oral tradition does not agree with archaeologists that anyone lived atop the platform mounds in Ohio, although it does say that civic centers existed there for governmental reasons. There is a lot of flooding in Ohio, and some oral traditions claim that, in case of floods, people sought temporary refuge in the large council houses on the platform mounds while awaiting the water to recede. Otherwise, people did not live in the ceremonial centers, but merely visited them at certain times of the year. Towns were located at a safe distance from so many collected spirits.

Ceremonial complexes featured burial mounds in the vicinity of circle-and-square designs, which stood for Sky (circle) and Earth (square), the two living halves of the cosmos, which must be kept in balance through ceremony. Alternative (and almost certainly earlier) designs used the circle of Sky in combination with animal effigies of Earth, such as the Great Horned Serpent effigy in Adams County, Ohio, who carries his medicine pouch slung between his horns. Like the Octagons at Newark and High





Bank, the Great Horned Serpent is also an observatory. Bringing together Sky and Earth this way produced powerful medicine (Mann, 2003, 169–238).

The ancient mounds are sacred sites; so protecting the remaining mounds from further depredation is a prominent issue for Natives in Mound Builder states. This is not always easy. One major ceremonial site, the Newark Earthworks in Newark, Ohio—categorized worldwide as one of the wonders of the ancient world (Fagan, 1998)—covered 10.4 square kilometers (Lepper, 1998, 130). Included in its structures were a massive circle-and-square combination, numerous burial mounds, effigy mounds, and a rare circle-octagon mound, since shown to have been a very sophisticated observatory, capable of tracking the 18.61-year lunar cycle (Hively and Horn, 1982). In addition, the Great Hopewell Road connects this complex to the only other extant circle-octagon, also a sophisticated observatory, ninety kilometers southwest, at Chillicothe (Hively and Horn, 1984; Lepper, 1995; Squire and Davis, 1848, 67).

A major burial mound at the center was dismantled to build the Licking Reservoir in the 1830s, while the Ohio Canal demolished still more of the center in 1848, and the Ohio Railroad ran through it from 1852 to 1855, using burial mound dirt for its pilings. By 1854, the square was destroyed and the great circle was first turned into the Licking County Fairgrounds and then used as a boot camp during the Civil War, before finally being “developed” as Idlewild Park, an amusement park, in 1896. Nearly destroyed by the twentieth century, the Great Circle was finally set aside as Mound Builders State Memorial Park in 1933 (Mann, 2003, 99–100).

The all-important circle-octagon complex fared even worse. After being granted to the Ohio Historical Society (OHS) in 1910, it was leased by OHS to the Mound Builders Country Club in 1911, for use as a members-only golf course (Mann, 2003, 103). In 2001, the Ohio Historical Society, in a secret meeting, extended the country club’s lease on the sacred site to 2088 (Mann, 2003, 306). Today, the country club’s heavy mowing equipment is shoving the earthworks level with the ground, even as its golfers regularly slice chunks out of the sides of the sacred mounds. Although the original 1910 lease required the land to be open to the public, the country club refuses to allow visitors, especially Native Americans. When Grandmother Barbara Crandell, the head mother of the Ohio Cherokees, went to the circle-octagon created by her own Cherokee ancestors to pray on June 26, 2002, she was arrested (Shaw, 2002).

This sorry saga echoes what happened to other mounds. Settlers seemed remarkably unconcerned about disturbing sacred places, regularly plundering burial mounds to gather materials for their own building projects. Modern Ohio Natives do not find it accidental, therefore, that the first capital building of Ohio burned to the ground. Its bricks had been made from the clay of a massive burial mound that, standing on the site of modern-day Columbus, was dismantled as a “resource” for the project (Randall, 1908, 18).

In addition to dirt mounds, the Lenápes and Shawnees of Ohio constructed stone mounds, which were promptly taken down by early settlers, partly to remove the evidence of Native engineering skills, and partly to use the stones in their own building foundations. The great sandstone mound at Flint Ridge, Ohio, standing up to 55 feet in the air with base diameter of 183 feet, was plundered of its flat stones, weighing up to 60 pounds, between 1831 and 1832, to build the unnecessary Licking Reservoir (Hill, 1881, 489). Work crews dragged off from ten to fifteen *thousand* wagonloads of stones. Those left behind as too small to bother with were then plundered through the 1890s by local farmers, who used them to build their cellars (Fowke, 1902, 2: 389; Morris, 1871, 126; Powell, 46–47).

If the mounds themselves have been treated with almost no consideration by the settlers, the cultures that spawned them were (and continue to be) misrepresented by Western archaeologists, historians, and hobbyists. Since racist settler mythology posited Natives as “savages” incapable of either intellect or organized culture, settlers hatched fevered theories throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries concerning the *true* architects of the mounds. Seriously put forth as the “lost race” of Mound Builders were (among other equally ludicrous candidates) the: Ten Lost Tribes of Israel, Ancient Greeks, Ancient Romans, Hindus, Phoenicians, and Atlanteans. Joseph Smith’s *Book of Mormon* rests on, and is a direct expression of, these overheated speculations (Brodie, 1971, 35–58, *passim*; Mann, 2003, 51–89; Silverberg, 1968, 94–96; Williams, 1991, 159–67).

What all of these wild-eyed theories had in common was the stubborn refusal to admit that Native North Americans were the creators of American Mound Culture. Once the monumental work of Cyrus Thomas in the 1890s conclusively demolished these harebrained notions, archaeologists began downplaying the mounds, so that modern students





of Native American history are hard-pressed even to hear of 4,000 years' worth of Mound Cultures. Moreover, modern archaeologists dismiss clear evidence that the mounds of Ohio were built by the direct ancestors of the Cherokees, Lenápes, Iroquois, and Shawnees. Natives believe much of this dismissal is politically motivated, for, given such an admission, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) would kick in, forcing the immediate repatriation of hundreds of thousands of skeletons and grave items seized from the mounds and held by modern universities, historical societies, and museums—importantly including the Smithsonian.

Although either ignored or, worse, mixed and matched in irresponsible ways by archaeologists, much oral tradition exists from the Iroquois, Shawnees, Lenápes, and Cherokees concerning the history of the Mound Builders of the Ohio Valley. Ohio Valley Natives insist that their Mound traditions be differentiated by nation, and that traditions of more westerly or southerly nations (such as the Miamis and Lakotas) not be interpolated into theirs.

Of those nations whose traditions claim tenure in ancient Ohio, the earliest were the Moon-Eyed People (Barton, 1976, xlv). Moon-Eyes tracked time by watching the night sky (Shaffer, 1992, 42). When the old Cherokees first came into Ohio around 200 BCE, the Moon-Eyed culture combined with theirs in a new flowering that continued until around 500 (Duncan, 1998, 199).

According to the Cherokees and the Iroquois, they were once the same people speaking the same language and living in towns only a three-day walk from one another, far to the southwest of Ohio. When the area became too crowded, the Cherokees stood up and walked east, causing the two groups to develop distinct languages (Norton, 1970, 46), a split that modern linguists date at 3,500 to 3,800 years ago (Lounsbury, 1961, 11). The Cherokees eventually traveled into Ohio, where they met and absorbed the Moon-Eyed People, becoming the Tsalages, the Great Mound Builders of Ohio (Adair, 1930, 3; Barton, 1976, 9; Duncan, 1998, 199; Haywood, 1823, 236–237; Mann, 2003, 154–156).

The Cherokee's relatives, the Iroquois, lingered in that far southwestern place for another 1,500 to 1,800 years, until they, too, stood up and walked east, as they recalled their relations had done, so long before. When the Iroquois reached the Mississippi River, they encountered the Lenápes, also

walking east, to a place their scouts had already visited and named Dawnland. Much confusion exists among Western scholars regarding this portion of tradition, because they do not understand that, for woodlanders, the Allegheny, Ohio, and lower Mississippi are one river, the Mississippi of oral tradition (Hale, 1883, 14). After feeling one another out, the Lenápes and Iroquois formed an alliance, as they both walked east (Beatty, 1768, 27–28; Barton, 1976, 29; Clinton, 1811, 92; Haywood, 1811–1859, 215; Heckewelder, 1971, 47–48; Mann, 2003, 144–145; Schweinitz, 1870, 32–33).

To reach Dawnland, which lay on the mid-Atlantic coast, the Lenápes and Iroquois had to cross through Ohio, which they easily saw was heavily populated already by people the Lenápes called Talligewi (i.e., Tsalages, or Cherokees). Although refused permission to settle along the Ohio River, the newcomers were granted safe passage across Ohio on their trek east. Once they began crossing the Ohio, however, they were attacked by the Tsalages, whose priests took alarm at the size of the force crossing the river. Many Lenápes and some Iroquois, mostly women and children, were killed in the Tsalages' unprovoked attack. Angered, the Lenápes and Iroquois retaliated in a massive assault of their own, which began a prolonged war for the Land of the Three Miamis (Ohio) (Cusick, 1892, 10–11; Heckewelder, 1971, 47–48; Schweinitz, 1870, 32–37; Mann, 2003, 145–149). Hostilities raged for at least two centuries, until the Iroquois invented bow-and-arrow technology, between 300 and 550, which quickly overcame the old atlatl weapons of the Tsalages (Cusick, 1892, 10–11; Shaffer, 1992, 50).

Having deposed the Tsalages, the Lenápes and Iroquois banished them from Ohio, pushing them first into present-day Tennessee and then—that not being far enough south to suit the Iroquois—to North Carolina, where they continued their Mound Builder culture. The victors then split Ohio between them, the Iroquois taking the northern half of the state, and the Lenápes the southeastern portion, with both becoming Mound Builders in their own right. Around the 1300s, Ohio became too crowded, so the Lenápes stood up and walked the rest of the way east to Dawnland (Heckewelder, 1971, 50–51; Mann, 2003, 147–52). Eventually, for the same reason, many of the Iroquois spread out into Ontario, western Pennsylvania, and New York, although they always maintained a presence in Ohio as the Eries, who were western Senecas (Cusick, 1892, 31; Johnson, 1978, 176; Thwaites, 1959, 33: 63).





The last Mound Builders in Ohio were the Shawnees, linguistic isolates in North America, whose original tongue was lost by the early nineteenth century. They most probably came from Mexico, in one wave, coming during the time of the Spanish conquest, for Shawnee traditions speak of the people desperately fleeing a monstrous new enemy by making a dangerous voyage across the open sea to reach Florida. After sojourning in North Carolina, where they learned to build mounds, groups traveled to southwestern Ohio, where they continued as Mound Builders (Barton, 1976, 3; Johnston, 1820, 273; Mann, 2003, 121–127; Spencer, 1908, 383; Spencer, 1909, 320; Townbridge, 1939, 2–3, 9, 57–59).

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See also Cahokia; Hopewell Culture; Mound Cultures of North America.

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## Osage, and Oil Rights

In the 1920s, with oil prices at record highs, the Osage became known as the richest people in the world. Between 1907 and 1929, when tribal mineral revenues were their highest, the tribe received \$233 million in mineral income.

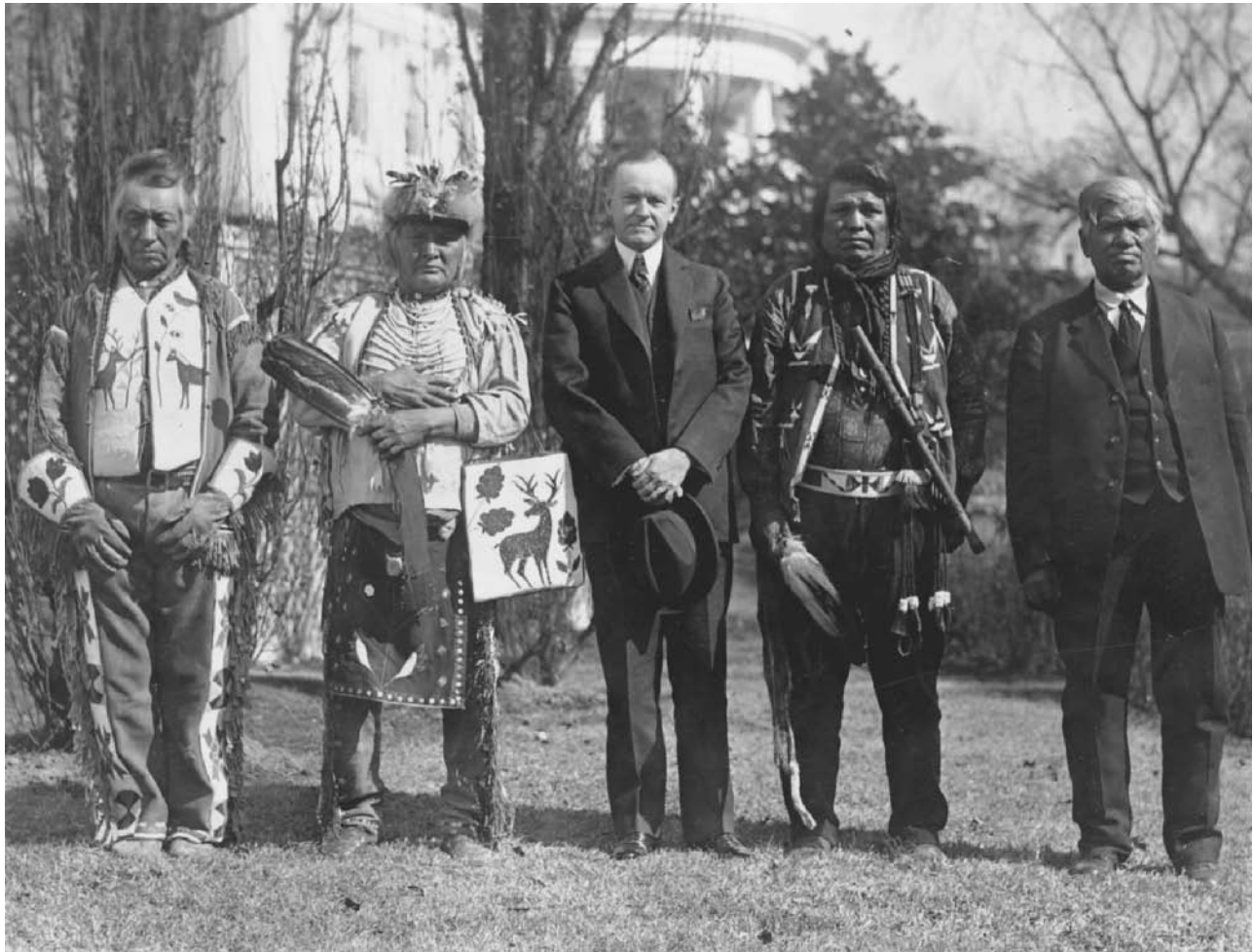
Although the first producing oil well was drilled on Osage land in 1897, tribal oil revenues remained negligible for another twenty years. By 1918, the reservation was dotted with nearly four thousand productive oil wells, and the tribal council had negotiated favorable lease and royalty agreements to maximize tribal profits. Leases to establish wells on 160-acre tracts were auctioned by the tribe to the highest bidder, with some oil companies paying bonuses of more than \$1 million dollars to lease a single tract.

The majority of the tribe's original 15-million acre Oklahoma reservation was allotted in severalty, or parceled out, to individual tribal members based on the allotment provisions of the Osage Act of 1906. Within a few decades, most of the land had been sold to non-Osage ranchers. Today, the Osage nation is a federally recognized tribe with 18,000 members and several town-site reservations located in Osage County in north central Oklahoma. A small number of enrolled Osage live on the diminished reservation, while most tribal members are scattered throughout the United States and abroad.

The tribe retains surface rights to several hundred acres of land as well as subsurface mineral rights to the entire one and a half million acres of the original reservation. Oil and gas companies lease from the tribe the right to drill for and extract minerals from specified tracts of land on the former Osage reservation. Although non-Osage now own the surface rights to most of this land, the tribe owns the minerals beneath the ground and the right to erect oil derricks and other structures on the surface in order to reach the minerals beneath. Most, if not all, of the oil companies that lease Osage mineral rights are not Osage owned. Thus, the tribe profits from owning the minerals but is not involved in extracting them. Tribal profits are derived from the leasing fees, bonuses, and royalties that oil companies pay the tribe.

The 1906 Act, as negotiated by the tribe, provides for almost all of this tribal mineral income to be distributed annually on a per-capita basis to individual tribal members. The members to whom revenues





*Osage meeting with President Calvin Coolidge at the White House in 1925. (Library of Congress)*

were initially to be distributed were the 2,229 Osages listed on the 1906 tribal roll. As these people passed away, their right to a share of the mineral income passed to their spouses and descendants. This right to an equal portion of tribal mineral income has come to be known as an Osage headright.

Annual headright income can be considerable. From March 2000 through March 2006, headright owners received on average \$12,000 per year. The Department of the Interior, which maintains contact information for all headright owners, distributes headright income quarterly. Although royalties are distributed equally among the 2,229 headrights, not all headright owners receive equal payments. Headright owners of more than 50 percent Indian blood, whose affairs are managed by the Department of the Interior, are paid just \$1,000 per quarter, with the remainder of the payment placed in an account for the Indians' benefit. In addition, some shareholders

own multiple headrights, while others own only a fraction of a single headright; mineral income is paid out to these individuals according to the percentage of the headrights they own.

Although most headrights are owned by the Osage descendants of the individuals listed on the 1906 roll, today most tribal members do not own headrights. Further, not all headright owners are Native American. Several hundred headrights are currently owned by non-Indians who purchased or inherited them. Before 1978, it was not uncommon for headrights to be sold or inherited by non-Indians. These practices have since been severely curtailed. Today, Indian headright owners may not sell their shares and non-Indian shareholders may sell shares only after first offering them to the tribe. In addition, only a life estate in a headright—not a permanent, heritable interest—may be willed to or inherited by a non-Osage.





A small portion of the tribe's mineral income is reserved for tribal government use and to pay the federal government's administrative costs. In addition to mineral income, the tribe derives additional revenue from other enterprises, including several tribal casinos.

For almost a hundred years from the enactment of the 1906 Osage Act, membership in the tribe and participation in tribal government were reserved to headright holders of Osage blood. During this time, only headright owners qualified for the benefits accorded members of federally recognized tribes, and only headright owners could vote or run for office in tribal elections. Although for years the tribe struggled against these rigid prescriptions and made several attempts to expand tribal membership and suffrage, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the courts invalidated the efforts on the grounds that they violated the 1906 Act. It was not until the 2004 passage of Public Law 108, also known as the Osage Membership Act, that the tribe regained control over its membership and government. With the passage of the 2004 Act, tribal enrollment swelled to 18,000 members, all of whom now qualify for federal Indian programs and will have the opportunity to participate in tribal government.

The 2004 Act resolved some, but not all, of the inequalities among tribal members caused by the headright system. Today all members can equally partake of the benefits of tribal membership, but only a few share in the tribe's mineral wealth. Today, the thousands of cubic feet of natural gas and gallons of oil extracted annually from beneath the tribe's former reservation are of little benefit to the tribe or most tribal members. Instead, the system of headright ownership has created among the Osage a group of haves and have-nots. While the haves receive a substantial mineral income, the have-nots receive little or nothing.

Wealth has been a source of both prosperity and suffering for the Osage. Several hundred years before the discovery of oil beneath the tribe's Oklahoma reservation, the Osage were a powerful and wealthy tribe with a vast territory that included much of the present-day states of Kansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, and Arkansas. The Osage drove competing tribes from the area and leveraged their geographic position to monopolize the European fur and weapons trades.

By 1825, the expansion and growing strength of the U.S. government had reduced the tribe's terri-

tory to an 8 million-acre reservation in southern Kansas. Although the Osage used their land primarily for hunting, the reservation contained fertile agricultural land that white emigrant settlers wanted for homesteads. Groups lobbied Washington to open the reservation to white settlement, while intruders invaded the reservation, stole livestock, forced Osages from their homes, and established illegal settlements. Eventually the U.S. government acceded to the settlers' demands and in 1870 forced the Osage to sell their Kansas reservation and relocate to a new reservation in Indian Territory—now the state of Oklahoma.

Stinging from the loss of their Kansas reservation and desiring a permanent homeland safe from the predations of white settlers, the Osage chose for their new reservation land that they felt would be undesirable to farmer-homesteaders. In this manner, they were able to keep the land to themselves for a number of years. The next invasion of Osage territory came in the form of trespassing cattle grazing on the reservation's rich fields of bluestem grass. Tribal members quickly made the best of this situation by selling grazing leases to white cattlemen.

As a result of income from grazing leases and interest from the proceeds of the sale of the Kansas reservation, by the time reservation oil wells began to produce, the Osage were already in a better financial position than most tribes. The tribe had proved incredibly resilient in responding to rapidly changing circumstances, but in coping with its oil wealth, it was to face its greatest challenge.

When tribal leaders arranged for per-capita distribution of mineral royalties, they were acting to keep tribal resources in the hands of tribal members. But the incredible wealth generated by oil profits led to exploitation at every level. Government agents took kickbacks and oil companies underreported output. Common criminals flocked to the reservation along with lawyers eager to represent Osage for ridiculously high fees. Merchants left their merchandise unmarked, then charged the Osage higher prices than other customers or sold items on credit for 10 percent interest. Most of the Osage, who were considered incompetent to manage their own affairs, were appointed legal guardians, who collected high fees for their services while misusing their influence to cheat their wards.

National media coverage focused on the Osages' sudden wealth. Racially charged comic photos depicted extravagant spending, such as tra-





ditionally dressed Osages parking Pierce Arrow limousines outside their wickiups. Such depictions fed white resentment and paved the way for the worst of the depredations—whites who married Osage for money, then murdered their spouses to inherit their headrights.

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*See also* Economic Development.

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## Paleo-Indians

The term "Paleo-Indians" describes the earliest inhabitants of North America (ca. 10,000–8,000 BCE). According to one version of events (many Native peoples describe their origins differently), these hunter-gatherers originated in northeast Asia and colonized North America sometime around 10,000 BCE, crossing a now submerged land bridge that connected Russia to Alaska during the last Ice Age. Clovis people, the first widespread North American cultural group, rapidly colonized much of the continent between about 10,000 to 9000 BCE, suggesting that they were highly mobile and adaptive to changing environments. Around 9000 BCE, the cultural uniformity of the Clovis period fragmented into regional hunter-gatherer groups. Paleo-Indians in each region were uniquely adapted to their respective environments, each developing distinctive tool kits and lifeways.

The timing, route, and process of the first colonization remain contentious issues in North American archaeology. Nonetheless, most archaeologists subscribe to the land bridge theory. Indeed, some of the oldest evidence of Paleo-Indians can be found in northwestern North America. Sites in Alaska have yielded tools and other cultural remains, including small teardrop-shaped projectile points called Chin-dadn points. Archaeologists call this group the Nenana complex (Hamilton and Goebel, 1999). They hunted sheep, elk, and birds. About 1,000 years later,

a new technology developed in the Arctic based on microblades, which are specialized stone flakes used to make composite hunting tools. Little is known about the lifeways of these later Paleo-Indians, named the Denali complex. They likely hunted both land and marine animals (e.g., caribou and fish).

While Alaska was mostly ice-free during the last Ice Age, much of Canada was covered by a thick ice sheet that blocked early Paleo-Indian migration into the contiguous United States. There were two possible migration routes from Alaska to the continental interior. The first is called the Ice-Free Corridor route, which was an opening east of the Rockies between the two large ice sheets that covered Canada. Paleo-Indians may have followed migrating animals southward through this corridor into the United States (Wilson and Burns, 1999). Some archaeologists, however, have questioned the Ice-Free Corridor theory. Archaeological sites south of the ice sheets, which may be older than the Ice-Free Corridor, suggest that another route may have been used. Early Paleo-Indians may have traveled down the West Coast, either on foot or by boat. Unfortunately, very early sites have not been found in this region, so the presence of early Paleo-Indians cannot be confirmed (Dixon, 1999).

In any discussion of prehistoric North America, two other perspectives should be mentioned. Some archaeologists propose that North America was colonized long before 10,000 BCE, perhaps as early as 30,000 BCE (Dixon, 1999). They point to the presence of a few archaeological sites in North and South America that appear to predate Clovis times. Two of the best-known are Monte Verde in Chile, which has evidence for a Paleo-Indian occupation about one thousand years before Clovis times, and Meadowcroft Rockshelter in Pennsylvania, which may date as early as 16,000 BCE. The validity of these early sites is passionately debated among scientists. Alternatively, many Native Americans take issue with these archaeological theories because their oral histories state that their ancestors have lived in North America since the time of creation.

Although the specific route and timing of the first Paleo-Indian colonization remain contentious, there is widespread agreement that by 9500 BCE Paleo-Indians occupied much of North America. The oldest archaeological sites often contain Clovis spear points, associated with the remains of now extinct animals like mammoth, megabison, and horses. Clovis spear points are distinguished by their flutes, which are large channel-like flake scars that typically





reach from the point's base to its midsection. Because of this feature, they are often called fluted points. The extensive occurrence of Clovis sites has led some archaeologists to suggest that the distribution indicates a single widespread cultural group, while others maintain that the distribution results from the rapid transfer of a new technology (the Clovis projectile point) from group to group.

Clovis hunter-gatherers were very proficient at killing large mammals, though they also utilized a wide range of smaller animals and plants. The first appearance of Clovis hunters in North America coincided with the extinction of many large mammal species (e.g., mammoth, horse, and camel). This has led some to argue that the first Paleo-Indians hunted these animals to extinction. Although there is little doubt that early Paleo-Indians were highly skilled hunters, it is likely that the rapidly changing climate of the last Ice Age contributed to these extinctions.

Paleo-Indians in the Great Basin region of western North America used two different technologies between 10,000 and 8000 BCE. Some of the earliest sites contain projectile points similar to the Clovis-style, whereas others contain stemmed points. These different technologies may represent multiple Paleo-Indian groups living in the region at the same time or a cultural change over time. Unlike their neighbors on the Great Plains, Paleo-Indians from the Great Basin appear to have focused their diet on waterfowl, fish, and small mammals rather than big game.

The Great Plains region has some of the best evidence for early Paleo-Indian lifeways, with abundant Clovis sites dated between 10,000 and 9000 BCE. Distinctive Clovis fluted points are often found associated with the remains of large mammals. Between 9000 and 6000 BCE several other Paleo-Indian groups inhabited the Great Plains, including Folsom, Agate Basin, Hell Gap, Alberta, and Cody. Because many large mammals went extinct during the Clovis period, these later Paleo-Indians focused instead on bison hunting. They used natural and constructed traps to contain large herds of bison to kill dozens of animals at once. Most aspects of Plains Paleo-Indian lifeways were connected to the bison.

Eastern North America was home to different groups of Paleo-Indians. Since environments in the east differed from those in the west, Paleo-Indians in this region used different hunting methods and toolkits (Storck, 2004). Early projectile points found

in the east are similar to their western counterparts (often fluted) but include small differences in overall shape. Some common types of eastern Paleo-Indian projectile points include Gainey, Parkhill, Crowfield (in the northeast), and Cumberland and Suwannee (in the southeast). Unfortunately, the cultural chronology is not as well understood in the east as it is in the west. Eastern Paleo-Indians were proficient hunters, able to kill mastodon, caribou, and other large mammals. They were probably more generalized than their Great Plains counterparts, using a wide range of animals and plants in their diets.

Much of what we know about Paleo-Indian lifeways comes from their stone tools and hunting methods. The presence of tools made from stone originating over 1,000 kilometers away indicates that Paleo-Indians were highly nomadic. They lived in small bands comprised of several families, although they periodically formed larger social groups. They were highly skilled hunter-gatherers able to adapt quickly to new environments (Anderson and Gillam, 2000). Their main hunting technology was the spear and atlatl (spear thrower), which was tipped by specialized projectile points. We know little of their religion and beliefs, although there is some evidence for possible religious activity (Storck, 1991).

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*See also* Archaeology and the First Americans; Mound Cultures of North America; Ohio Valley Mound Culture.

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## Pipes, Sacred

Probably the most commonly used ceremonial object throughout Native North America, both historically

and contemporaneously, the sacred pipe was and is used during prayer and healing and to make binding agreements. It is this last function, smoking to unite those present and in the spiritual realm in harmony regarding peace, war, or confederacy, that gave rise to the popular term "peace pipe," though its history and use are far more varied. The French termed the sacred pipe *calumet*, their word for reed pipe, and it is sometimes listed by this term in texts.

Archaeological evidence shows that pipes have been in use in the Americas for at least four thousand years and have been made in various forms from several different materials. Constructed from the leg bones of animals such as deer or antelope, tubular pipes are the oldest known form, varying in length from several inches to over a foot. The mouth



Taos man seated, holding peace pipe. (Library of Congress)





end of a tubular pipe is slightly smaller than the open end in which tobacco was placed. Later stone pipes, known as monitor or platform pipes, had a central bowl and evolved among eastern Woodlands tribes into effigy pipes with bowls in the shapes of animals, humans, and spirits. Keel pipes and disc pipes were also used, and one-piece elbow pipes were used by some California tribes and by Iroquoian peoples.

Two-piece elbow pipes with separate bowls and stems, the stem carved of wood and the bowl usually of catlinite, are the most commonly used today. Catlinite, or pipestone, comes exclusively from one site in Minnesota on Pipestone Creek, which flows from the Big Sioux River. Under the maintenance today of the National Park Service, this site has been used for quarrying since around 1600 and can still be accessed by Native peoples for this purpose. Pipes are “carried,” or owned, by ceremonially qualified people who follow specific tribal traditions regarding their use and origins. Stems and bowls are typically kept separately wrapped in a buckskin or cloth pipe bag. The male stem and female bowl are brought together only in preparation for smoking and prayer. Often, a series of rituals precedes smoking, usually involving the offering of tobacco to the Spirits in the Sacred Directions as well as to the Creator and Mother Earth.

Tobacco blends vary among Native peoples, incorporating such various ingredients as sumac, red willow, bearberry leaves, kinnikinnick (hence the Algonquian word *kinnikinnick* for a smoking mixture), sage, mullein, mint, or osha. Despite the misconception in mainstream culture, no pipe mixture used in sacred pipes throughout Native America is hallucinogenic or mind altering. According to the eldest living Cheyenne Sun Dance Priest, Eugene Blackbear, Sr., the smoke from the pipe carries the prayers and thoughts of those smoking to the Creator, Mother Earth, and the Spirits. Mr. Blackbear suggests that those breaking agreements made during the smoking of a pipe, such as Custer did after smoking with the Cheyenne, are visited by difficulty and sometimes death. For the southern Cheyenne, or Tsis-tsis-tas, pipes are used ceremoniously by Sun Dance and fasting supplicants, qualifying the supplicant after the completion of his or her vow to keep and use a pipe.

Several pipes, pipe ceremonies, and pipe bundles are particularly well-known. The Sacred Calf Pipe of the Lakota was brought to them by White Buffalo Calf Woman. All pipes used by the Lakota

today, known as *chanupa*, have had their power transferred to them through contact with this pipe, held today by bundle keeper Arvol Looking Horse. The Pawnee have a tradition of a complex pipe ceremony known as the Hako. The Arapaho have a sacred flat pipe, the Săeicho, which is also part of a sacred bundle kept and opened according to ritual regulations. In recent times, Christians, such as Catholic priest Father Paul Steimetz, have attempted to fuse the use of the pipe with Christian theology. However they are used, pipes are held in respect as sacred and living beings throughout Native America.

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*See also* Archaeology and the First Americans.

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## Potlatch

The peoples of the Northwest Coast of North America have proved themselves to be exceptional on several counts, one of which was their ceremonial potlatch. The potlatch, which included the ritual squandering of goods (including slaves in some cases), illustrated the wealth of their societies.

The Northwest Coast peoples produced a genuinely high culture (ranking with that of the Pueblos of the Southwest or the temple-mound people of the Southeast) without benefit of agriculture, a very rare event in the history of humankind. Instead of pottery and agriculture, the Northwest Coast peoples, extending along the coast from the Alaskan Panhandle to coastal Oregon and northern California, created exquisite baskets and wood bowls that they filled with the bounty of the forests and the sea. The Saskatoon berry, which they harvest, for example, contains three times as much iron as prunes and raisins. The bounty of the ocean and forests was so abundant and so skillfully exploited by the Northwest Coast peoples that most were able, during the summer, to lay up enough food (much of it dried) to





*Indian dancers during a potlatch at Chilkat, Alaska in 1895. (Library of Congress)*

last the winter. The major sources of protein for the Northwest Coast peoples were fish and sea mammals. Among the Makah, the word for fish is the same as the word for food.

The social and economic lifeways of Northwest Coast peoples evolved very differently compared to those of Native peoples across the rest of North America. While many other American Indian peoples were democratic in their political orientation, the Northwest Coast peoples maintained a very strict caste system. They also maintained an economy that was not communal, like those of many other Native peoples in North America. In a Northwest Coast village, everyone had a class, and everything had an owner.

Because the chiefs controlled access to food, shelter, and even spiritual sustenance, the societies of the Northwest Coast peoples were more hierarchical than even that of the Aztecs or the monarchical societies of Europe during the period of first contacts with Native America. No councils of chiefs existed to exercise restraint on them. Customs did exercise restraint on unbridled power, however. A good chief gathered power by being generous to those “under the arm.” The ceremonial potlatch was an expression of this ethic: On one level, it was a display of wealth by the chief or chiefs hosting it; on

another level, the intricate gift giving of the ritual bespoke an inherent desire to distribute the bounteous wealth of Northwest Coast Native American societies. The potlatch thus consolidated the power and authority of its hosts by reminding lesser nobles and commoners that the high chiefs controlled every aspect of village life.

The mild, rainy winters of the Northwest Coast are a time of elaborate socializing and ceremonies. The potlatch often became a festival of wealth squandering between rival chiefs. Everything about the potlatch bespoke ostentation. Guests arrived in ornately carved canoes, flanked by assistants, all dressed in their best clothes. Once at the potlatch, which might have been planned for years, guests were expected to feast until they became ill from overindulgence. Competing chiefs wore headgear topped with special rings that indicated the number of potlatches they had held. In a social and economic context, the potlatch indicated the value the Northwest Coast peoples placed on status. The ostentation of the ritual also bespoke a society of surplus—one so successful at adapting to its environment that its members virtually had resources to burn or otherwise consume with reckless disregard for necessity.

Northwest Coast ceremonies, including the potlatch, were not usually concerned so much with





the economic motives of getting and giving as with enhancing social status, honoring ancestors, and sealing personal relationships. According to Duane Champagne, the potlatch “should be understood from within its own cultural and institutional framework, and not be too easily compared with self-interested materialism” (1989, 110). Similarly, the emphasis on rank in Northwest Coast societies was not simply an imitation of Western hierarchical societies. Instead, the Tlingit concept of rank was integrated into that people’s belief that proper behavior in the present (such as contributing to potlatches, fulfilling one’s clan obligations, and submitting to the collective will of the house group) could cause a person to be reborn into a more aristocratic lineage.

The word “potlatch” is anglicized from *patshatl*, meaning “giving.” Such giving could take many forms. At a grease feast, for example, precious oil sometimes was splashed on fires until erupting flames burned members of competing households. Sometimes the spattering oil set their cedar clothing aflame. As a potlatch continued, the value of gifts usually rose steadily. After the rival chiefs had given away valuable cedar boxes and other expensive items, one chief might up the ante by sacrificing a slave with a special club called a slave killer. The “giving” chief might then hurl the scalp of the slain slave at his rival. Slaves also could be freed at potlatches. Another act of potlatch oneupmanship was the giving and destruction of large copper plates that served as currency of very high denomination, in the thousands of dollars if converted into U.S. currency.

Like most other aspects of life among Northwest Coast peoples, the potlatch was carried out with rigid, time-honored formality. Parts of the ritual were rehearsed insults, in which one chief often dared the other to give away ever more precious objects, such as large canoes that were carved out of huge tree trunks and used to hunt whales. Some of the insults were very personal. The Kwakiutl may have been adopting a European custom from the Hudson’s Bay Company when they complicated the potlatch by demanding 100 percent interest on gifts, a postcontact wrinkle in the ritual in which the act of giving now incurred a debt at twice the value of the original gift.

The Northwest Coast peoples hosted a number of other ceremonies and rituals in addition to the potlatch. Some of these rituals were associated with secret societies (exclusive groups of genetically unre-

lated individuals, sometimes called sodalities by anthropologists). Perhaps the most important such ritual among the Kwakiutl-speaking peoples of the British Columbia coast was the cannibal dance, in which an individual, seized by an emotional frenzy, pretended to consume the flesh of another person. Illusions and fakery enjoyed a high degree of prestige among the Northwest Coast peoples, and a small bear might be cooked in such a way that it resembled a human being, to be consumed during the cannibal dance. The person doing the cannibal dance might enliven the atmosphere by seizing bits of skin and flesh from members of the audience.

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*See also* Agriculture; Fishing Rights; Seattle; Slavery and Native Americans.

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## Pottery

The term “pottery” refers to jars, bowls, and other items that are made out of clay. Native Americans in most of the United States have made pottery for over 2,500 years. Historically, pottery was a part of everyday life because it was utilized for cooking and storing. Also, pottery was important in ceremonies and rituals because many effigy, or religious, figures





were made out of clay. Archaeologists trace back pottery shards, or the broken pieces from a once complete pot, to about 2300 BCE in the southeastern United States, 1000 BCE in the Northeast, and 600 BCE in the Southwest (Wirt, 1984, 13). A shift in the use of pottery occurred in the 1880s, when potters started manufacturing souvenirs for tourism. Many collectors and travelers recognized women potters as artists. Today many potters use historical patterns and techniques along with their own expressions to create pottery for exhibits and galleries. They have also come to see their pottery as artwork and as an expression of their experiences and identities.

The historical process of preparing the clay for sculpting was similar across North America, and it is still practiced by many contemporary potters. First, clay has to be gathered. Potters find clay in rivers and streambeds and by other bodies of water. In arid regions, the clay can be found in soil deposits (Wirt, 1984, 15). Once the potters or their families collect the clay deposits, they have to remove any impurities, such as pebbles or twigs. If the clay is already moist, these impurities can be pulled out. If the clay is dry the process takes a lot longer. The clay has to be made into a texture similar to coarse flour. The potter does this first by pounding it with a larger hammer or stick (or by stomping on it) and then grinding it with a mortar and pestle (Peterson, 1997, 44). Then the potter sifts it, allowing the clay to fall or blow upwind into a blanket while the impurities stay in the basket or screen (Peterson, 1997, 43; Wirt, 1984, 16). Once the potter deems the clay free of impurities, she adds water to it and starts kneading the clay into a putty or dough consistency. While working the clay, the potter adds bits of temper, or material used to strengthen the clay and keep it from cracking during the firing process. Depending on location, temper materials usually consist of finely ground volcanic rock, quartzite, sandstone, sand, vegetable matter, and sometimes old pottery shards (Wirt, 1984, 16). The potter has to be careful to add just the right amount because too little or too much could ruin the pot during firing.

Once the potter finishes preparing the clay, she turns her attention to creating the jars, bowls, water jugs, or whatever else she plans on making. Two techniques of creating pottery obtain in North America. One technique, coiling, consists of creating long, round strips of clay that are layered on top of each other while the potter pitches and smoothes the new layer with the ones below (Peterson, 1997, 45; Wirt, 1984, 17). For larger pots, the maker starts

with a flat clay base, allowing it to dry and then adding the coils. Potters sometimes also place these bases into a shallow bowl or basket for support during the coiling process (Peterson, 1997, 45). A second technique for pottery making is called the paddle and anvil (Penney, 2004, 81), or sometimes modeling and paddling (Whiteford, 1983, 13). Potters again make coils, but, instead of having the coils build from each other, the makers press the clay with an anvil or other tool into the side of a container to create the shape of the pot (Penney, 2004, 81; Whiteford, 1983, 13). The clay stays inside the container until it dries, at which time the potter carefully removes it for firing. This latter technique is mainly practiced by some Southeastern tribes and by the Tohono O'odham and Yuma in the Southwest (Whiteford, 1983, 13).

For both techniques, the dried pot goes through a series of steps before it is fired. First, the potter smoothes the sides of the pot with a knife or another scraping tool (Whiteford, 1983, 14). If the potter wants to decorate the pottery, instead of just letting the gray color of the clay be the surface, she or a member of her family will then add layers of slip to the outside of the pot. Slip is a thick, paint-like mixture of clay and water that gives the pot an evenly colored surface (Whiteford, 1983, 14). If the potter does not intend on painting the pot after firing, it is polished at this point.

After this process, the pot is ready for firing. This has to be done carefully, because a balance needs to be struck between too much heat and not enough from the fire. Potters usually place multiple pots onto a grill and place firewood underneath. They then cover the entire structure with dried cakes of animal dung, which burn at a hotter and more consistent rate than wood (Whiteford, 1983, 15). The pots are usually fired for between forty-five minutes and three hours, depending on the size of the pottery and the intensity of the fire. Upon their removal from the fire, the pots are polished again to ensure an even finish (Peterson, 1997, 59; Whiteford, 1983, 15). Once the pot is cooled, the potter or a member of her family paints the design on it.

While pottery was once made over much of the United States, today some of the most famous potters live in the Southwest and the Southeast. One of the major factors behind this is the rise of Southwestern tourism in the 1880s with the creation of the Santa Fe Railroad. Potters would go up to the windows of the trains and sell to the passengers during stops, and the railroad also had a line of track that





went directly to the Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico (Penney, 2004, 101). Furthermore, the Fred Harvey Company did much to market Native American products, and many potters found a way to provide incomes for themselves through their skills (Peterson, 1997, 17).

The first potter to gain individual recognition was Nampeyo of Hano in Hopi First Mesa, Arizona (Peterson, 1997, 54). Nampeyo is credited with revitalizing a historical pattern called Sikytaki, which has designs painted in black, orange, and white (Penney, 2004, 102; Whiteford, 1983, 31). Tourists were extremely interested in buying this Sikytaki decorated pottery, and traders recruited Hopi women to make pottery. By the late nineteenth century, almost half of all Hopi women created pottery for tourist markets (Penney, 2004, 102). Maria Martinez of San Ildefonso Pueblo in New Mexico was also instrumental in the revival or popularization of Native American pottery. Martinez and her husband, Julian, are credited with rediscovering how to make another style of pottery decoration (Penney, 2004, 103; Peterson, 1997, 62; Whiteford, 1983, 29). This style is called black-on-black, and the name derives from the look of the finished pot. The pot is turned black during the firing process, and then a matte, black design is painted onto the shiny black surface after it is polished and cooled (Penney, 2004, 103). The pot blackens during firing when the potter places moist manure directly on the fire, causing it to create a dense smoke that surrounds the pottery with carbon (Whiteford, 1983, 15). Maria and Julian Martinez also demonstrate how Pueblo families worked together to make the pottery. It was common for wives to make the pots, while the husbands decorated them (Penney, 2004, 102–103). In the case of the black-on-black pottery, Maria would make the pots and fire them, while Julian painted the matte designs. After Julian's death, Maria's daughter-in-law, Santana, stepped into the position as painter (Peterson, 1997, 121).

Nampeyo and Martinez were not the only potters who were influential in the early twentieth century. Many women can be credited with taking historical patterns and adding their own creativity to them, such as Lucy Martin Lewis, Margaret Tafoya, Helen Cordero, and Blue Corn (Peterson, 1997, 74–106). It was from these women that many contemporary potters gained their first training and education. Like their teachers, these potters are also taking the older designs and building on them. For instance, Barbara Gonzales, the great-grandchild of

Maria and Julian Martinez, has taken her great-grandparents' shiny black finish and altered it so that red hues are also present. Gonzales also places turquoise and coral beads on the surfaces of her pottery (Peterson, 1997, 126). Other contemporary potters have risen out of their own training and ingenuity as well. One such artist is Anita Fields, who is of Osage descent. Influenced by clothing that her grandmother gave her, Fields creates pottery that captures the designs and patterns of historical Osage and other Native American societies' clothing and textile traditions.

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*See also* Archaeology and the First Americans; Women in Native Woodlands Societies.

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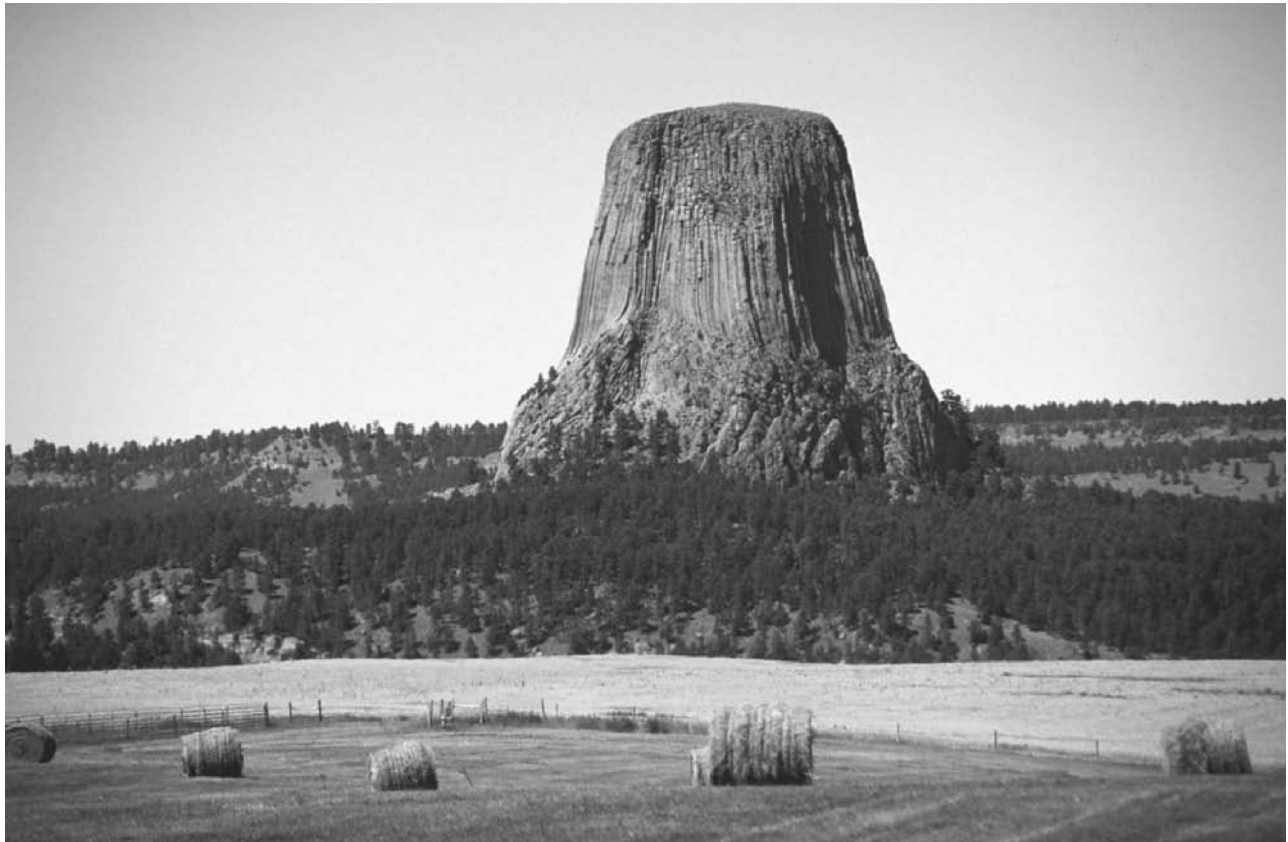
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## Sacred Sites

Sacred sites, according to many American Indians, are places from which spiritual power emanates and at which traditional ceremonies and important rituals occur. In contrast to Western religions, which teach that land is a resource that produces commodities, American Indians conceive of land as sacred and living. Characterizing themselves as caretakers of the earth, many Native peoples believe that all of nature is comprised of conscious beings who must be treated with respect and care. To Indians, each plant, stream, and mountain has its own spirit and life.

Numerous sacred sites are located throughout North America; unfortunately, most are threatened with tourism, recreation, resource extraction, and development. For instance, the Zunis' Salt Lake in New Mexico (home to *Ma'l Oyattsik'I*, an Indian deity) and Bear Lodge (Mato Tipi, also known as Devil's Tower, a sacred butte in the Black Hills),





*Devil's Tower National Monument in Wyoming, also called the Bear Lodge, is a sacred site to several Native American tribes, including the Lakota Sioux, Cheyenne, and Kiowa. (Corel)*

both are places where different tribes come together to perform traditional ceremonies and rituals. However, in 1996, Salt Lake became threatened with a coal-mining project. Similarly, Bear Lodge plays host to rock climbers searching for the preeminent climbing experience. Such religious intolerance and cultural disrespect leaves many American Indians searching for various ways to protect their sacred sites. Congressional legislation, the courts, and international law, which are increasingly favoring American Indian claims, are finding ways to protect and preserve these culturally significant properties.

Currently, several legislative acts provide some protection for sacred sites. For instance, the Antiquities Act of 1909 allows sacred properties to be protected from human destruction through presidential declaration. Similarly, the Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act of 1935 enables the Secretary of the Interior to protect, preserve, and maintain historic sites by establishing historic preservation programs and contracting with states to protect such properties.

Likewise, the Federal Lands Policy Management Act and the National Forest Management Act of 1976 require public and forest lands to be managed in a manner that protects the quality of historical, archaeological, and cultural values of such lands. Accordingly, the Acts mandate that management programs minimize damage to any cultural values and grant the secretary authority to take necessary action to prevent undue degradation of lands.

Similarly, in recognition of the impact of private destruction to Indian lands, Congress passed the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979, which requires federal land managers to notify and consult with affected Indian tribes, prior to the issuance of a permit that may result in harm to, or destruction of, any religious or cultural site.

Perhaps the foremost legislation utilized for the protection of sacred sites is the National Historic Preservation Act, which was enacted in 1966 to preserve historical and cultural properties. According to the Act, once the secretary identifies a property as significant in American history, archaeology, or





culture, then all federal undertakings affecting such property must take into account their effect on the site and recommend to an advisory council any measures to avoid, minimize, or mitigate adverse effects on it.

However, despite congressional intent to afford protection to tribal sacred sites, American Indians remain unable to adequately protect the integrity of such properties, including tribal access. Consequently, American Indians have judicially attempted to preserve and protect their traditional cultural properties by asserting constitutional religious violations.

Religious free exercise claims have consistently been rejected. Specifically, despite American Indian complaints that any proposed federal undertaking on, adjacent to, or near a sacred site would make it difficult to practice religious ceremonies, because there is no governmental threat of fines, incarceration, or the loss of governmental benefits, the courts have determined that no religious constitutional burden exists and have therefore rejected the Indians' free exercise claims.

American Indians have succeeded in protecting sacred sites under the Establishment Clause (First Amendment) of the U.S. Constitution. Specifically, the courts have determined that federal agency plans, which remove barriers to Indian religious worship and are noncoercive and secular in purpose, do not advance or inhibit religion. Consequently, agency decisions to deny oil and gas leasing, limit timber sales, and issue climbing management plans for religious accommodations at sacred sites do not violate the Establishment Clause.

Nevertheless, American Indians continue to struggle to protect sacred sites, and lobbying Congress to enact legislation that specifically addresses sacred site protection may be a viable solution. In recent years, Congress has favored protecting Indian religious practices. For instance, Congress enacted the American Indian and Religious Freedom Act to protect and preserve the inherent right of American Indians to believe, express, and exercise their traditional religions including access to sites and the freedom to worship through ceremonies and traditional rites. In addition, Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act to protect Indian graves and repatriate cultural items to tribes. Furthermore, Congress exempted Native American Church practitioners from federal laws criminalizing the possession of peyote.

Similarly, the executive branch has recognized the importance of American Indian religious practices and access to sacred sites. For instance, President Clinton issued Executive Order 13007, which requires all federal agencies, in the management of federal lands, to "accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners" and avoid adverse effects to the physical integrity of such sites. Likewise, the Department of Interior recently promulgated secretarial orders that require agencies to identify the potential effects of governmental activities on Indian trust lands and to consult with tribes when such activities affect tribal resources.

In accordance with such agency directives, federal land management agencies have developed programs preserving American Indian access to sacred sites. Specifically, in 1994, the Fish and Wildlife Service issued a policy requiring the agency to respect American Indian cultural values when planning and implementing programs. Similarly, the National Park Service developed a climbing management plan for Bear Lodge in 1995, which requests rock climbers to refrain from climbing the butte during the month of June so that American Indians may peacefully perform sacred religious ceremonies.

However, if legislation and executive policies fail, an international appeal may be a more workable solution. The economic development of sacred and cultural sites of American Indians and of other indigenous peoples throughout the world has prompted an international debate concerning the destruction of such properties. Accordingly, the United Nations drafted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, which requires nation-states to preserve and allow a right of access to the properties and sites of religious and cultural significance for indigenous peoples. Although the declaration mandates that states should "take effective measures, in conjunction with the indigenous peoples concerned, to ensure that indigenous sacred places, including burial sites, be preserved, respected, and protected," the document lacks enforcement provisions. Nevertheless, the United Nations has brought indigenous sacred site claims to the forefront of international policy that may lead to stronger protection of such sites in the near future.

In this manner, American Indians may protect sacred sites under international cultural property law, which would provide international protections for properties of significant cultural value. Because sacred sites define a group's culture, assist in the





members' understanding of the past, and reflect the group's visualization of themselves, such properties necessarily fall within the definition of cultural property. Thus, inclusion of sacred sites in cultural property theories would allow for their protection in the international arena.

Current sacred site legislation is limited and judicial support of agency decisions can adversely affect sacred sites and access to them. However, because recent U.S. congressional, executive, and agency policies favor the protection of American Indian religious practices, national and international enforcements specifically protecting sacred sites from desecration and destruction may be in the near future.

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*See also* Archaeology and the First Americans; Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA).

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## Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of

For the peoples of the Pacific Northwest, which includes the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, as well as northern California, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, western British Columbia, and Alaska, the salmon has played a significant role in defining their culture. In pre-contact times salmon contributed to the organization of the peoples of this region into political groups.

The people of this region spoke many languages that in some cases were the common factor that bound them together, but often there were other ties such as family and relationships based on shared labor, including fishing, the basis of their diets. These two features held in common were key elements in determining political relationships at the village level. The village consisted of a group of people with a shared desire to follow a particular headman while performing specific tasks essential to survival. Salmon fishing was such an important activity to the survival of these people that their sociopolitical organization was often based upon task grouping. This was a method of forming their communities based on specific tasks and the skills necessary to perform the tasks (Miller, 2003, 10, 11).

Usually village residents were related by bloodlines, to some extent, but also were interrelated with residents of other villages. The villagers usually remained with their village while it suited them—politically, socially, or economically—but were free to move from village to village at will. For example, if a village fell on hard times due to a shortage of roots or berries in a specific area, many of the villagers might find fault with the local headman and migrate to a more prosperous village. One might also move to be nearer a close friend or relative. The size and makeup of the village were generally determined by the needs of cooperative labor to perform a specific task. The interaction of a number of





*A Hupa Indian fishes for salmon with a spear. (Library of Congress)*

villages made up a tribe, and tribes often allied themselves for survival. The larger units were more loosely arranged and less permanent (Miller, 2003, 10, 11).

As a staple food, salmon were so important to the Native peoples of this region that the fish was held in high spiritual esteem. As a way of guaranteeing that the fish would return in abundance, the First Fish ceremony was performed throughout the Northwest by the peoples who depended on the return of the annual salmon runs. Daniel Boxberger, an anthropologist who has done extensive studies on the Lummi of northern Puget Sound offered this description:

The first salmon was treated as a special guest in the village. After it had been honored and every member of the village had partaken of a small portion of its flesh, its bones would be returned to the water, where it would resume its previous form and go tell the other salmon how well it had been treated. The salmon

would then allow the Lummis to capture them (Boxberger, 1989, 18).

Andy Fernando describes the First Fish ceremony of the Skagit Indians of northwestern Washington State in detail, explaining the role of the villagers who participated and the First Fish as having "... fulfilled their duty, prescribed by the great spirit. The salmon had returned to the appointed time and place, the villagers had faithfully honored the salmon in sharing and ceremony. The people thereby assured themselves of a good season, and the harvest could begin" (Hurtado, 1994, 529–530).

Social status and social interaction were linked to salmon fishing as a method of exhibiting skill and of generosity by providing the food for social and religious gatherings. In Fernando's description of the First Fish ceremony, he explains that "[t]he entire village would gather together and appoint fishermen to each catch one salmon—no more [for the purpose of the ceremony]." Prior to the ceremony being performed and the salmon being honored, no one was allowed to participate in any fishing activities purely for the sake of catching fish (Fernando, 1998, 529).

In his discussion of the receiving of a *guardian spirit* by a member of a task group, Miller gives an example of the importance of that member's ability to catch fish and how that individuals' contribution affected the band in the task-group system:

... if a band had a large number of people who were granted strong fishing powers, this would be its predominant activity in the task group system ... [T]hus, [that group was] most likely to play a leading role in economic and social life. Even such social activities as gift giving played a part in identifying the economic role of the host group. Not only did the giving of gifts indicate that a host band was capable of generating a surplus; the nature of the gifts (baskets, dried fish, etc.) identified the group's particular economic strengths (Miller, 2003, 20).

Most of the technology of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest was based on a need to catch fish—mainly salmon. Salmon were undoubtedly the most important food staple and economic resource of the Straits Salish, who inhabited the Puget Sound area. One estimate of the pre-contact, per-capita consumption of salmon is as high as 600 pounds annually among the Lummis (Boxberger, 1989, 13). This level of fish consumption required very efficient fish-





ing technology, intense cooperation of labor, and private property boundaries. Boxberger explained this system:

The precapitalist fishing economy of the Straits Salish was a complex interaction between free-access resources and locations held in trust by individuals for a larger kin group. A man was guaranteed access to fishing locations as far as his (and his wife's) kinship networks extended. . . . The two most productive forms of traditional Straits Salish salmon fishing, reef netting and weir fishing, both required a great deal of labor and organization. Both reef net and weir sites were owned and controlled by individuals on behalf of a larger kin group . . . [A]lthough a weir might be owned by a kin group, everyone had a right to take fish from it (Boxberger, 1989, 13).

Boxberger uses the Lummis to illustrate the economic dilemma of most Native peoples when it comes to commercial salmon fishing:

In the western Washington fishery the massive capital outlays and subsequent technological advances displaced the small operations and increasingly restricted Indian access to the resource. Though the tribal resources were developed, the Lummi tribe became underdeveloped. As fisherfolk, the Lummis were incorporated into the capitalist system to provide raw materials for the processors and labor for the processing sector. Once they entered the dominant economy there was no turning back, for when their labor and resources were no longer needed they were still dependent on the dominant economy though no longer able to participate (Boxberger, 1989, 6).

In modern times, many Indians of the Pacific Northwest fish with modern fishing gear and, after decades of court battles having finally won rulings in their favor, fish in the "usual and accustomed" fishing areas guaranteed them by the treaties of the 1850s. The Lummis, for example, now fish Puget Sound and its tributary streams using modern gill nets and purse seine boats requiring a high capital investment on a commercial basis, as well as using traditional methods of fishing for subsistence use (Boxberger, 1989, 167). Either way, salmon has

retained its social, economic, and spiritual significance for most Indians in the Pacific Northwest.

Daniel R. Gibbs

*See also* Fishing Rights.

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## Scalping in the Colonial Period

The removal of all or a portion of the scalp was a custom practiced by various Native American groups and later by European settlers. The current consensus is that the practice of scalping was an indigenous creation. The males of many Native American groups wore their hair in a certain manner that lent itself to this practice. Both groups utilized this practice, which was often fatal, as a component of warfare. The scalp could be removed in several ways. Likewise, scalping held a number of symbolic meanings, both positive and negative.

Many Native American tribespeople wore their hair in a specific fashion, with a lock of hair braided and hanging. This distinct lock of hair came to be known as the scalplock. For many Iroquois and Algonquian speaking tribes, the warrior's soul was believed to reside in the scalplock. Though Europeans did not wear their hair in the same fashion, once hostilities arose between the two groups, they too could become victims of the process.

Misunderstanding the significance of scalping to Native Americans, the Europeans perceived the practice as simply an atrocity and responded to it





*Drawing of an American Indian holding a scalp. Although Native Americans were thought to have created the practice indigenously, Europeans also took part in scalping. (Library of Congress)*

accordingly. As time passed, both the French and British took scalps of Native Americans. These Europeans saw the taking of scalps as a means of gaining proof that Native Americans had been killed on an expedition. By the same token, Europeans sometimes paid money for scalps collected by Indians, the payment being known as a scalp bounty. The most infamous figure known in connection with this practice was the Lieutenant Governor of Canada during the American War of Independence, Henry “the Hair Buyer” Hamilton.

Among some Native Americans, scalping served a number of significant, symbolic purposes. It added to the prestige of a young warrior to gain the scalp of another in battle. It transmitted tangible evidence of a warrior’s ability. Likewise, it was often believed that it transferred the masculinity or even

the warrior prowess of one Native American to another. By the same token, taking a warrior’s scalp after death served as a tribute to the martial ability of the fallen. It acknowledged that the slain had been a worthy opponent. If captured, a warrior could sometimes expect gruesome torture to the death (that within eastern Indian cultures was regarded as a sacrifice to restore balance to the world). Part of this torture might include the removal of the scalplock as a sign of the removal of masculinity or the soul prior to death.

As time passed and traditions eroded, especially among the Iroquois due to the practice of mourning war, scalping became a tactic employed against all of their victims, regardless of gender. Most historians link the degeneration of the practice to the frequency and intensity of the wars in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the period encompassing the conflicts over the fur trade. These conflicts, along with disease epidemics, ravaged the elders of the various tribes, especially in the Northeast. These were the members of the tribe who served as the transmitters of their people’s culture.

While scalping among American Indians served a number of purposes, all of these were vital in the creation of a young warrior’s identity. Primarily, the acquisition of an enemy’s scalplock in battle presented a concrete testament to the young man’s martial prowess. At the same time that the captured lock of hair gave evidence of increased status, it simultaneously provided a means to salute the abilities of the vanquished. Thus the removal of the scalplock from the head of a dead warrior did honor to both contestants in the engagement.

*James R. McIntyre*

*See also* Beaver Wars; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Fur Trade; Identity; Warfare, Intertribal.

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## Seven Drums Religion

The Seven Drums Religion has many names. Called *wáashat* (Washat, meaning "dance") or *waasani* (Washani, "dancers" or "worship") in the Sahaptin language of the Columbia Plateau, it is also known as the Sacred Dance Religion, the Longhouse Religion, or simply the Indian religion. The latter label reflects the contemporary view that Washat is the most "traditional" of the various faiths practiced in Plateau Indian communities, even though it exhibits some Christian parallels. Many practitioners avoid the term "religion" altogether because of its narrow, compartmentalized connotation. "To non-Indians, the longhouse represents religion," explained Lewis Malatare, the leader of a Washat congregation on the Yakama reservation. "To Yakamas, we prefer not to use the word religion but more a way of life—a life that was dictated to us by the natural surroundings of our environment." Wilson Wewa, a drummer from the Warm Springs reservation, suggested "spirituality" as a better way to describe Washat "because it's about honoring the Creator in everything we do." Whatever it is called, the Seven Drums Religion has long provided a central venue for the expression of Indian culture and identity among Plateau peoples. Washat's close association with tribal traditionalism also made it a target of government repression until the 1930s, but today more than a dozen longhouse congregations carry on the traditions of their ancestors.

Like most modern religions, Washat has changed significantly over time as Plateau Indians interacted with outsiders and adapted to shifting circumstances. Its spiritual roots extend nearly 10,000 years into the aboriginal past, when the native inhabitants of the Columbia Basin developed the seasonal round of fishing, gathering, and hunting that characterized their culture at the time of European contact. Their subsistence cycle led to the identification of five sacred foods—salmon, roots, berries, deer, and water—which Plateau Indians propitiated through an annual series of first food feasts conducted to show respect for the resources and

ensure abundant harvests. Catholic and Protestant missionaries first observed these ceremonies in the 1830s, and their efforts to convert the Indians set in motion a process of religious borrowing and blending that continued into the late nineteenth century. The bells obtained from fur traders and Jesuit priests quickly made their way into Washat rituals, where the sound of the bell came to represent the heartbeat of all life. Similarly, Indians adopted Sunday as a regular day of worship and attached spiritual meaning to the numbers three and seven. While five retained its ritual importance, appearing frequently in Washat songs and dances, seven became the standard number of drummers for most ceremonies (though fewer often serve now if enough are not available).

The popularity and power of the Seven Drums Religion peaked during the latter half of the nineteenth century, the era of the so-called Dreamer Cult. Riding a wave of Indian anxiety over the effects of American colonization, the Dreamers temporarily infused Washani with a strong millenarian and nativistic message. Their greatest prophet, Smohalla, promised his followers divine deliverance from their oppressors if the Indians would cast off white ways and return to their own traditions. Because this creed interfered with federal assimilation policies and encouraged the retention of "savage" customs, the Office of Indian Affairs tried to suppress Washat services using the Indian police and the courts of Indian offenses on each reservation. Agency authorities banned traditional dancing, spied on tribal meetings, arrested religious leaders, confiscated or destroyed drums, and directed Indians to attend Christian churches. Such measures persisted into the early 1930s, long after the prophets and their visions had faded away, but the faithful kept Washat alive by holding their ceremonies in secret, moving them off reservation, or cloaking them in approved holidays such as the Fourth of July.

The Seven Drums Religion remains active today, although its membership has declined significantly due to Indian acculturation and competition from various Christian denominations as well as the Indian Shaker Church. Washat is not an exclusive sect, however, so many people who participate in it also attend other churches. Currently, there are fifteen permanent longhouses located on five reservations and in several off-reservation communities across the Columbia Plateau. Besides holding Sunday services and seasonal first food feasts, they provide gathering places for naming ceremonies,





weddings, funerals, and other community events that define “traditionalism” for contemporary Plateau Indians. Some longhouses are thought to be especially powerful for certain purposes, such as the first salmon feast held at Celilo, and ritual practices vary from congregation to congregation. “Everybody does different things in different longhouses, just like Protestants and Catholics,” noted elder Ella Jim, “but we’re all worshipping the same Creator.”

Andrew H. Fisher

See also Handsome Lake; Indian Shaker Movement; Sohapp, Sr., David.

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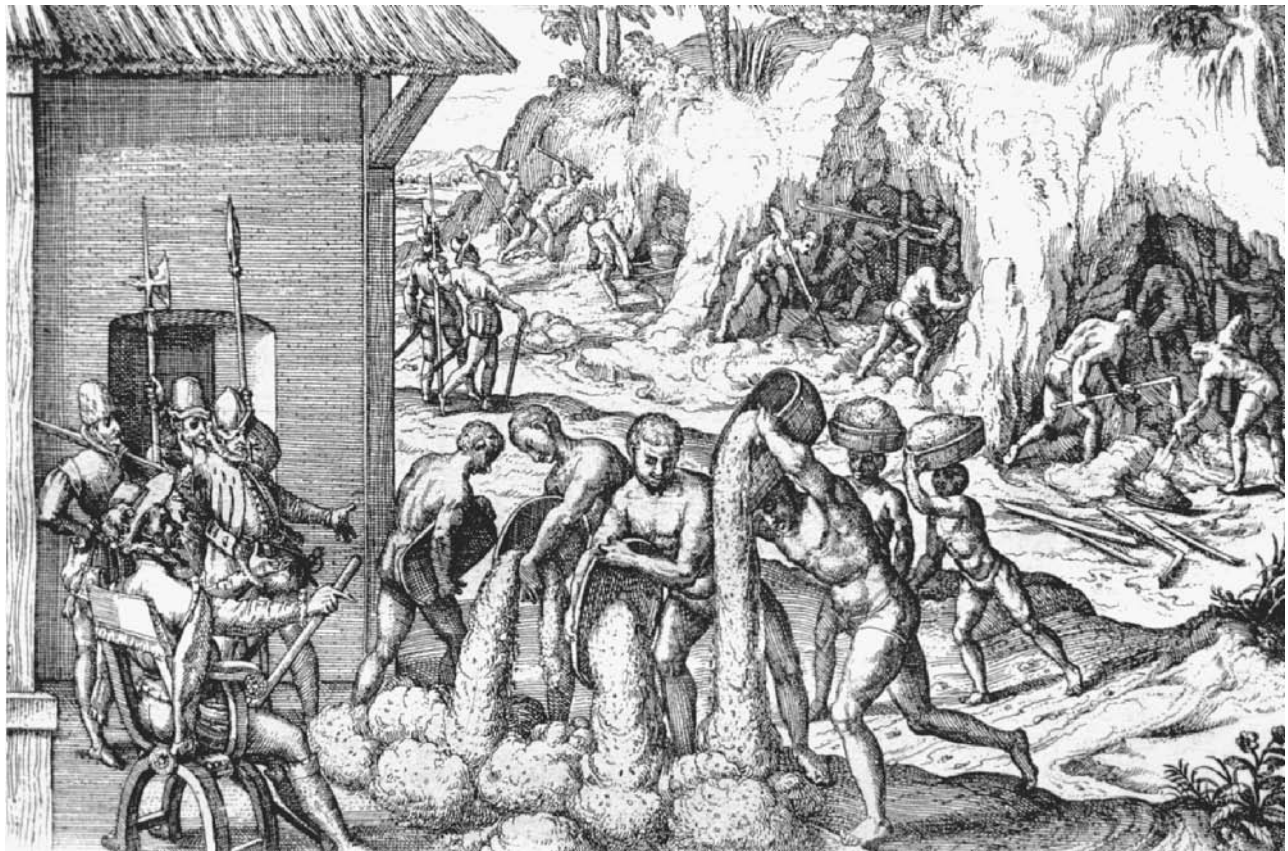
## Slavery and Native Americans

Generalizations about the history of slavery in the New World are becoming increasingly difficult to accept as more complete and complex information is revealed. Still, it is well-known that Columbus encountered Caribbean Natives when his first voyage reached the shores of Hispaniola, but it was during his second arrival that he ordered every Indian over the age of fourteen to be placed into bondage. Columbus was well within legal parameters, as nearly fifty years earlier Pope Nicholas V had legitimized slavery by authorizing Catholic nations to sell into servitude heathens and “foes of Christ.” Later, this concept was expanded to include all captives taken in religious wars, including everyone who was “unconverted,” and the Native islanders met that definition. Within a few decades, however, the numbers of indigenes in the circum-Caribbean region were greatly reduced due to forced labor, imported diseases, and harsh treatment by religious and military European-American immigrants. This catastrophe would be repeated many times. Centuries later in the United States, poor white Europeans of any religious affiliation became indentured servants in some of the thirteen original colonies; others, such as Massachusetts, outlawed servitude in 1712. Virginia colonists, on the other hand, had tried

enslaving Indians but a deadly retaliation occurred and the effort was abandoned. Ultimately, the disastrous effect of communicable diseases prevented Indian slavery from becoming a major institution in the colonies because many Natives would die from imported ailments within fifty years after contact with the Puritans. Years later in the American South, the Seminoles also owned African slaves who, when they escaped, took refuge among the occupying Spaniards in Florida. Cherokees too held slaves and were themselves enslaved by mixed-blood plantation owners. Half-Indian proprietors of vast estates forcibly brought Chickasaw Indians from Mississippi to Indian Territory to work for free. The Creeks were both slaves and slave owners. The best example of continuous Indian slavery occurred on the Spanish colonial frontier of northern Mexico. Conquistadors, heirs to a long history of forcing work and other forms of tribute from conquered peoples in Europe, brought the tradition to Mexico in 1521. For example, explorer Hernan Cortes took a fourteen-year-old girl as his slave and concubine shortly after arriving (Brooks, 2002, 25). Soon, Spanish ships were docked at Mexican West Coast ports like Guaymas, awaiting hunters who tracked, caught, and transported Indians into slavery in the central area of the country. “Throughout the entire seventeenth century [Spaniards] paid fifty to one hundred pesos to go out into the wilds and enslave groups of Indians on the pretext of bringing them into Hispanic society” (Cuello, 1988, 688). Male captives, worth over one hundred pesos in 1575 when sold privately or at public auctions, were expected to serve their purchasers for twenty years. Women and older children, in high demand as house servants, received a sentence of ten to fifteen years. Younger children were “deposited” with Spanish masters for indefinite periods (Cuello, 1988, 687).

In the late 1500s and well into the following centuries, northern Mexico fell under the authority of Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries. These religious pioneers’ dual task was to introduce Christianity to the Indians, convert them, and prepare the new Christians to become tax-paying citizens of the empire; enslaving the indigenes was the result. To meet the goals, priests relied on a policy of *reducción-congregación*, procedures that reduced populations in Indian villages, through violence if necessary, and then congregated the natives in strictly controlled settings where their labor was forced and their culture nearly obliterated through punishment, reeducation, involuntary religious instructions, and renaming





*Native Americans working in salt mines under Spanish rule. (Bettmann/Corbis)*

(Stockel, 2004, 58–59). The Indians' initial obligation in the mission environment was to construct the entire compound, beginning with the center of the community: the church. To build the long, rectangular adobe foundation, workers were forced to cut timber and haul the heavy tree limbs to a designated area at the future mission's home. Under armed guard and at the direction of a priest, the laborers created square wooden frames, cut from the tree limbs as molds for adobe bricks. They dug out the rocky caliche soil, so characteristic of the region, mixed it with water, small stones, and slivers of wood, and poured it into the shells. Days later, when the sun had thoroughly dried and baked the mud, the Indians lifted each weighty brick and carried it to the proposed sacred site. They piled one brick on top of the other or two beside each other, sometimes to a width of thirty-six inches, to raise the church's walls. Roof construction began by boiling and then peeling bark from other tree limbs, lifting them, and setting them across the open width between the walls from one side to the other. Next, skinny wooden braces

of willow, saguaro cactus ribs, or similar materials were also boiled and peeled and placed at right angles atop the beams. Mud, cow manure, grass, and other natural flora sealed the roof. To prevent deterioration, the slaves hauled, pushed, and pulled tons of limestone boulders to a pit they dug, heated them in roaring fires until they exploded, and then pulverized and blended the residue with water. Other Indians stood ready to smear the mixture by hand onto church walls, frequently standing on shaky scaffolds that could collapse and plunge the men to earth. If the workers hesitated or sat down to rest without permission, soldiers were ordered to discipline them on the spot.

Daily regimentation controlled the field workers. Each day began with religious services followed by a small breakfast after which the slaves walked under guard to the field to work all day at planting, tending, and raising crops. At sunset each day the tired Indians returned to the mission complex and were required to stop at the church to say the doctrina and pray before eating supper. Collecting





tribute was the responsibility of crown-appointed trustees called *encomenderos*. Beginning in 1562, these few privileged individuals, having exhibited impressive loyalty to the crown, held a specified number of Indians in trust, or in *encomienda*, a remnant of a feudal institution through which loyal subjects to the king were rewarded. Tribute consisted of gifts of goods, crops, hides, blankets, and anything the *encomendero* requested from his Indian slaves. Even after the crown prohibited the practice, taxes in the forms of direct labor or personal service persisted, with officials looking the other way and justifying *encomienda* as necessary because a scarcity of non-Indian agricultural workers existed (Weber, 1992, 124). *Repartimiento* (Weber, 1992, 126) replaced *encomienda* and became another legalized form of slavery even though it has been defined as a “time honored institution by which Spanish officials distributed native men to work on a rotating basis at tasks deemed to be for the public good” (Weber, 1992, 126). Participation was compulsory, but in contrast with the common understanding of slavery, the Indians were supposed to receive wages. Although the length of their servitude was controlled by laws, as was the type of labor they were expected to do, Indians were “unpaid, underpaid, paid in overvalued merchandise, unfed, underfed, and kept for longer periods of time than regulations permitted” (Weber, 1992, 126).

Control through a well-defined hierarchical structure and disciplinary actions for disobedience were essential both in *encomienda* and *repartimiento*, religious and political officials rationalized, if managing a large group of Indian slaves was to be even moderately successful in creating a stable community. They thus gave themselves permission to disregard the laws. Simultaneously, soldiers and settlers also wanted free slave labor to tend herds, till fields, cut firewood, serve in Hispanic households, and haul cargo as pack animals. Competing needs eventually caused a conflict between the religious and secular frontier Spaniards. Civil authorities charged that the missionaries forced the Indians to work for free. The missionaries responded that appointees demanded that the indigenes work for them purely for individual profit. Importantly, allegations also involved the priests’ severe disciplinary methods for misbehavior, countered by the missionaries’ similar allegations against their accusers. The continuing enslavement of Indians by Europeans was interrupted by a series of external events beginning in 1810 when stirrings of independence from Spain

altered funding and supplies to northern Mexico. Later, the successful war further disrupted the frontier, as did war with America in 1846. In the final analysis the occupation and subjugation of Mexico’s indigenous populations cast the conquerors, especially the missionaries, into the role of aggressors, demanding and imposing cultural and religious changes through violence when necessary. That this massive colonial endeavor was successful is apparent today in the Spanish surnames and Christian affiliations of Native peoples in northern Mexico and the American Southwest. That the attempt was unsuccessful is evident in the Indians’ continuous public and private practice of ancestral ceremonies and traditional celebrations (Stockel, 2004, 268).

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*See also* Dalles Trading Area; Mission System, Spanish; Potlatch; Seminole Wars; Spanish Influence.

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## State Names, Native American Derivations

Roughly half the states in the United States of America have names that derive, in some way, from Native American languages. Most are English or French adaptations of the original Native American words. Sometimes, more than one meaning has been attributed to a name, in which case both are listed.

*Alabama*: From *alipama* or *alibamu*, a Muskogee tribal name meaning “Those who clear the land.”





*Alaska*: From the Aleut word for their homeland on the Alaska peninsula, *Alakhshakh*; also Aleut for "great land."

*Arizona*: A Pagago word, *airzonac*, probably meaning "small springs."

*Arkansas*: From the Illinois name for the Quapaw, *akansea*. The same word has been said to mean "downstream people."

*Connecticut*: Mohegan or Pequot for "long tidal river" or "wind-driven river."

*Dakota (North and South)*: A Dakota Sioux term for themselves (*dahkota*), meaning "friends" or "allies." It is interesting that the immigrants expropriated the Sioux's own name for themselves, with its friendly connotations, meanwhile assigning the Dakota a corruption of an old French word *Sioux*, meaning "snake" or "enemy."

*Idaho*: The Native language from which this state name is derived is unknown; it is said to have meant "gem of the mountains"; some say it means "The sun is coming up."

*Illinois*: The name of an Algonquian confederation, meaning "original people" or "superior men," after a term that the Illinois Indians used for themselves. The name originated with the Algonquian *iliniwak*, modified by French traders as Illinois.

*Iowa*: For the Ioway Indians, modified through French, from the Fox language, as *aayahoo-weewa* (possibly from the Sioux *ayuhba*). Both words mean "sleepy ones."

*Kansas*: Kansa for "people of the south wind."

*Kentucky*: From *kenta*, possibly an Iroquois word for "planted field." Some say the word is Cherokee for "meadowland."

*Massachusetts*: Meaning "people of the big hill," this name was used to describe an Algonquian people who lived near a steep hill near Boston.

*Michigan*: Meaning "great water" (*michigamea*) or "big lake," the name is probably derived from the Algonquian or Ottawa language.

*Minnesota*: From *minisota*, a Dakota word meaning "sky-tinted water."

*Mississippi*: A combination of two Algonquian or Ojibway words: *misi*, meaning "great" or "large" and *sipi*, meaning "water," usually taken to mean "big river."

*Missouri*: A French adaptation of an Illinois (*iliniwak*) word meaning "people with dugout canoes." This is also the name of a tribe that lived near

the river and also may be taken to mean "big muddy river," after the Missouri Indians' name for it, *Pokitanou*, which carries that meaning. To this day, inhabitants of cities along the river customarily call it The Big Muddy.

*Nebraska*: From the Omaha name *Nibdathka*, meaning "flat river" or "flat water," named for the shallow but wide Platte River. Some sources say the word is from the Oto language; it may be from both.

*New Mexico*: As a province of New Spain, New Mexico's name was derived from *Mexica*, the Aztecs' name for themselves.

*Ohio*: Derived from a Seneca word meaning "beautiful river."

*Oklahoma*: "Red men" in Choctaw, a translation of "Indian Territory" into the Choctaw language.

*Tennessee*: From *Tanasi*, a Cherokee name for the Little Tennessee River, as well as a principal Cherokee town by the same name. It is said to mean "area of traveling waters."

*Texas*: First a Spanish (*Tejas*), then an English derivation from *taysa*, a word used among members of the Caddo tribal confederacy meaning (like "Dakota") "friends or allies."

*Utah*: From the tribal name Ute, anglicized from *yuuttaa*, the Utes' name for their homeland, "the land of the sun."

*Wisconsin*: The name of a tribal confederacy living near the Wisconsin River, the English name is probably derived from the Ojibway *Wees-kon-san*, "gathering of the waters" and "grassy place."

*Wyoming*: This name, meaning "big meadows" or "big river flats," originated with the Delaware (Leni Lenápe) of present-day Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and was carried by non-Indian migrants to the state that now bears the name. "Wyoming" is anglicized rather liberally from the Leni Lenápe *maughwauwame*, a name given first to the Wyoming valley of Pennsylvania.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Albany Congress, Native Precedents; Cohen, Felix; Franklin, Benjamin, Native American Influences; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Lacrosse; State Names, United States, Native American Derivations; Thanksgiving Holiday, Origins.





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## Sun Dance

The Sun Dance is the central ceremony of the year for many of the Plains tribes. It is held among the Arapahos, Arikaras, Assiniboines, Blackfoot (Blackfeet), Comanches, Crows, Eastern Dakotas, Gros Ventres, Hidastas, Kiowas, Lakotas, Mandans, plains Crees, plains Ojibwas, Sarsis, Shoshones, Sisetons, Suhtais (northern Cheyenne), Tsis-tsis-tas (southern Cheyenne), and Utes. Recently, some Navajos have put on the Sun Dance as well. Moreover, because of the questionable practice of selling Sun Dances, splinter groups of intertribal Indians, unaffiliated mixed-bloods, and whites have been putting on Sun Dances in places such as Colorado and Texas. This practice is highly controversial.

From 1881 to 1934, Sun Dances were held secretly because they had been banned in both Canada and the United States. The Canadian Indian Act made it illegal in that country, and in the United States it was proscribed under the Court of Indian Offenses after 1883. Even prior to government prohibition, Sun Dances had been discouraged by other means. The agent among the Blood band of the Blackfoot withheld rations and rendered other food ceremonially useless as well as preventing a traditional leader from getting employment to discourage the ceremony. Sun Dances without piercing began to be held more openly after the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 with its Circular No. 2970 on American Indian religious freedom, and those including piercing became less secret in the late 1950s. The tribal council at Pine Ridge even advertised a Sun Dance to tourists for a Fourth of July Fair.

The Sun Dance has been practiced the longest by the Arapahos, Cheyennes, Crows, and Sioux, having come later to the others who practice it. For the Lakotas, the Sun Dance was brought by White Buffalo Calf Woman; for the Suhtai, by Erect Horns. For the Tsis-tsis-tas, Sweet Medicine brought the dance from the teachings given to him by the spirits inside Bear Butte. Sun Dances are traditionally held among these peoples in the summer, usually either around the end of June or beginning of July or around the end of July and beginning of August. This is the time of year when berries ripen or chokecherries darken to fullness, the time the buffalo was traditionally hunted and preserved.

The Sun Dance arbor is constructed each year anew around a central pole, the Tree of Life, often ritually hunted and brought in by one of the warrior societies. Shades made of tarps or other cloth cover the



*Cheyenne Sun Dance pledgers. (Library of Congress)*

beams that fan out around the center pole, creating the sacred circle in which the dancers will make their sacrifice. Around and on the central pole are highly sacred objects and sometimes prayer cloths. Buffalo, the lifeblood of the Plains, are essential to the ceremony for most participating tribes, at least in some way. The Blackfoot include the use of Sacred Tongues in the food blessed in the ceremony. Buffalo skulls are used both for prayer and for a piercing weight.

Some peoples who hold the Sun Dance do not pierce for various reasons. The Tsis-tsis-tas, who once engaged in this Sun Dance practice, no longer do so because, as Eugene Blackbear, Sr., oldest living Tsis-tsis-tas Sun Dance leader, says, "Once a way has been lost, we cannot bring it back without someone who is qualified to do it," to act as an instructor who has engaged in the practice as a dancer. For the Kiowa, piercing would violate a prohibition against shedding blood during the time of the ceremony. Among peoples who pierce, skewers are put under the flesh and either tied to the central pole, to scaffolds, or to the buffalo skulls some supplicants drag behind them. Dancers who pierce often have to ultimately remove





the piercing through a flesh offering, by dancing up to and away from the pole until the skin rips and the skewer flies free. During the ritual, dancers often do without food and water for up to four days. Led by their instructors, they dance intermittently for days on end, blowing sacred eagle bone whistles at times. They may not leave the arbor except when given permission by their instructors for a break to urinate or for ceremonial purposes. In some tribes, only men dance. In others, dancing is done by both male and female supplicants. Among the southern Cheyenne, women may fast but do not dance.

The dance's central purpose is for the renewal of life for the next year for the people, so that they might overcome the obstacles to their survival and have plentiful food for the next year; it is a thanksgiving, a giving back to the Creator for the blessings of the past year. The ceremony commemorates the creation of the world and acts to recreate it and the relationships within it annually. However, preparation for an individual Sun Dance supplicant begins with a vow to undertake the ceremony. Often, a vow is taken so that a relative might be healed from an ailment or safely returned from war or other separations. This vow might vary from one year to four years of Sun Dancing. The dancer, or faster, in the case of a female, must find an instructor qualified to lead him or her in the ceremony. The instructor gives up some of the medicine given to him or her in their years as a dancer or faster.

According to Blackbear, Cheyenne instructors keep back "one paint" or transfer for themselves. Because of the notion of reciprocity in ceremony and in life that is an ideal in many tribes, those taking vows offer gifts to the instructors, both upon taking the vow and in the ritual itself. Often, the entire extended family of the dancer spends nearly a year gathering and making the gifts; these include blankets, shawls, guns, horses, moccasins, and enamelware dishes and pots, among other items. A dancer often has to find someone to cook during the ceremony for him as well, often several female relatives. Elaborate meals are given to the instructor and his or her family several times a day during the ceremony itself, and a larger feast is held after the dance ends, including both the dancer's and the instructor's families. In other tribes, cooking for those encamped and the instructors is done on the community level, with women from various families chosen or volunteering to prepare food for all who attend.

Dancers often abstain from sexual activity for a period of time before the ritual; in some tribes,

celibacy is practiced for a month to four months. In traditional Tsis-tsis-tas ways, the period at one time was four years. Moreover, some peoples acquire a pipe for praying and observe taboos that they must follow for the rest of their lives that accompany the medicine they are given through the dance. Often, dancers and instructors pray prior to the dance in a sweat lodge for the purpose of purification. Another sweat follows in some tribes at the dance's conclusion. In some nations and tribes, the Sun Dance is preceded by other bundle ceremonies, such as Arrow Worship among the Tsis-tsis-tas, a men's ritual that women know nothing about. In others, such as the Lakota, individual supplicants go out on the hill seeking a vision prior to dancing.

For many who take part in the ceremony, the Sun Dance is a homecoming, just as it was a gathering of the bands in the prereservation era. The camp life of the ceremony provided time for traditional games, council meetings, and the passing of information to those one seldom saw. Young people traditionally and today see the Sun Dance as an opportunity for courtship. Tents and recreational vehicles today help form the outer circle along with the teepees and bough-covered cooking shades that once formed it alone. Those about the camp who support dancers, visit old friends and relatives, and engage in various preparatory activities often must observe taboos as well, such as not wasting water or tossing it out carelessly. Drug and alcohol use is strictly prohibited and constitutes a major violation of the ceremonial space and the camp.

Menstruating women might be sent to a "moon lodge" in some ceremonies, while in others they should avoid the campground entirely as their power can interfere with that of the instructors. In some tribes, the Sun Dance is a time to bring those born during the year into tribal life formally, some piercing children's ears and others conducting formal naming ceremonies. Despite the changes brought by time and colonization, the Sun Dance religion remains vitally important to all aspects of life for the tribes that practice it. It perpetuates life and ideals such as generosity, bravery, and honesty, weaving the tribe together as a people and sustaining them.

*Kimberly Roppolo*

*See also* American Indian Religious Freedom Act; Identity.

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## Sweat Lodges

Used both by itself as a ceremony and as a purification ritual in preparation for and/or following other ceremonies, the sweat lodge is known throughout Native America and has or had variants from tribes

as geographically diverse as the Aztecs and Mayans to the Inuit. Today, it is most common among the Plains peoples, but it is practiced both in urban and reservation Native communities, often using the Lakota model of Inipi, one of the seven Lakota sacred rites. Sweats are also used by traditional healers in “doctoring” (Blackbear, 2004).

Sweat lodges are most often constructed using a rounded framework of bent willow saplings tied together and covered prior to using the sweat with blankets, tarps, or carpets, replacing the animal hides used historically, leaving a small area covered with a flap for a doorway. Most lodges, or sweats, as they are commonly called, are between six and twelve feet in diameter, though a six-foot sweat would be unusually small and some are even larger than twelve feet. A pit is dug in the center of the sweat, lined in some traditions with stones and in



Three Native American men pose outside a Crow village sweat lodge in Montana. (Bettmann/Corbis)





others left as bare earth. Lakota tradition incorporates the use of prayer or tobacco ties, small bundles left tied to the underside of the central portion. Some lodges have east and west doorways, while others have only east doorways.

In some traditions, only men sweat. In others, men and women sweat separately. In some contemporary circumstances, men and women sweat in the same lodge, often with men to one side and women to another, with the sweat lodge leader seated either in the honor seat, or hot seat directly across the way from the door or in the seat next to the door. Attire varies, with some tribes such as the Crow sweating only in segregated groups because of the lack of it, and others allowing shorts for men and T-shirts and shorts for women. In some tribes, such as the Blackfoot and Lakota, women wear long cloth dresses for sweats, whether they are integrated with the men or not.

Prior to the sweat, rocks, varying in number greatly from tribe to tribe and from one sweat lodge leader to another, are heated in a large pit outside the lodge near the door. After the lodge has been covered to ensure no light can enter once the door has been closed, participants line up, sometimes cedarizing, also known as brushing off or smudging, with sage, sweetgrass, cedar, or a combination thereof prior to crawling into the lodge. Other sweat lodge leaders will have participants cedar once the rocks are brought in during all or the first of the four rounds of which a ceremony typically consists. Once the door is closed, water is poured on the hot rocks, creating steam and temperatures that can reach 200 degrees Fahrenheit. Prayers and songs are offered, and they help many to reach the state of mind necessary for withstanding these temperatures. The process is repeated for each round, between which the door is usually opened to allow the participants to recover briefly. Sweats are often followed by a meal and socializing. Before socializing and/or meals, some nations' sweats are followed by a dip in a cold stream or lake.

Though much scholarship has been done on sweats, particularly in regard to the details of the Lakota tradition, only those qualified to run a sweat through their ceremonial experiences should lead a ceremony. Eugene Blackbear, Sr., a highly regarded and experienced southern Cheyenne ceremonial leader, points out that several deaths have been inadvertently caused by unqualified and untrained Native and non-Native people running sweats in Texas and California. Run correctly by qualified

sweat lodge priests, however, sweats have been one of the ceremonies most accessible to Natives isolated from their communities through urbanization, and they have proven helpful to those incarcerated and those in alcohol and drug rehabilitation. Though the sweat and other ceremonies were prohibited by the U.S. government for a time, the ceremony has persisted and offers what Mr. Blackbear considers to be one of the most accessible ways for young people to return to their traditions and seek help.

Kimberly Roppolo

*See also* American Indian Religious Freedom Act; Identity.

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## Thanksgiving Holiday, Origins

Ceremonies of thanksgiving for the bounty of nature are a common element in many Native American cultures. Feasts of gratitude and giving thanks have been a part of these cultures for several thousand years. In Lakota culture, a feast of thanksgiving is called a *Wopila*; in Navajo, it's *Hozhoni*; in Cherokee, it's *Selu i-tse-i*; and in Ho Chunk (Winnebago), it's *Wicawas warocu sto waroc*. Thanksgiving in many cases is a yearlong event, celebrated, for example, after the safe birth of a baby, a safe journey, or the construction of a new home.

Native peoples introduced their thanksgiving celebrations to English colonists near Plymouth Rock in 1621. A fall thanksgiving holiday, usually accompanied by feasting on traditional Native American foods (turkey, corn, yams, squashes, cranberry sauce, etc.) has been widely practiced since about 1800 by most non-Native people in the United States and Canada. President Abraham Lincoln's 1863 Thanksgiving Proclamation led directly to Thanksgiving being declared a national holiday in the United States. Canada declared an official Thanksgiving holiday in 1879, which is celebrated six weeks before its counterpart in the United States.





*In this painting of the first Thanksgiving feast, members of the Wampanoag tribe are treated as honored guests by the Pilgrims of Plymouth Colony as they celebrate their survival in 1621. Though the image depicts a commonly held perception, the reality of the relationship between the Pilgrims and the Wampanoag was more complex and less congenial. (Library of Congress)*

Thanksgiving is part of an annual cycle. Many Native American peoples celebrate a number of seasonal thanksgivings each year, of which general American culture has adopted only one. At each season, thanks are given for nature's provision of an economic base, whether it is corn, buffalo, or salmon. According to José Barreiro, editor of *Native Americas*, "The Thanksgiving tradition requires that human beings place themselves in a humble position relative to the natural, plant, and animal elements and to consider, in one mind, the contributions of these other species to our well-being and survival . . . Among the Iroquois and other traditionalists, the 'wish to be appreciated' is the fundamental shared perception—the first principle—of existence (Barreiro, 1992, 28).

Mohawk Nation Council Subchief Tom Porter offered a traditional thanksgiving prayer, "Words before all else," that is used for all of the Iroquois' nine thanksgiving celebrations:

[Before] our great-great grandfathers were first born and given the breath of life, our Creator at that time said the Earth will be your mother. And the Creator said to the deer, and the animals and the birds, the Earth will be your mother, too. And I have instructed the earth to give food and nourishment and medicine and quenching of thirst to all life. . . . We, the people, humbly thank you today, mother earth.

Our Creator spoke to the rivers and our creator made the rivers not just as water, but he made the rivers a living entity . . . You must have a reverence and great respect for your mother the earth. . . . You must each day say "thank you" [for] every gift that contributes to your life. If you follow this pattern, it will be like a circle with no end. Your life will be as everlasting as your children will carry on your flesh, your blood, and your heartbeat (Grinde and Johansen, 1995, 34–35).





A tribute to the Creator and a reverence for the natural world are reflected in many Native greetings throughout the North American continent. More than 2,500 miles from the homeland of the Mohawks, the Lummis of the Pacific Northwest Coast begin public meetings this way: “To the Creator, Great Spirit, Holy Father: may the words that we share here today give the people and [generations] to come the understanding of the sacredness of all life and creation” (Grinde and Johansen, 1995, 34–35).

The domesticated fowl that would come to be called turkey in English was first eaten by Native Americans in the Valley of Mexico; the Aztecs introduced it to invading Spaniards. By the time the Pilgrims reached Plymouth Rock in 1620, turkey had been bred in Spain and exported to England for almost a century. The passengers of the Mayflower had some turkeys on board their ship, so when they prepared for the first Thanksgiving, the English immigrants were familiar with the wild turkeys that were hunted by Native peoples in eastern North America. Wild American turkeys seemed larger and better tasting to many colonists than their European-bred brethren. They were also easy to hunt. Thomas Morton said that a hunter in early seventeenth-century New England could shoot one turkey while others nearby looked on, “The one being killed, the other sit fast everthelesse . . .”

(Cronon, 1983, 23). By the late twentieth century, wild turkeys were scarce in much of New England.

Native Americans gathered the seeds of corn when it was a wild grass, and selected yields for the most productive, hardiest varieties. By the time European immigrants made landfall in North America, corn was more productive per acre than any cereal crop in the Old World. Corn, along with squashes, beans, fish, venison (deer meat), and various “fowls” (probably turkeys, ducks, and geese) were consumed during the first Anglo-American Thanksgiving. The abundance was welcomed by the Pilgrims, who had arrived in the New World with English seeds, most of which did not sprout in American soil. They nearly starved during their first winter. William Bradford, governor of the small colony, wrote in his diary that Squanto, who was able to teach the immigrants in their own language how to survive, was “a special instrument sent of God for [our] good” (Case, 2002).

Bruce E. Johansen

See *also* American Indian Contributions to the World; Environment and Pollution.

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Examples of Foods Native to the Americas

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| Asparagus   | Mint and mint flavorings                                       |
| Avocados  | Peanuts and peanut products                                    |
| Blueberries   | Green and red peppers  |
| Cassava (tapioca)   | Pecans   |
| Chewing gum (Chicle)                                      | Popcorn  |
| Chocolate (Cacao)   | Potatoes and potato products                                   |
| Corn  | Sassafras tea  |
| Corn products, such as hominy, corn starch, and corn meal | Squashes, including pumpkins, watermelon, yams, and cantaloupe |
| Cranberries   | Sunflower seeds  |
| Cucumbers   | Turkey   |
| Currants  | Vanilla  |
| Green and yellow beans                                    | Venison  |
| Leeks   | Wild rice  |
| Maple sugar and syrup                                     |  |





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## Totem Poles

The totem pole has always been associated with Native Americans, even though other indigenous peoples make totem poles as well, such as the Maori of New Zealand, the Ainu of Japan, and many African tribes, particularly in Madagascar. Although the reasons and educational context of different cultures contrast greatly in their development, the totem poles of the Native American people of the Northwest Pacific Coast, where many historians believe the first totem pole originated (before those in Alaska, British Columbia, Canada, and the United States), have very specific traditions related to the creation and use of totem poles, including the deeply institutional meanings behind each symbol presented. Commonly, totem poles are like a coat of arms or a great seal, a way that the pole's owner says, "This is who I am."

The use of totem poles in the Northwest predate European-Americans' arrival in the early eighteenth century. The antiquity of totem pole construction is not known because they were made of wood and decayed easily in the rain forest environment of the Northwest Coast. Thus, examples of totem poles carved before 1800 do not exist today.

To be authentic, a totem pole needs to be sanctioned, that is, it must pass certain tests. First, it must be made by a trained Northwest Pacific Native person or, in rare cases, by a non-Native apprentice who has been approved by a Northwest Pacific Coast band from Coastal British Columbia or Alaska. Second, it must be raised and blessed by Northwest Natives or elders who are part of the totem pole tradition.



House and totem pole of Tlingit Chief Sou-i-hat in Alaska. (Library of Congress)

Only after a meeting of elders, sponsors, and a master carver, is a totem pole carved, usually from a clear, red, mature cedar tree with few knots and imperfections. The master carver sculpts a small model of the design, after which the tree is debarked and tested for blemishes, and the wood is smoothed. The master carver begins at the bottom and works toward the top. Traditionally, as carvers work, they sing a variety of ceremonial songs, as the figures begin to emerge. The bottom is carefully detailed because the most important figures are at the bottom and observers see these figures close up. The story or theme of the totem pole is at the top.

Most totem poles range in size between three and seven feet in height, although, some much larger poles have been found. As the master carver cuts out the rough forms, he discusses the overall concept of the pole with each apprentice carver. Small poles usually take two to three months to complete, and large poles require eight to nine months.

The decision to paint the pole comes last. The carver chooses whether to paint it. Usually, the pole





is painted with a series of family or clan crests or with figures representing mythic beings and then erected, usually outside a dwelling. The colors are usually bright and customarily made from animal oils, blood, salmon eggs, charcoal, graphite, and other natural and mineral dyes. The brushes were traditionally made from animal fur, and, according to history, the colors also help to tell a story associated with the various faces carved in the wood.

Many symbols and legends have been incorporated into the making of totem poles. Animals have been carved into totem poles because of Native peoples' belief that animals have spirits, as well as special talents. In many instances, Native Americans grew up hearing stories and fables about animals. The Raven, for example, is identified by its straight beak and is generally alleged to be a power trickster, curious and defiant, but likable. The Eagle has a downward, curved beak and is part of the Sky Realm. The Bear is often portrayed with large paws and sometimes a protruding tongue and as an animal that can transform into human forms. The Copper Woman, a god from Native American mythology, grants wealth to her favorites and is the friend of the Frog.

A totem pole can be very difficult to decode by outsiders, because each symbol has many stories and legends associated with it. The true and deep meaning of a pole may be known only to the family, the carver, and others familiar with its history. In addition, the totem pole has been surrounded by popular myths, such as that they were the objects of worship, they were used to ward off evil spirits and thus heeded the remains of dead ancestors, and they were always "serious" in nature. The poles were also sometimes used for public ridicule and called shame poles, erected to shame individuals or groups for unpaid debts. Shame poles today are rarely discussed, and their meanings have in many places been forgotten.

Totem poles of all types share a common graphic style with carved and painted containers, house fronts, canoes, masks, ceremonial dress, weapons, and armor. Most figures are two- or three-dimensional. This artistic system was developed by Northwest Coast Native peoples over many thousand of years, as evidenced by stone and bone artifacts uncovered in archaeological studies, which display clear examples of the same design.

The craft of making totem poles is slowly disappearing, and old totem poles are becoming scarce. Almost no nineteenth-century or early twentieth-

century totem poles remain in their Native settings or in Native American ownership. Most have disappeared, and only a few have been preserved in museums or for international exhibits.

Totem poles have been called the most "iconic" of Native American arts and crafts, and the symbols presented on a given pole say a great deal about the family who owned it, a person, or the reason for creating it. These columns were once used as a form of communication and to relate narratives about Native American history, but they came to symbolize the belief of various Native American groups that forces of nature were their spiritual brethren. Fundamentally, totem poles were raised to represent the Native kinship systems, rights, prestige, accomplishments, sense of dignity, adventures, major events, and clan histories. A totem pole could be raised to honor a deceased elder, to show the name of an important person, to record an encounter with a spiritual being, or to symbolize generosity. Scholars have acknowledged that the meanings of the designs on totem poles are as varied as the cultures that produce them.

The popularity of carving poles increased with the growth of trade with non-Natives. As such, carvers began using the stronger, easier-to-use iron tools brought from overseas to increase their productivity. The art of totem pole carving almost died out between the 1880s and the 1950s because the potlatch was forbidden.

At one time, potlatch ceremonies celebrated important events, with guests coming from afar to feast and to be a part of communal rituals. The ceremonies included the celebration of a marriage or an accession at which the host distributed gifts according to each guest's rank or status. Over time the potlatch evolved to the representation of a family and clan in its place in the First Nation hierarchy. When the potlatch was again allowed, tribes resumed carving totem poles. Freshly carved totem poles are being erected up and down the Northwest Coast to create a renewed interest in their artistic production.

In later periods, totem poles were also raised to keep a record of the privileges of a person acquired within the society over a lifetime or to record an encounter with a supernatural being. Some poles embodied one-of-a-kind stories or unusual symbols. These stories or symbols are known in entirety only to the pole's owner and to the carver of the totem pole. The unusual meanings became known only if the pole's owner or carvers gave an account to a rela-





tive, granted interviews to academics, or left a written record. Otherwise, the hidden or special meanings were lost.

Today, totem poles are carved for both Natives and non-Natives. They have come to represent Northwest Pacific Natives and their traditions and pride, but also they are being made for “big money.” Authentic, full-sized totem poles cost \$25,000 to \$100,000 each. Outsiders usually commission them to commemorate a great event or a coming of age, to symbolize a pact between nations, or to illustrate some sort of bond between Native people and a corporation or government entity that has commissioned the pole. The selling of totem poles is not new, nor is it a part of the old totem tradition. The practice has become a part of the modern tradition and is usually considered legitimate.

In recent years, Northwest Coast carvers have been commissioned to carve full-sized poles for many museums, corporations, and private collectors worldwide. Today, Native Americans throughout the Northwest Coast are carrying on their traditions by raising new poles to honor their deceased relatives, to celebrate their family histories, and to make totem poles for anyone who can afford them.

*Fred Lindsey*

*See also* Potlatch.

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## Wakashan Languages

The Wakashan language family consists of seven languages that are spoken on the Northwest Pacific Coast. Specifically, the Wakashan languages are spoken in Canada on Vancouver Island and on the coastal mainland of the British Columbia coast, east and north of Vancouver Island. One language in the family, Makah, is spoken in the United States, on the Olympic Peninsula. Most of the languages in the Wakashan family are endangered.

The Wakashan language family is divided into northern and southern groups, which are quite different from each other. Languages within the two branches, however, are very closely related. The

Northern Wakashan branch includes Haisla-Henaksiala, Heiltsuk (or Bella Bella), Oowekyala (or Oowekeeno), and Kwakw’ala (formerly called Kwakiutl). Southern Wakashan includes the languages Nuuchalnulth (formerly known as Nootka), Ditidaht (or Nitinaht), and the Makah language (or Qwiqwidicciat). The Southern Wakashan group is sometimes referred to as the Nootkan branch, and the Northern Wakashan is sometimes referred to as the Kwakiutlan branch.

“Kwakuitl” is the name of a particular village in Fort Rupert, British Columbia, whose name has long been used as a reference for all the distinct groups of Kwakw’ala-speaking people. Collectively, those who come from Kwakw’ala-speaking people refer to themselves as Kwakwaka’wakw. Anthropologist and linguist Franz Boas wrote extensively on the Kwakwaka’wakw people, their language and their potlatch ceremonies.

The most northern of the Northern Wakashan languages is Haisla, which is traditionally spoken at the head of Douglas Inlet, near Kitimat. The Heiltsuk language, spoken around Bella Bella, is closely related to the Oowekyala language, which is traditionally spoken around Rivers Inlet. The Kwakwaka’wakw traditional territories include the northern half of Vancouver Island and extend east and north on the mainland of British Columbia. There are two main dialects recognized within the Kwakwaka’wakw group, one along the outer coast of the traditional territories, from Cape Cook to Smith Sound, and the other inner dialect within the Queen Charlotte and Johnson Straits.

The most prominent language in the southern branch is the Nuuchalnulth, which encompasses many different groups and dialects, extending along the northwestern coast of Vancouver Island from Quatsino Sound to Barkely Sound. Dialect groups include the Kyuquot, Ehattisaht, Nuchatlaht, Mowachaht, Hesquiat, Ahousaht, and Tla.o.qui.aht. Nuuchalnulth is the best documented of the southern group as well. The languages of Ditidaht and Makah are distinct, but closely related to Nuuchalnulth. In the past, reference was made to the West Coast Language, which included Nuuchalnulth, Ditidaht, and Makah, but the three languages are not mutually intelligible. Ditidaht territory is near the southern tip of Vancouver Island and surrounds Nitinaht Lake. The Makah language is traditionally spoken across the Strait of Juan de Fuca in Washington State, at the northwest tip of the Olympic Peninsula.





Some of this language family's distinctive features include extensive suffixing, infixing, and reduplication. Wakashan languages also are known for their large number of consonants, many of which do not exist in English. The languages are considered polysynthetic, and there is debate over whether a difference exists between noun and verb roots in the language, apart from their use and inflection. Some of the languages in this family also are notable for specific ceremonial styles and baby language.

Makah and Ditidaht are distinct within the family due to a specific sound change. Like neighboring but unrelated languages, and unlike the rest of the Wakashan languages, they have no nasal consonants. This characteristic is extremely rare cross-linguistically. This current lack of nasal consonants explains why Ditidaht is called Nitinaht by other groups on Vancouver Island.

It is thought that Vancouver Island is the homeland of the Wakashan-speaking peoples and that their presence precedes that of Salish-speaking peoples on the island.

Aliko Marinakis

*See also* Language and Language Renewal; Potlatch.

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## Wampum

Contrary to general interpretations, wampum was not money, but rather a means of remembering solemn agreements and treaties. The first wampum—cylindrical shell beads—was made over

a thousand years ago. Iroquois elders in upstate New York still recite stories and sing songs of the Great Peacemaker who first created wampum to heal a grieving man. Today, the Condolence Ceremony survives as an essential part of Iroquois cultural tradition and religion. The old wampum belts have been judged objects of cultural patrimony, national treasures so important they cannot be separated from their society. Several wampum belts have been returned in compliance with the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAG-PRA, 1999).

The origins of wampum are woven into the life story of the Great Peacemaker, who inspired the unification of the Iroquois Confederacy long before the coming of Europeans. Although the young Peacemaker exhibited remarkable talents, he was born with one handicap: He struggled with a speech impediment. When he departed on his mission in life, he encountered a man who was sobbing beside a lake. He stopped and inquired into the source of the man's grief. He said that his name was Hiawenthe (not the Hiawatha of Longfellow's famous poem). He was mourning the death of his wife and seven daughters. An evil wizard, he said, had tried "to have his way" with Hiawenthe's wife and daughters. As each of them refused, the wizard murdered them one by one (Shenandoah, 1979).

To heal Hiawenthe's broken heart, the Great Peacemaker created a Condolence Ceremony. He gathered clam shells along the water's edge and formed seven strings of cylindrical tubes called wampum beads. He designed patterns by stringing different sequences of white and purple beads from the purplish-blue base of quahoag clam shells. The Great Peacemaker raised the first string and said, "Now, Hiawenthe, with this string I take the softest skin of the fawn and wipe the tears from your eyes. With this next string, I take the lightest feather that falls from the heavens and open your ears, so that you may hear clearly once again" (Swamp, 1981).

After four more verses, the Peacemaker said on the seventh string, "Now I take those medicine waters, those soothing cool medicine waters, and I open your throat, so that you might speak clearly once again" (Swamp, 1981). Hiawenthe was healed, and he became the spokesperson of the Great Peacemaker. They inspired the formation of the Iroquois Confederacy by uniting the original five nations: the Onondagas, Mohawks, Senecas, Oneidas, and Cayugas (later joined by a sixth nation, the Tuscaroras).

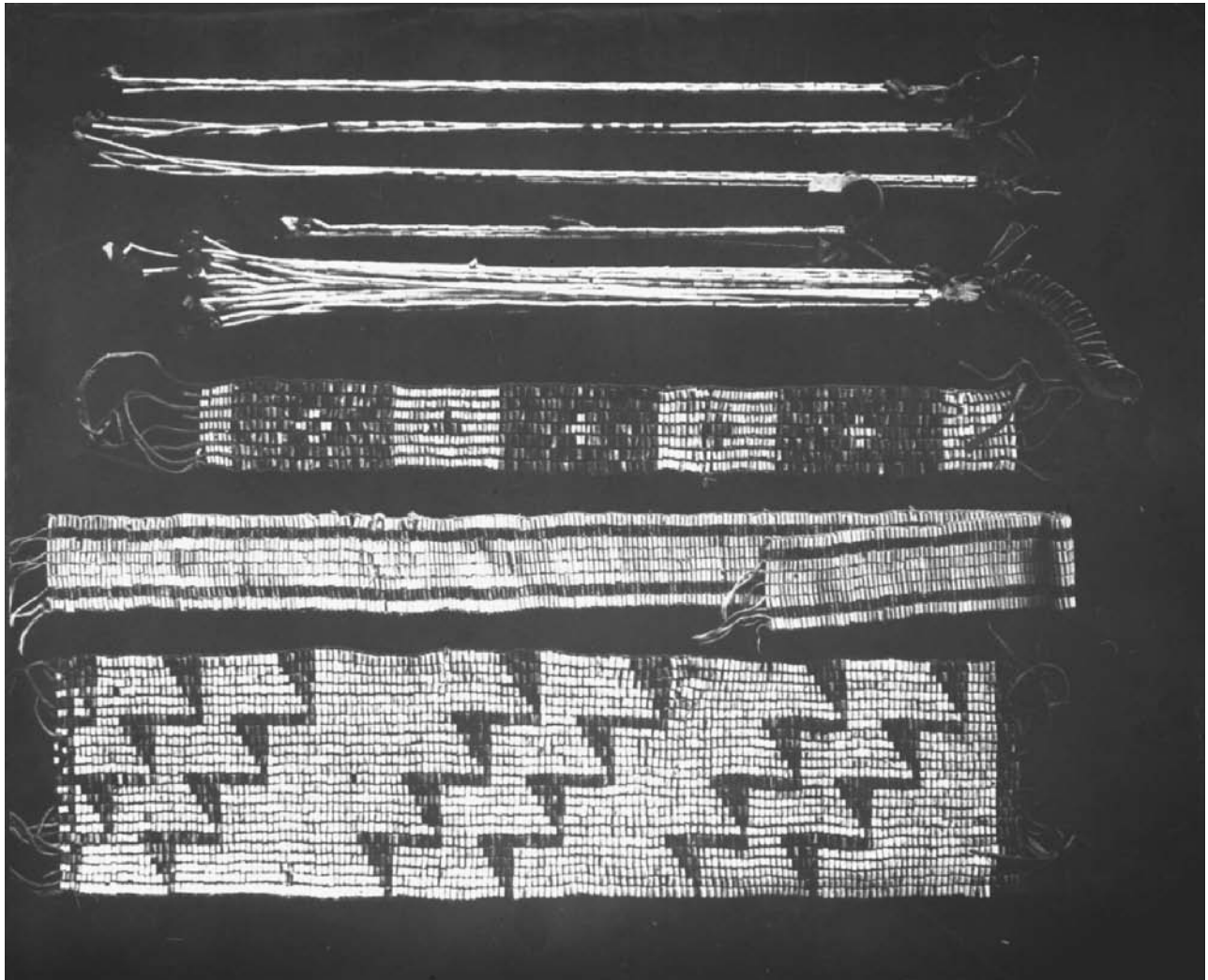




So that they might never forget the Great Law of Peace, the Iroquois wove a special wampum sash called the Hiawatha Belt. Woven into the center of the design is the Tree of Peace, a great white pine planted atop the weapons of war. This act has been recognized in the United Nations as the “oldest effort for disarmament in world history.” The Great Tree also symbolizes the center of their council fire, the Onondaga nation. Four squares flank the Tree of Peace symbol, and the tree and the squares together represent the original five nations. The Great Peacemaker explained, “Each nation is like an arrow. Alone it is easily broken. But if five arrows, like the confederation of five nations, are bound together, they cannot be broken. There is strength in unity.” The Hiawatha Belt exists today (Swamp, 1981).

With the coming of Europeans, early colonial records are filled with entries related to wampum diplomacy. Strings and belts of wampum were exchanged at meetings between the Europeans and the Iroquois, as well as among other Iroquoian- and Algonquian-speaking nations along the Atlantic seaboard and inland to the Ohio River Valley. Indian orators were observed breathing their solemn commitments into strings and belts of wampum “so our promises might never be forgotten.”

One of the first agreements between the Iroquois and the Euro-American settlers was called the Kahswenhtha, or Two Row Wampum. The design features two parallel horizontal bands with purple backgrounds stretching the length of the belt. An Iroquois chief explained the symbolism: “The white



*Wampum (shell beads) were used as currency, jewelry, and as bonds between nations by Native Americans. (National Archives and Records Administration)*





bands represent our agreement never to try to convert one another, but rather to accept a promise that our two cultures will go together into the future side-by-side as equals" (Shenandoah, Swamp, Thomas, and Lyons 1977–1981).

A contemporary Mohawk chief further explained, "Imagine that the two white bands are like two canoes flowing down the river of life. In the Indian canoe we have placed our languages, cultures, and ways of life. The European canoe holds their languages, cultures, and ways of life. No man can go down the river of life with one foot in two canoes. The result would be disaster." This is why the Iroquois resisted assimilation policies. When government officials attempted to force Iroquois children to attend boarding schools, to stop speaking their languages, and to stop practicing their religious ceremonies, Iroquois chiefs were quick to point out that such policies were a violation of the Two Row Wampum Belt (Swamp, 1981).

A wampum belt dated 1610 has been preserved at the Vatican archives in Italy. It represents a "Concordat between the Holy See and the Mi'kmaq Nation" of Nova Scotia, Canada. By this wampum belt, diplomatic relations were established and maintained. In 2010, the Mi'kmaq nation and the Vatican will celebrate the 400th anniversary of their agreement, which remains in effect to this day.

A 1710 wampum belt was depicted in a painting of Tyanoga, whom the English called King Hendrick, a Wolf Clan leader of the Mohawk nation. The belt displays thirteen crosses that may relate to the Iroquois alliance with the English in the French and Indian War. Hendrick was one of four chiefs who traveled to London on a diplomatic mission. Queen Anne arranged to have their portraits painted, and Hendrick is portrayed holding the thirteen-cross wampum belt.

Just seventy-six days before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, John Hancock and the Continental Congress instructed Indian agent George Morgan to take a great wampum Peace Belt to the "warriors and sachems of the Western Indian nations." With the birth of the United States in 1776, this wampum belt, featuring a thirteen-diamond design symbolizing the thirteen original states, represented the original promises made by U.S. officials to Indian nations. The first promise was that the United States would never force Indian people to get involved in the "white man's wars." The second was that Indian tribes would be recognized as nations and their national lands

would be respected. Many other promises were made "for as long as the sun shines and the waters flow." Congress ratified over three hundred and fifty Indian treaties, many of them sanctified with wampum belts. While many of the wampum belts survived, most of the treaties were broken in violation of Article 4 in the U.S. Constitution that states, "Treaties are to be judged the supreme law of the land" (Schaaf, 1990, 161).

In 1787, Thomas Jefferson penned the Northwest Ordinance and stated in part: "The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their land and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property rights and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed . . ." (Jefferson, 1787).

Seven years later in 1794, the famous Covenant Chain Wampum Belt was made to remember the Canandaigua (or Pickering) Treaty between the United States and the Iroquois Confederacy. The design on this wampum belt portrays thirteen men representing the thirteen United States. In the center stands the Grand Council, a phrase borrowed from the Iroquois to describe the U.S. Congress (Jemison, Schein, and Powless, 2000).

During the bicentennial of the Constitution in 1987, the U.S. Senate unanimously passed Senate Concurrent Resolution 76 that essentially renewed the Covenant Chain wampum belt. The Senators acknowledged in part:

Whereas, the Confederation of the original thirteen colonies into one Republic was explicitly modeled upon the Iroquois Confederacy as were many of the democratic principles which were incorporated into the Constitution itself; and,

Whereas, since the formation of the United States, the Congress has recognized the sovereign status of Indian Tribes . . .

The Congress also hereby reaffirms the constitutionally recognized government-to-government relationship with Indian Tribes which has historically been the cornerstone of this nation's official Indian policy . . .

(*Congressional Record-Senate*, 1987).

Gregory Schaaf

*See also* Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Hendrick; Hiawatha; Northwest Ordinance; Treaty Diplomacy, with Summary of Selected Treaties.





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## Warfare, Intertribal

Intertribal warfare consists of the conflicts between various Native American groups, as opposed to warfare between Native Americans and Europeans. With the notable exception of rich oral historical accounts, a good deal of the information on this topic remains conjectural, due primarily to the dearth of evidence left by indigenous sources in

many instances and by the fact that the arrival of non-Natives in any region altered the manner and the purpose of intertribal conflicts. Native groups fought for many reasons. Moreover, while there was not one overarching form of warfare among all American aboriginal cultures, there were certain commonalities. These encompassed, but were not limited to, the tactics employed and the desired ends of most conflicts. A full treatment is beyond the scope of the present article, so all that will be presented here is a general overview.

Among the reasons various Native American tribes fought against one another were security, revenge, honor, pride, and the capture of booty. Making war for security’s sake could be either defensive or preemptive. Revenge entailed the counterattack of the aggrieved tribe and could spawn a whole cycle of violence as in the case of the Mourning War among the Iroquois. In this type of warfare, attacks and reprisals were made to fill the gap made by losses in the community. Likewise, captives taken in raids could be adopted into the tribe as a means to fill the gap as well. Numerous Native American groups made war on one another as a means for their younger warriors to gain honor and to prove their abilities as leaders. The acquisition of honor worked to complement the gain of pride. Warriors might take the scalps of those they had killed in battle, both for spiritual purposes and as a token of their martial abilities. Likewise, booty, captured on a raid, both provided material support for the tribe and demonstrated the prowess of the warrior who had taken it. Wars could also be fought over territory and resources, as was the case in the Beaver Wars. Tokens of martial ability stand as one of the commonalities of intertribal warfare.

Tactics were an area in which there was a great deal of commonality among Native American societies. The basic tactical unit in intertribal warfare was the raiding party or war party, although there is evidence of massed armies as well. The main differentiating factor is size. Raiding parties were small groups that went out to settle petty issues between individuals of different tribes. War parties comprised at least the entire force of a single tribe and often its allies.

A raiding party often, but not always, consisted of the members of a tribe who voluntarily chose to follow a warrior when he sent out the call to go to war. The call to arms could be issued in many ways, including striking the war post with a war club or tomahawk. The warrior initiating the call could do





*Painting of battle between Sioux and Blackfeet. (Library of Congress)*

so simply by placing his weapons at a prominent space in the village, facing in the direction of the chosen enemy. If the call was sent out to a number of tribes, such as in the Iroquois Confederacy and its affiliated tribes, war belts were used to transmit the appropriate message.

Actual membership in a raiding party could range anywhere from ten to 100 warriors. The leader was sometimes referred to as a war chief, though not all raiding parties required the leadership of such a prominent figure. Once the party assembled, it moved with as much stealth as possible, traveling only at night, resting during the daylight hours, with guards posted, and avoiding the use of fire in camp. The members marched single file to avoid disclosing numbers. Likewise, the last men in line would try to cover the tracks of the group.

Once in the neighborhood of their designated target, the members of the attacking force usually attempted to bring on hostilities at dawn. The party chose this time in the hope that the target could be taken unawares and would therefore be more vulnerable. Weather conditions, such as fog, that could conceal and disorient were advantageous to attackers for many of the same reasons. Some historians have suggested that catching opponents off guard and cutting

them off from the support of the rest of their community were important as well. In achieving surprise in this manner, the attackers demonstrated their ability as cunning warriors, which added a definite morale component to their physical aggression. Surprise held a concrete value because many Native American groups utilized some form of fortification, and thus it was important to catch opponents before they could reach the safety of their defensive works. Ambush and guerilla warfare comprised other common tactics of raiding parties. Direct, head-on combat was something various groups sought to avoid, because it lacked the psychological advantage of stealth and therefore was seen as actually denigrating the capabilities of the aggressors.

For the Iroquois and other groups, the goal was to kill the other warriors and take their scalps. Women and children were taken captive and sometimes adopted in accordance with their culture's practice of mourning war. Still, warfare between different Native American groups could be quite lethal. In some cases, the goal stood as the complete destruction of an opponent, to such a degree that it could be considered akin to an act of genocide. Such was the case between the Creeks and the Tuscaroras, as well as between the Sioux and the Illini.





By the same token, if the element of surprise were lost, or if an attack met with stiffer resistance than expected, retreat, either in stages or by headlong flight, stood as an acceptable practice. In a staged retreat, some members would break off their attack, fall back, and take up a new position in the rear. They would then put down a covering fire as their brethren to the front followed suit.

The preferred weapons utilized in intertribal warfare included the war club, the bow and arrow, and the spear. Projectile weapons were favored in the initial attack. Once foes joined combat at close range, warriors often preferred clubs and axes. While guns were not part of intertribal warfare originally, as they became available to the different tribes through the growing trade in firearms, they were utilized as well.

Intertribal warfare both embraced a complex web of motivations and possessed certain commonalities. The motivations varied from the acquisition of honor and resources to the fulfillment of a blood debt incurred by one group on another. Tactically, the aggressor placed a great deal of stock in achieving some form of surprise. These tactics were later adapted, to varying degrees, by the various Europeans who made contact with the Native Americans of North America. A hybrid form of warfare thus evolved. This evolution is exemplified by the incorporation of firearms into intertribal warfare as well as the Europeans' adopting the practice of scalping and guerilla warfare. Intertribal warfare could inflict proportionally very high casualties, even to the point of destroying an opponent's ability to live as an independent people.

James R. McIntyre

*See also* Beaver Wars; Fur Trade; Scalping in the Colonial Period; Wampum.

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## **Weaving**

The textile arts of Native American weaving include blankets, rugs, clothing, bags, and other similar art forms. Weaving involves the manipulation of strands of fibers to create a smooth surface. The purposes of weaving include warmth, dress, and other utilitarian functions. The finest weavings are appreciated and collected as fine art. The world auction record for a single textile weaving is \$535,000, the price paid at Sotheby's for a midnineteenth-century Navajo First Phase Chief's Blanket.

According to the Navajo, the world was woven into existence by a female deity named Spider Woman. Many traditional weavers pray to this female spirit. Because the weavers put their whole soul or spirit into the textile, some weave a little line to the edge of the textile called a Spirit Release Line. A vast literature exists on their legends and stories that span the centuries.

Archaeologists have found fragments of weavings that have been scientifically dated as many thousands of years old. The exact date of the earliest known weavings in the western hemisphere is still being debated, but may be over 10,000 years ago. Weavings were made long before the advent of looms.

Native weaving materials included plant and animal fibers. Some materials were collected and used in their natural forms, but most were made stronger by spinning multiple fibers together like yarn. Designs were created by dyeing the yarns different colors or by using two or more different fibers to make patterns. Relief designs also were created by mathematically calculating the sequences of fibers to go over or under, as in twill plaiting. Some very sophisticated ancient weavings preserved in caves have survived nearly intact. After the advent of pottery, some weavings were kept sealed and found in nearly perfect condition.

The longest, continuous weaving traditions have survived in certain cultures throughout the western hemisphere. In North America, the Hopi, Zuni, and Rio Grande pueblos maintain a 2,000-year-old





*This photograph shows a Navajo rug weaver. Navajos are well-known for their weaving skills. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

weaving tradition. Before the coming of the Spanish conquistadors, Pueblo weavers clothed hundreds of thousands of people in the American Southwest. Their favorite fiber was cotton grown from seeds developed in southern Mexico. Traditional ceremonies accompanied the planting, tending, harvesting, processing, and weaving of cotton.

One type of ceremonial sash belt, woven in a technique called float warp, is created from Taos Pueblo in the north, through Mexico and Central America, to the tip of South America. Ancient weaving traditions have survived, especially among the Zapotec in Mexico, the Mayans in Guatemala, and the Andean weavers of Peru and Bolivia, where some of the most sophisticated hand weavings in the world were developed. The thread count on the finest wearing blankets tops 200 stitches per inch. Their pictorial designs are narrative scenes from legends and tribal traditions that help illustrate rich and varied cultural histories.

Great textiles sometimes emerged even during times of great turmoil or revolution. In the 1680s, when the Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest were fighting for their freedom and independence from the Spanish, a group of Navajo women married Pueblo men, who taught their wives to weave. Thus the Navajo textile tradition was given a tremendous boost, because the ancient techniques spread quickly through matrilineal family lines. Eventually over 10,000 Navajo weavers, mostly women, developed dynamic weavings on a vertical loom using wool from Spanish Churro or Moreno sheep.

During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, perhaps no other tribe promoted textiles as fine art more than the Navajo. From the 1850s, a First Phase Chief's Blanket was one of the most highly valued items. Woven so fine it would repel water, this Navajo wearing blanket became increasingly more complex in color and design. Eye-dazzling serrated diamonds





and zigzag patterns became popular. Their yarns were dyed of indigo blue, and reds of cochineal.

From 1880 to 1920, the so-called Transitional Period of Navajo textiles reflected the changing times for Indians, from freedom to reservation life. The weaves became looser, except for tapestries woven of fine Germantown yarn. During the first half of the twentieth century, regional styles developed named after the local trading posts. Today, Two Grey Hills tapestries are woven over eighty stitches per inch, as fine as the best contemporary weavings in Central and South America.

Gregory Schaaf

*See also* Archaeology and the First Americans; Paleo-Indians; Trade.

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## Worldviews and Values

American Indians enjoy a rich diversity of worldviews, values, philosophies, spiritual concepts, mythologies, and ceremonies, both as individuals and as nations. However, American Indian cultures had and have certain characteristic ideas in common. Indeed, the recognition of an indigenous worldview as a philosophical system is gaining momentum in academic circles, though still in its infancy as a field outside the boundaries of traditional anthropology or New Age literature. Such generalized values and ways of experiencing the world offer positive alternatives to contemporary Western assumptions. Unlike the myth of the noble savage, the following concepts deserve serious study as an opportunity to restore the health and balance in all living systems.

Perhaps the most obvious consideration that runs through all or most indigenous worldviews is a strong sense of relatedness. The idea of interconnect-edness between animals, rocks, rivers, people, and all things informs many of the values and ways of thinking and being in the world that are typical to American Indian people. This sense of relatedness naturally leads to avoiding dualistic thinking, that is, looking at the world as a detached observer. It emphasizes cooperative engagement over competi-

tion. It focuses on living in harmony with nature rather than attempting to conquer it. It underlies the basic American Indian regard for reciprocity as a cornerstone for decision making and relationships of all sorts.

Dovetailing also with the concept of relatedness are four other typically American Indian values: the acceptance of mystery, the honoring of alternative paths, an authentic sense of humility, and a belief that the highest form of courage is in the expression of generosity. These four concepts underscore American Indian spirituality, which might be defined as a life that gives sacred significance to all things. Perhaps an understanding that everything is related and significant, coupled with a learning style that emphasizes keen observation, has led to cultures that maintained a close relationship with the earth toward realizing that humans cannot possibly have all of the answers to the complex mysteries regarding life.

Although indigenous cultures are unique in their widespread adherence to such realizations about life, philosophers from all cultures have expressed similar ideas and values throughout time. Interestingly, however, many of these seem to refer to their own indigenous traditions.

A prime example is found in the worldview of the father of India's independence, Mahatma Gandhi, which parallels American Indian thinking. Gandhi often referred to the "primordial traditions" of India in describing the worldview that he called *swaraj* and that might be interpreted as fearless action and selfless suffering. *Swaraj* included selfless action in behalf of community welfare; complete individual freedom to seek truth in light of a deep understanding of relatedness with others; a nonanthropocentric understanding of self in relation to nature; sustainable lifestyles; shared wealth; fearlessness in pursuit of truth; and an understanding of pain and suffering in terms of a healing, integrative force for social welfare.

When such ideas are organic manifestations of the lived life of an entire community, rather than idealism advocated or practiced by a few individuals, a number of perspectives tend to emerge as behaviors in a culture that seem to oppose Western assumptions and behaviors. For example, taking care of others (not just one's self) guides all action. Recognizing the present becomes more important than preparing for the future, as long as actions do not create harm for "the seventh generation." Place becomes more important than time. Age is honored for its wisdom,





and, balanced with the virtues of youth and beauty, patience is more easily accommodated than aggression. Listening becomes more prevalent than speaking up. Giving and sharing are a priority over taking and saving. Intuition is trusted as much or more than logic. Humility and modesty overshadow arrogance and ego. Aesthetics and creativity outshine the idea of a work ethic. And women are seen as equal to or even superior in their ability to contribute to society than are men.

Finally, the indigenous worldview includes an approach to conflict resolution that may explain why American Indian people were and are less warlike than those with more Indo-European worldviews. Peace making is rooted in transformative theory rather than in retributive, hierarchical, adversarial,

punitive, or codified assumptions. Responsibility is emphasized over rights, and, when parties reach consensus for restoration and accountability, opposing parties are seen as being back in good relationship with one another, seeing the world more with their hearts than with their heads.

*Four Arrows—Don Trent Jacobs*

*See also* Environment and Pollution; Warfare, Intertribal.

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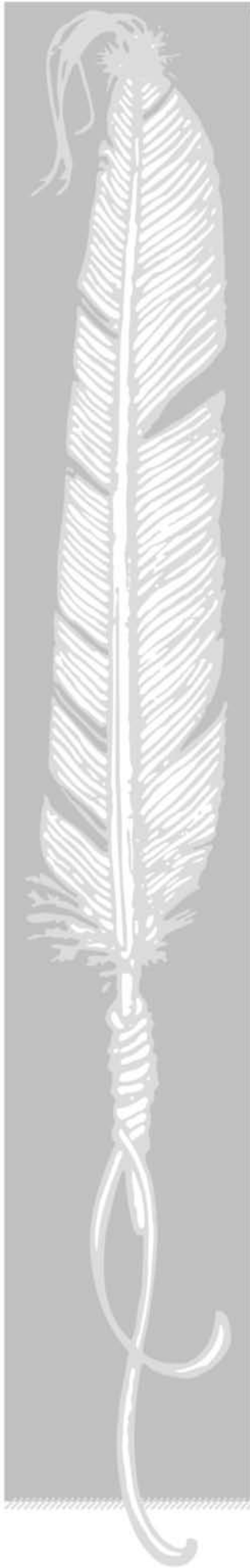
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# *Governments and American Indian History*



## **Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act**

Alaska Natives, including the Aleut, Athabaskan, Inupiat, and Yup'ik Eskimos and the Tlingit and Haida Indians, settled their aboriginal land claims with the United States in 1971 under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) Public Law 92-203. Unlike the Native American tribes of the lower forty-eight states, who entered into treaties with the federal government and whose lands are held under trust by the federal government, Alaska Natives pursued a legislative settlement that required them to establish profit-making corporations and to hold their land under fee simple title. Congress and the Richard M. Nixon Administration saw ANCSA, with its major features of land, money, and corporations, as a means to assimilate Alaska Natives into the larger society. Natives, on the other hand, largely viewed ANCSA as a vehicle of economic self-determination.

The 1867 Treaty of Cession, under which Russia sold Alaska to the United States, held that “uncivilized tribes” were to be subject to the same laws as other American Indians. In subsequent legislation, the federal government recognized the use and occupancy land rights of Alaska Natives first in the Organic Act of 1884 and then in the Alaska Statehood Act of 1958, which allowed the state to select 103 million acres of land. Although the statehood act stipulated that Native lands were exempt from selection, the state began to select lands used and occupied by Native villages and to claim royalties from federal oil and gas leases on Native lands. Alaska Natives began to organize regional associations to protect their land ownership. As Natives protested the actions of the state, Secretary of the Interior Stewart Udall ordered the suspension of federal oil and gas lease sales and adopted a “land freeze” on the disposition of all federal lands in Alaska. The freeze served to protect Native land rights and to block the construction of the 800-mile oil pipeline from Prudhoe Bay in the north to Prince William Sound.





With political pressure mounting to settle the land claims and to develop the oil resources of Alaska, Natives seized the opportunity to lobby Congress for a land claims settlement. Led by the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN), they were successful in securing legislation that has been heralded as the largest aboriginal land settlement. It also diverged dramatically from earlier historic land models with Indian tribes. However, in the haste to secure a settlement and with the focus on the size of the land settlement, structural issues that should have been analyzed were overlooked and ignored in the legislation.

Under ANCSA, Alaska Natives received a total of 44 million acres of land including surface and subsurface rights. These lands were to be conveyed to twelve regional corporations and 203 village corporations that were organized under the laws of the state of Alaska. ANCSA also authorized the payment of \$962 million for the extinguishment of all aboriginal claims.

Village corporations were entitled to receive 22 million acres of land, which were divided on a population basis. The regional corporations received full title to 16 million acres of land and the subsurface estate in the 22 million acres patented to the villages. The regional corporation land was divided among the twelve regional corporations on the basis of the total acreage in each region rather than population. The southeast Alaska Indian communities were allowed to receive only a single township or 23,040 acres. They had received a \$7.5 million award in 1968 under the Tlingit and Haida judicial settlement for the federal withdrawals of 20 million acres of lands in southeast Alaska.

Two million acres were set aside for other purposes, including cemeteries and historical sites. Four Native urban corporations, which had formerly been historic Native communities but were predominantly non-Native cities in the 1970s, were allowed to select land from the 2 million acres. Native communities with populations less than twenty-five residents received land from this acreage. The total acreage for allotments, which had been filed before the passage of the Act, was also deducted from this entitlement.

Four million acres, which had been held by five reserves as trust lands by the federal government, were revoked by ANCSA. The Natives of these reserves formed corporations to hold their lands, including both surface and subsurface lands under fee simple title, but they were not entitled to the

monetary benefits under ANCSA. Ironically, the only remaining reservation in Alaska was for the Tsimshian Indians, who had emigrated from Canada. They were granted the Annette Island reservation in southeast Alaska by Congress in 1891.

Natives who were not permanent residents of Alaska organized a thirteenth regional corporation. It received its pro rata share of the financial settlement, but it did not receive land, nor was it entitled to receive revenues from mineral or timber development of the regional corporations.

The Secretary of the Interior was authorized to prepare a roll of all Natives who were of one-quarter or more Alaska Native, who were born on or before the date of enactment of ANCSA, and who were living on or before December 18, 1971. The secretary's roll was to also include the village and region of each enrollee. Both regional and village corporations issued one hundred shares of stock to each Native enrolled in their region and village. Some Natives were enrolled as at-large shareholders, that is, shareholders only in regional corporations because their permanent homes were away from villages that were certified to participate in ANCSA. The number of shareholding Alaska Natives enrolled to Native corporations totaled more than 78,000.

The hunting and fishing rights of Alaska Natives were extinguished under ANCSA. However, Congress adopted a subsistence priority for rural Alaskans in 1980 within the Alaska National Interest Land Conservation Act.

ANCSA is unique in many aspects and one provision is the antithesis of profit-making corporations. Under Section 7(i), regional corporations are required to distribute 70 percent of their profits from mineral and timber development to other regional corporations. A minimum of 50 percent of 7(i) revenues must be distributed to village corporations and at-large shareholders. The intent of Congress was to equalize the resource revenues between regions that were resource rich and those that were resource poor.

Initially, Natives had assumed that their tribes, clans, or communities would be the recipient of lands, but by 1968 corporations were proposed as the vehicle to implement the land settlement. Many Natives had had experience with the ineptness of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and did not want to have their land held under trust and subject to the control of the federal government. The idea of Native control of their lands had gained prominence. Acceptance of the corporate model was





clearly evident by the 1971 AFN Convention theme, "In the White Man's Society, We Need White Man's Tools."

Congress wanted to avoid creating any reservations or "racially defined" organizations and supported corporations as the vehicle to implement ANCSA. With this objective in mind, Congress limited the restrictions on the transferability of ANCSA stock for twenty years, or until 1991. Congress also rejected any possibility of keeping the enrollment open for those children born after 1971.

The conflict between for-profit corporations and Native values emerged as 1991 approached. Natives became alarmed that the expiration of the restrictions on the sale of stock could lead to non-Native control and ownership of Native lands. At the 1982 AFN Convention, Natives voted to make the "1991" issue its top priority and to seek amendments to ANCSA to protect Native land.

AFN was successful in securing the amendments that provided the legal authority to protect ANCSA land and control of their corporations. The 1991 amendments provided automatic protections for land and Native corporation stock. The stock would remain restricted unless shareholders voted to remove the restrictions. Undeveloped land was also automatically protected. The law also allowed for the issuance of stock to Natives born after 1971 and to those who missed the initial enrollment upon approval of a shareholder vote. In recognition of the cultural value of caring for elders, the amendments also allowed for special benefits to elders or those shareholders who were sixty-five years or older.

AFN was not successful in securing a tribal option, which would have allowed for the transfer of ANCSA lands to tribal governments. ANCSA did not extinguish the two hundred tribal governments in Alaska, but those governments effectively lost their land base. A few village corporations transferred their land to tribes, but concern that the lands would not be treated as trust lands and protected by the federal government deterred the movement.

ANCSA corporations are different from other profit-making corporations. They pursue both economic and social goals seeking to protect their Native way of life and traditions. They have been variously successful; some corporations have expanded into the national and international markets, while others teeter on the brink of bankruptcy. They are also unique in that Congress recognizes Native corporations as federally recognized tribes for special statutory purposes in over a hundred fed-

eral legislative statutes that offer special benefits and protections.

Daniel R. Gibbs

*See also* Alaska Native Brotherhood; Assembly of First Nations; Economic Development; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Pan-Indianism; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Albany Congress, Native Precedents

On the eve of the 1754 Albany Conference, Benjamin Franklin was already persuaded that the Haudenosaunee leader Canassatego's advice advocating colonial unity was good counsel, and he was not alone in these sentiments. James DeLancey, acting governor of New York, sent a special invitation to Hendrick (Tiyanoga) to attend the Albany Conference, where the Mohawk sachem provided insights into the structure of the League of the Iroquois for the assembled colonial delegates. In letters convening the conference from the various colonies, instructions of the delegates were phrased in Iroquois diplomatic idiom. From colonist to colonist, the letters spoke of "burying the hatchet," a phrase that entered idiomatic English from the Iroquois Great Law. DeLancey also spoke of "renewing the covenant chain," another Haudenosaunee diplomatic idiom.





The Albany Congress convened June 19, 1754, five days after its scheduled opening, because many of the Iroquois and some of the colonial commissioners arrived late. Roughly 150 to 200 Iroquois and about twenty-five colonists attended the meeting, according to official accounts. Most of the sessions of the congress took place at the Albany Courthouse; many of the speeches to the Indians (and their replies) occurred in front of the governor's residence. Albany at the time straddled the border between colonial settlement and Iroquois country at the "eastern door" of the Six Nations' symbolic longhouse. The town was still dominated by the architecture of the Dutch, who had founded the town before the English replaced them in 1675.

On June 28, 1754, the day after Hendrick arrived with the Mohawks, James DeLancey met with him. The two hundred Indians in attendance sat on ten rows of benches in front of the governor's residence, with colonial delegates facing them in a row of chairs, their backs to the building. According to Theodore Atkinson's account of the conference, this gathering was held on a warm day, after a morning rain. Governor Delancey read a speech approved by the delegates paragraph by paragraph, as New York's interpreter relayed his words to the Indians. The speechmaking also stopped briefly for the presentation of belts to the Indians, following Iroquois diplomatic custom.

DeLancey's speech began with a condolence using Iroquois diplomatic language. ("I wipe away your tears, and take sorrow from your hearts, that you may open your minds and speak freely.") Then the governor gave "A String of Wampum" in a fashion similar to what Franklin had observed a year earlier at the Carlisle Treaty Council. As the governor proceeded, the assembled Indians "Signified [sic] their understanding of each paragraph by a kind of Universal Huzzah" (O'Callaghan, 1853, 6: 567). And "When the great Chain belt was Dill[i]vered [sic] on this occasion, they Signified [sic] their understanding or Consent by Such a Huzzah repeated Seven Times over for every Tribe" (McAnear, 1953, 736). Holding the chain belt given him by the colonial delegates, Hendrick made the belt a metaphor of political union, as he advised DeLancey that the colonists should strengthen themselves and "In the mean time we desire, that you will strengthen yourselves, and bring as many into this Covenant Chain as you possibly can" (O'Callaghan, 1849, 869). It is likely that Hendrick remarked on this subject several days later, when

the Indians and delegates assembled again in front of the governor's residence.

Hendrick was openly critical of the British at the Albany Congress. He hinted that the Iroquois would not ally with the English colonies unless a suitable form of unity was established among them. In talking of the proposed union of the colonies and the Six Nations on July 9, 1754, Hendrick stated, "We wish this Tree of Friendship may grow up to a great height and then we shall be a powerful people" (*Colonial Records*, 1851, 6: 98). In effect, Hendrick was repeating the advice Canassatego had given colonial delegates at Lancaster a decade earlier, this time at a conference devoted not only to diplomacy, but also to drawing up a plan for the type of colonial union the Iroquois had been requesting. The same day, at the Courthouse, the colonial delegates were in the early stages of debate over the plan of union.

Hendrick followed that admonition with an analysis of Iroquois and colonial unity, when he said, "We the United Nations shall rejoice of our strength" as we will "have now made so strong a Confederacy." In reply to Hendrick's speech on Native American and colonial unity, DeLancey said: "I hope that by this present Union, we shall grow up to a great height and be as powerful and famous as you were of old" (*Colonial Records*, 1851, 6: 98). These words of Hendrick and DeLancey are significant in that they go beyond Covenant Chain rhetoric and talk of the symbol of the Great Law (the Great Tree). Franklin was commissioned to draw up the final draft of the Albany Plan the same day, two months to the day after his *Pennsylvania Gazette* had published the "Join or Die" cartoon.

On July 10, 1754, Franklin formally proposed his Plan of Union before the congress. Franklin wrote that the debates on the Albany Plan "went on daily, hand in hand with the Indian business" (Bigelow, 1868, 295). In drawing up his final draft, Franklin was meeting several diplomatic demands: the Crown's for control; the colonies' desires for autonomy in a loose confederation; and the Iroquois' stated advocacy for a colonial union similar (but not identical) to their own in form and function. For the Crown, the plan provided administration by a president-general, to be appointed by England. The individual colonies were to be allowed to retain their own constitutions, except as the plan circumscribed them. The retention of internal sovereignty within the individual colonies closely resembled the Iroquois system and had no existing precedent in Europe.





Franklin chose the name “Grand Council” for the plan’s deliberative body, the same name generally applied to the Iroquois central council. The number of delegates, forty-eight, was close to the Iroquois council’s fifty, and each colony had a different number of delegates, just as each Haudenosaunee nation sent a different number of sachems to Onondaga. The Albany Plan was based in rough proportion to tax revenues, however, while the Iroquois system was based on tradition.

The Albany Plan of Union called for a government under which each colony could retain its present constitution (Bigelow, 1868). Basically, the plan provided that Parliament was to establish a general government in America, including all the thirteen colonies, each of which was to retain its present constitution except for certain powers (mainly mutual defense) that were to be given to the general government. The king was to appoint a president-general for the government. Each colonial assembly would elect representatives to the Grand Council.

The president-general would exercise certain powers with the advice of the Grand Council, such as handling Indian relations, making treaties, deciding upon peace or war, raising troops, building forts, providing warships, and finally to make such laws and levy such taxes as would be needed for its purposes. Through this plan colonial leaders embraced a plan for union that Indian leaders such as Canassatego and Hendrick had urged upon them for a decade or more. Thus, the roots of intercolonial unity are in the Indian-white relations of the early eighteenth century. During this time, men such as Benjamin Franklin saw in the Iroquois Confederacy a model on which to build.

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*See also* American Indian Contributions to the World; Canassatego; Franklin, Benjamin, Native American Influences; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Hendrick.

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## American Indian Religious Freedom Act

The American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA, Public Law 95-341), was signed into law by President Jimmy Carter on August 12, 1978. President Carter defined the intention of AIRFA well when he stated at the signing ceremony

It is the fundamental right of every American, as guaranteed by the first amendment of the Constitution, to worship as he or she pleases. . . . This legislation sets forth the policy of the United States to protect and preserve the inherent right of American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiian people to believe, express, and exercise their traditional religions.

The Act was introduced in the Senate on December 15, 1977, by Senator James Abourezk (Democrat, South Dakota) and later in the House of Representatives by Representative James Udall (Democrat, New Mexico). The Senate held hearings on AIRFA but the House did not. Testimony in the Senate hearings came primarily from Native Americans and representatives of various government entities. AIRFA was considered and passed in the





Senate on April 3, 1978, and in the House on July 18, 1978.

President Carter and Secretary of Agriculture Bob Berglund were enthusiastic supporters of AIRFA, as were several senators and congresspersons. The Department of Justice expressed concerns about the effect of AIRFA on existing state and federal laws but was reassured by Representative Udall, who stated that it had “no teeth in it” and was not intended to override existing state laws. President Carter echoed this sentiment and stated that the “act is in no way intended to alter . . . or override existing laws.” With those concerns addressed, AIRFA passed with very little resistance in the House or Senate. Congress passed AIRFA with the intent of eliminating federal interference with the exercise of Native American religious traditions and to compel government agencies to consider AIRFA in the institution and administration of policies and procedures.

AIRFA is divided into two sections. The first section addresses the right of Native Americans to practice their traditional religions. The relevant language states:

Whereas, the freedom of religion for all people is an inherent right, fundamental to the democratic structure of the United States and is guaranteed by the First Amendment of the United States Constitution . . . Whereas traditional American Indian ceremonies have been intruded upon, interfered with, and in a few instances banned: Now therefore, be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that henceforth it shall be the policy of the United States to preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions . . . including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonial and traditional rites.

This section of AIRFA is important because it was the first federal legislation specifically addressing Native Americans’ inherent right to freedom of religion.

Section 2 requires that the president direct federal departments and agencies responsible for administering relevant laws to evaluate their policies and procedures in consultation with traditional

Native religious leaders and report back to Congress with any recommended changes in one year’s time.

## The AIRFA Report

The report committee formed to satisfy Section 2 of AIRFA was chaired by Secretary of the Interior Cecil B. Andrus. The report was submitted to Congress in August of 1979 and detailed the government’s overall failure to protect Native Americans’ religious freedoms. It stated that the failure had primarily stemmed from the “ignorance and misunderstanding on the part of the non-Indian” of Native American religions. The report called for the need for improvements in several areas, including access to sacred objects such as eagle feathers and peyote, access to sacred sites, protection of sacred sites, and the overall double standard in terms of the treatment of European-American versus Native American human remains. The response of government agencies and departments was sporadic and generally dismal. Because AIRFA lacked a clear interpretation of Congress’s intent, primarily due to the use of convoluted language on the lack of penalties for non-compliance, there was little incentive for government response.

## The Suppression of Native American Religious Traditions

Native Americans have had their free practice of religion suppressed by every Western nation that sought to colonize the New World. Throughout history, suppressing Native religious practices has been a common practice of those seeking to subjugate a people. It was thought that through the denial of a people’s own culture, they would be easily assimilated into their suppressor’s culture. France, Britain, Spain, and the United States all suppressed Native Americans’ free practice of religion and supported, and often funded, efforts to convert Native Americans to Christianity. Freedom of religion has been the law of the land since the birth of the United States as a nation; however, this basic right, guaranteed to all by the Constitution, has repeatedly been denied to Native Americans.

It is ironic that the first Europeans who would become known as Americans settled here because they were fleeing religious persecution. The United States continued the policy of the earlier colonial governments by actively promoting Christianity to Native Americans. Christian missionaries were hired





as Indian agents, tribal administrative control was often placed in the hands of religious denominations, and tribal-held land was repeatedly given away to organizations that promised to build religious schools or churches on it. In 1869, the Board of Indian Commissioners was established with the intended purpose of educating Native Americans in the principles of Christianity. In 1879, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School was established in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, by the U.S. government for the education of Native American children. The school's director, Richard Pratt, stated that his goal was to "[k]ill the Indian and save the man." The school punished children for wearing Native dress or speaking their own languages and forbade any practice of their Native religious traditions.

Interior Secretary Henry M. Teller holds the distinction of being the first U.S. government representative to order official restrictions on the practice of Native American religious customs. In an 1882 directive Teller ordered an end to all "heathenish dances and ceremonies" on reservations due to their "great hindrance to civilization." In 1883, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Hiram Price codified the practice of officially restricting Native American religious freedom by creating the Indian Religious Crimes Code. In his 1883 annual report to the secretary of the interior, Price stated

there is no good reason why an Indian should be permitted to indulge in practices which are alike repugnant to common decency and morality; and the preservation of good order on the reservations demands that some active measures should be taken to discourage and, if possible, put a stop to the demoralizing influence of heathenish rites.

In 1892, Commissioner of Indian Affairs Thomas J. Morgan sought to further suppress Native religions by ordering penalties of up to six months in prison for those who repeatedly participated in religious dances or acted as medicine men.

The government's attempts to suppress and in many instances outright ban Native American religious practices led to one of the bloodiest events in the history of the United States: the Massacre at Wounded Knee. To enforce the ban on the Ghost Dance in accordance with the Indian Religious Crimes Code, the Seventh Cavalry was sent into the Lakota Sioux's Pine Ridge and Rosebud Reservations to stop the dance and arrest the participants.

General Armstrong Custer's former unit, in response to a dispute over a firearm, attacked and killed approximately 150 Native American men, women, and children on December 29, 1890. Charges of killing innocents were brought against members of the Seventh Cavalry, but all were later exonerated. The massacre marked the effective end of the Ghost Dance movement and, according to many historians, signified the end of the Indian Wars.

### **The Start of a Change in U.S. Policy**

The shift toward acknowledging Native American religions, the government's obligations to the tribes, and their rites as citizens of the United States began in 1933 when President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed John Collier as commissioner of Indian Affairs. Collier issued Bureau of Indian Affairs Circular 2970, "Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture," on January 3, 1934. The circular was sent to all federal agencies and read in part "no interference with Indian religious life or ceremonial expression will hereafter be tolerated." Collier also guided, with the support of President Roosevelt, the Indian Reorganization Act, commonly known as the Indian New Deal, through Congress. This act dramatically changed U.S. policy by allowing tribal self-government and consolidating individual land allotments back into tribal hands.

In the 1960s, partly in response to a nationwide wave of discontent and a trend toward active protesting of government policies, a renewed movement of Native American activism resulted in the passage of several acts, including AIRFA. Native Americans began to cooperate and organize a pan-Indian movement to push for change through political channels. While there is a long history of pan-Indian movements, many feel that this one had its roots in the forced boarding school programs and the Bureau of Indian Affairs relocation programs. Both programs brought Native Americans from several tribes together in situations in which their common hardships and interests led to increased inter-tribal communication and cooperation.

One of the first politically active Native American groups to form was the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC), created in 1961. NIYC participated in a series of protests calling for the recognition of treaty-granted fishing rights in the state of Washington. The American Indian Movement (AIM), the most vocal and well-known of the Native American





activist groups, was formed in 1968 by George Mitchell and Dennis Banks in Minneapolis. AIM participated in the 1969 occupation of Alcatraz, the November 1972 occupation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in Washington, D.C., and the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee.

Largely in response to Native Americans' well publicized calls for change, a large number of acts were passed by Congress in the late 1960s and 1970s: the Indian Civil Rights Act (PL90-284) in 1968; the Alaska Native Claims Act (PL92-208) in 1971; the Indian Education Act (PL92-318) in 1972; the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (PL93-638) in 1974; the Indian Health Care Improvement Act (PL94-437) in 1976; and the Indian Child Welfare Act (PL95-608) in 1978. The Archaeological Resources Protection Act (PL96-95) was passed in 1979 and prohibited the excavation, removal, defacing, or sale of human remains or burial items unless done in accordance with the law.

The increased public awareness of the Native American's plight led to the creation of the American Indian Policy Review Commission in 1975. Consisting of three senators, three representatives, and five Indian commissioners, the commission oversaw thirty-three task forces reviewing Native American grievances and conditions. The final report was issued in May 1977 and concluded that the government had often interfered in and obstructed the efforts of Native Americans to practice their traditional religious customs. The report was instrumental in the struggle to convince Congress of the need for AIRFA.

### **Legislation Following AIRFA and AIRFA Amendments**

Since 1978, a relatively steady progression of executive orders, memorandums, and legislation has addressed problems with AIRFA and clarified Congress's intent to the courts. Issues such as access to sacred sites, the ceremonial use of peyote, the rights of Native American prisoners to practice their religions, and the repatriation of human remains and ceremonial objects have all been specifically addressed. The efforts made in addressing the issue of Native Americans' free practice of religion have not satisfied all, but most would concur that there has been a significant amount of progress made in the nearly three decades since the passage of AIRFA.

President George H. W. Bush signed MAIA, the Museum of the American Indian Act (PL101-185) in 1989 and NAGPRA, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (PL101-601) in 1990. MAIA called for the creation of the Museum of the American Indian and the repatriation of 18,500 Native American remains held by the Smithsonian. NAGPRA calls for museums and federal agencies to return Native American human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural importance to lineal descendants, affiliated tribes, and Native Hawaiian organizations.

In 1993, the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (PL103-141) was passed and signed into law by President William Jefferson Clinton. On signing the Act, President Clinton stated that it "reestablishes a standard that better protects all Americans of all faiths . . . in a way that I am convinced is far more consistent with the intent of the Founders of this nation." In 1994, President Clinton issued a memorandum to every executive department and agency of the government, titled "Policy Concerning Distribution of Eagle Feathers for Native American Religious Purposes." In his remarks to Native American and Native Alaskan tribal leaders, he said that the memorandum directed the agencies and departments to "cooperate with tribal governments to accommodate whenever possible the need for eagle feathers in the practice of Native American religions."

The AIRFA amendments (PL103-344) were passed in 1994 to correct the inadequacies of the original Act. The 1978 version of AIRFA was seen by the courts as a policy for executive agencies and as such was not given extensive weight in court decisions. The courts have always distinguished between religious beliefs and religious practices. People are free to choose their religious beliefs, but practices have been repeatedly prohibited by the courts. Polygamy, human sacrifice, and religious customs such as those allowing rape as a penalty for a violation of religious code are all illegal based on the overriding good of the public and existing state and federal laws. In *Employment Division, Department of Human Resources of Oregon v. Smith* (1990), the Supreme Court ruled that Oregon was within its legal right to fire a Native American employee for the use of peyote in a religious ceremony. The court failed to recognize the religious significance of the peyote use and instead viewed it as an illegal substance not protected under the First Amendment or AIRFA.





Many Native American groups and individuals pushed for amendments to AIRFA, which clarified the legality of peyote use for religious purposes and the distinction between its traditional use and use as a recreational drug. In the hearings held by the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, the late Professor Vine Deloria testified that "We need to make clear that peyote is a sacramental plant used by American Indians in a sacramental way, going back long before the memory of man. Once that clarification is made, there is no possible way to link it to those other drugs."

The amendments were considered and passed in the House of Representatives on August 8, 1994, and in the Senate on September 26, 1994. The amendments state that "Non-withstanding any other provision of law, the use, possession, or transportation of peyote by an Indian for bona fide traditional ceremonial purposes in connection with the practice of a traditional Indian religion is lawful, and shall not be prohibited by the United States or any state." The amendment includes a list of several common sense exceptions and a section prohibiting discrimination based on a Native American's use of peyote in a religious context.

On May 24, 1996, President Clinton issued Executive Order 13007, "Protection and Accommodation of Access to Indian Sacred Sites." The order states that executive agencies and departments should "accommodate access to and ceremonial use of Indian sacred sites by Indian religious practitioners and avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sacred sites. Where appropriate, agencies shall maintain the confidentiality of sacred sites." It was issued largely in response to the Supreme Court ruling in the *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association*. The case resulted from the U.S. Forest Service's desire to build a road near a Native American religious site. Several tribes were joined by various parties, including the state of California, in seeking a court order to bar the project under AIRFA. The Supreme Court, as stated by Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, decided that "Whatever rights the Indians may have to use of the area those rights do not divest the Government of its right to use what is, after all, its land."

The Religious Land Use and Institutionalized Persons Act (PL106-274) was signed into law in 2000 by President Clinton. The legislation guarantees access for Native Americans to religious sites located on government property. Section 2 regards the right of Native American prisoners to practice traditional

religions. It states, "No government shall impose a substantial burden on the religious exercise of a person residing in or confined to an institution, . . . even if the burden results from a rule of general applicability, unless the government demonstrates that imposition of the burden on that person is in furtherance of a compelling governmental interest; and is the least restrictive means of furthering that compelling governmental interest."

James Thull

*See also* Ceremonies, Criminalization of; Graham, Mount (Dzil Nchaa Si An), Controversy over; *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association*; Native American Church of North America; Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act; Sacred Sites; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Bureau of American Ethnology

The Bureau of American Ethnology (BAE), established in 1879 by Congress, is the sponsoring body that supported the most extensive early research program on North American cultures. It performed





that task as a semiautonomous unit under the secretary of the Smithsonian between that year and 1965, when it merged with the Department of Anthropology at the Smithsonian. Though the activities of the BAE are varied, its most recognizable contributions are its *Annual Reports*, the *Contributions to North American Ethnology* series, and particularly the *Bulletins*, easily identified by the original large, green and gold trim volumes, with the imprint of the BAE logo—a “cliff dwelling” complete with rock art figures in the foreground—on the frontispiece. Published by the Government Printing Office (GPO), these were free and widely distributed and are still readily accessible today in many libraries that are government depositories.

The history of the BAE is intertwined with that of the development of American anthropology, its relationship with American Indians, and issues of the role of government in sponsoring research activity. The earliest ethnologists were not trained as such, but were in the service of the U.S. Geological Survey and found themselves in intimate contact with American Indians in their regions of activity. Among them was John Wesley Powell, who had worked extensively in the Southwest. Powell was responsible for lobbying for the establishment of the Bureau of Ethnology; he was made its first director in 1879. Under Powell, the BAE grew to become one of the most significant archival collections of ethnological information about Native Americans through the activity of its staff ethnologists. As a training ground for the field of anthropology, it supported the work of some of the most well-known early field anthropologists: Frank Hamilton Cushing, Franz Boas, Otis T. Mason, James Mooney, among others, were all contributors to the bureau’s collections.

Classic monographs, such as Boas’s *Tsimshian Mythology*, Mooney’s *Myths of the Cherokee* and *The Ghost-Dance Religion*, and Cushing’s *Zuni Fetishes*, were all, in their original form, contributions made with BAE support for the *Annual Reports* or the *Bulletins* series. These are surviving relics of an era sometimes called “salvage ethnography,” after the apparent motivation of Congress and anthropological scholars to document Native American life in its perceived twilight, and they were notable for a division that was not conceived as a permanent institution. Nevertheless, the ethnologists involved with the BAE were increasingly well-trained figures, producing narratives with intensive ethnographic detail, which are still valued for the material they preserved.

As it evolved, the bureau engaged itself in shaping public awareness of anthropology through exhibitions and at international expositions. With this increasing notoriety, it became a repository of varied material from additional nonstaff sources (including military personnel, missionaries, and amateur scholars), drawing an extensive manuscript, map, and document archive, as well as an illustrative and photographic collection. Other major endeavors of the bureau included, under the direction of ethnologist-in-charge W. Frederick Hodge (1910–1918), the first *Handbook of American Indians*, published as *Bulletin 30* in 1907 as two volumes. Still widely valued for reference today, John Swanton’s compendia, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, was published as *Bulletin 137* and *The Indian Tribes of North America* as *Bulletin 1945*. Also a major BAE project was the *Handbook of South American Indians*, edited by Julian Steward under his Institute for Social Anthropology and published as *Bulletin 143*, between 1946 and 1959.

In 1965, the BAE catalogue and materials were incorporated into the National Anthropological Archives, where they are housed today. In 1970, the last bulletin under the bureau name was issued, an index to authors and titles of all preceding BAE publications. Two current trends are also notable with respect to the history and significance of the BAE. Of late, the National Museum of Natural History has been sequentially closing the old Halls of Ethnology, remembered by many as hallmarks of the Smithsonian experience. Thus, the era of public exhibits that were shaped and informed by the long tradition of ethnological work at the Institution has come to a close. With respect to American Indian cultures and peoples, that mantle has passed to the National Museum of the American Indian. However, lest the collection become valued only by researchers and archivists, the NAA and the Smithsonian Institution Libraries have endeavored to begin the digitization of the publications of the BAE.

Christopher Lindsay Turner

See also Boas, Franz.

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## **Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe**

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) is the branch of the federal government charged with organizing and carrying out governmental policy relating to American Indians. While the original purpose of the BIA was to liquidate Indian lands, over the course of its history, the BIA has become an institution that attempts to manage Indian affairs and to act as the federal government's liaison with American Indian peoples on and off the reservations. Originally called the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA), the bureau was established by President James Monroe in 1824 as part of the Department of War for the purpose of supporting and, it was hoped, eventually assimilating American Indians.

In the beginning, the Office of Indian Affairs was dominated by the individual Indian agents, most often apolitical appointees placed on reservations. The Indian agents directed the distribution of food, goods, and other treaty annuities, oversaw education and missionary work, and policed various activities such as the prohibition of liquor as well as controlling the payroll of tribal police. The lack of direct supervision of Indian agents opened the door for corruption and mistreatment.

The Office of Indian Affairs was run by the Secretary of War until July 1832, when Congress established the position of the commissioner of Indian Affairs and appointed Elbert Herring to the post. The OIA was conceived as a temporary institution that would manage Indian affairs until the Native peoples were settled enough on the reservations to create new governments or had assimilated into mainstream society. On May 20, 1834, the House Committee on Indian Affairs reported that the activities of the OIA were being carried on in violation of law and without any legally recognized authority. The committee advised that the OIA be shut down

and its work passed on to the Native peoples. After the committee's initial admonishment, they passed a bill on June 30, 1834, that effectively gave the Office of Indian Affairs branch status and legal status. In 1849, the renamed Bureau of Indian Affairs was transferred to the new Interior Department where it would more efficiently be able to liquidate Indian lands. The BIA was not a part of any treaty plan, but, as the federal government began to tighten its hold on reservation life, due to increased Western migration and demands for Indian lands, the bureau gained power and became unwieldy, often resulting in actions that reflected the government's rather than the Indian's interests.

After the Civil War, the BIA began to focus on breaking up traditional forms of tribal governments on reservations in order to harness political and decision-making powers. The BIA also began to search for a more effective means of eradicating Indian cultural practices. The General Allotment Act of 1887 changed the relationship between the BIA and Indian tribes. With the Allotment Act and the introduction of individual ownership of reservation property, the government found it easier to acquire more Indian lands as well as to exploit those lands for their natural resources. Indian agents were encouraged to force their charges to give up their property and traditional ways. The BIA policy toward American Indians was that of assimilation, the preferred method of assimilation was through education, and the preferred method of education was the boarding school, which separated children from their families and traditional culture. From 1900 through the 1970s, at least half of the BIA budget went toward schooling. And in 1908, Commissioner Francis E. Leupp eradicated the post of Indian agent and passed the administrative powers of the BIA onto the school teachers and educators on the reservations. After years of assimilation policies, the Bureau of Indian Affairs endured a public setback in 1928 with the publication of the Meriam Report. This report chastised the BIA for the poor reservation conditions American Indians suffered under and for the lack of programs for their economic, educational, and political development. The report also proposed that the BIA become an agency that worked to protect and encourage American Indian traditions. Beginning with Commissioner Charles Rhoads in 1929, policies began to turn more toward Indian self-determination.

In 1934, during the Great Depression, Commissioner John Collier took government policy





*The twenty-fourth commissioner of Indian Affairs, Thomas J. Morgan, with a Sioux delegation. Morgan enunciated a clear program of education for Native American children and was a principal force in the effort to assimilate Native Americans into U.S. society. (Library of Congress)*

significantly closer to self-determination, at least when compared with the past. Collier is, perhaps, the best-known commissioner of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He believed that the purpose of the BIA was to protect Indian rights and lands and to bring greater cultural understanding of American Indians to the larger American population. He worked to preserve Indian traditions and to bring power back to Native polities with the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The so-called Indian New Deal attempted to create tribal governments with administrative power and democratic elections, but it failed to provide these governments with enough control due to the continued veto authority of the Secretary of the Interior over reservation laws. The Indian Reorganization Act has also been viewed as contributing to the destruction of traditional forms of power on reservations due to its enforcement of a uniform system of governance.

By 1950, the relationship between the BIA and American Indians had become increasingly strained due to the federal policy calling for the Termination of tribal status. Dillon S. Meyer, a supporter of termination, was appointed Indian commissioner in 1950 and began to install a policy of scattering Indian peoples in order to reduce their ties to the land. The

launching of termination came with the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 108 and aimed to remove all federal services to American Indian tribes. Through strong agitation and protest, however, the termination policy was disbanded in 1960. The BIA also derived the relocation program from its Termination predecessor with the intent of moving Indians off poverty-stricken reservations and into cities where they could find work and a place to live. However, due to lack of funding and services for the new urban migrants, the program fell short of its goals.

The 1960s and 1970s saw an increase in non-BIA-controlled programs for American Indians and the weakening of BIA power. President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society included a place for independent autonomous reservations and began to flow money into housing programs, health care, education, and work training. The successes of these programs led President Richard M. Nixon to declare a policy of self-determination for Indian tribes and nations in which the Bureau of Indian Affairs would play a reduced role on reservations, and tribes would eventually host their own administrative governments. In 1975, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Act called for more Indian control





over the BIA by giving tribes the ability to gain the contracts for reservation programs in order to manage the programs themselves. In addition, the 1960s saw the appointments of Indian commissioners to the BIA like Robert Bennett (Oneida) and Louis Bruce (Mohawk-Sioux.) These new commissioners were willing to challenge the bureaucracy of the BIA and refashion it into a governmental agency that would work for American Indians. Hiring practices also changed and by 1980, 78 percent of BIA employees were of American Indian descent.

From approximately 1908 to 1949, the BIA consisted of a central office, located in Washington, D.C., and field offices located on various reservations. In 1949, the BIA was reorganized in an attempt to increase communication and to reduce bureaucratic red tape. New area offices were added to coordinate between central and field offices. For the most part, this three-tiered BIA structure is still in place today. Currently the BIA is under the direction of the assistant secretary of the interior and is a suborganization of the Department of the Interior. Under the secretary of the interior is the commissioner of Indian affairs who is responsible for the execution of congressional laws, as well as Department of the Interior orders, rules, and regulations.

Today the BIA attempts to promote self-determination, and American Indian tribes and nations administer over 50 percent of all BIA programs. However, the BIA still retains power over many of the educational and management opportunities on reservations through financial control. In September 2000, Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs Kevin Gover (Pawnee) issued an official apology on behalf of the Bureau of Indian Affairs for the policies of land theft and assimilation that had been practiced by the agency. His statement is an effort to reconcile the past with the present and to lead the BIA in a firmly Indian direction.

Vera Parham

*See also* Ceremonies, Criminalization of; Collier, John; Domestic Dependent Nation; Economic Development; General Allotment Act (Dawes Act); Genocide; Indian Claims Commission; Indian Reorganization Act; Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act; Individual Indian Monies; Leupp, Francis Ellington; Parker, Ely; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Termination; Trail of Broken Treaties; Treaty Diplomacy, with Summary of Selected Treaties; Tribal Sovereignty; Trust, Doctrine of; Wardship Doctrine.

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## Canada, Indian Policies of

Policy is multidimensional and multifaceted. As J. W. Cell has noted it “as being something rather less fixed, something rather more historical,” saying that, at any moment in time, there is “not so much policy as policy formation, an unsettled and changing set of responses by government to the continual interaction among men [and women], forces, ideas, and institutions.” As such, the Indian policies of Canada as a nation-state have their origin in the history of the treaty-making process of Canada as a place. Canadian Indian policies as they developed in the eighteenth century owe their development to a mistaken European view and representation of how Europeans came to view and represent aboriginal peoples, including First Nations, Métis, and Inuit peoples. However, First Nations have no need for such policies and do not have any regard for them, except insofar as they impinge upon First Nations’ sovereignty and self-determination.

The Covenant Chain of Silver literally means “to link one’s arms together” and signifies a nation-to-nation relationship. Yet the nation-state of Canada misinterpreted the First Nations and the meaning of the Covenant Chain and especially the Two Row Wampum that symbolized the Covenant. As a result it misconstrued what the relationship should have been between the Dutch, English, and the French imperial governments on the one hand and the





aboriginal nations on the other: namely, peace, mutual respect, and trust.

Initially given by the English to the Haudenosaunee to cement the treaty entered into at Albany in 1664, the Covenant Chain's components were known as least by the early seventeenth century, when the very first treaties of peace and friendship were entered into between the French and the Mi'kmaq nations in Acadia (present-day Atlantic Canada). The significance of the Covenant Chain of Silver as a basis for the treaty-making process and Indian policies cannot be underestimated in terms of land and sovereignty. Sir William Johnson, the English Crown's Imperial appointee to the Indian Department in 1755, highlighted its magnitude in 1764 when he wrote that

Tis [It is] true that when a Nation find themselves pushed, their Alliances broken, and themselves tired of a War, they are very

[very] apt to say many civil things, and make any Submissions which are not agreeable [agreeable] to their intentions, but are said meerly [merely] to please those with whom they transact Affairs as they know they cannot enforce the observance of them. But you may be assured that none of the Six nations, Western Nations [including the Western Confederacy] &ca. ever declared themselves to be Subjects, or will ever consider themselves in that light whilst they have any Men, or an Open Country to retire to, the very Idea of subjection would fill them with horror.

This statement by Johnson links the basis of this process with one of the early views also integral to Canada's Indian policies: the notion that aboriginal peoples were subject to the nation-state. This notion of subjects rather than First Nations was a direct result of the ideology of European empires, notably



*King George VI and Queen Elizabeth visit a Native American encampment in Canada. (Hulton-Deutsch Collection/Corbis)*





the French and the British empires, which sought to control and dominate the natural world of North America and the peoples who resided there. However, initially outnumbered and without sufficient technology to dominate aboriginal peoples (the canoe was one of the primary modes of resistance), the French and then the British empires recognized aboriginal peoples as nations and sought out and entered into treaties of peace and friendship.

One of the first statements of imperial policy toward the First Nations was the promulgation of the Royal Proclamation of 1763, partly in response to the Anishinabe and Seneca resistance movements earlier that year. Owing much to the treaty-making process, the Royal Proclamation was an English imperial document, among other things, that recognized and reaffirmed the “Indian territory” to be their “absolute property,” established English imperial rules regarding the treaty-making process under the Covenant Chain, and recognized the significance of the sovereignty of aboriginal trade and trading. It would be reaffirmed one year later in a Grand Council of Nations at Niagara in 1764 and in subsequent treaties, indicated by the following First Nations’ perspective:

While the treaties are like stones marking a spot in time, the relationship between the Nations is like two equals, respecting each of their differences but supporting each other for a common position on peace, order and justice for all. The brotherhood created by the Twenty Four Nations Belt represents a relationship of both sharing and respect. The sharing is reciprocal: as the First Nations shared land and the knowledge in the past, now that situation is reversed, the generosity of spirit and action is expected to continue. The respect is also reciprocal: respect for each other’s rights, existence, laws and vision of the future.

By the late eighteenth century, the balance of power was beginning to shift and increasingly the treaties came to be seen as land surrenders by the aboriginal peoples as subjects of the imperial crowns. These promises were not inconsequential at a time when the English imperial foothold on the North American continent was, at best, precarious. After Sir William Johnson died in 1774, things began to fall apart. By the 1790s, the solemn promises of the crown were forgotten by the Indian Department.

After the American Revolution, the new colony of Upper Canada became important to the English

imperial government for a strategic reason: to protect the English colony from the United States as an aboriginal buffer state. The land was also seen to be, in the long term, of great value as a place for the second British empire to promote commercial agricultural settlement and colonization. Lieutenant John Graves Simcoe’s plan for Upper Canada (1791) outlined this plan:

There are but a very few Indians who inhabit within it, the greater part of the soil has been purchased & the whole ought to be before it will become of value, as the Indians will not want for suggestions to enhance [enhance] its price. I consider the Country to be of immense value, whether it be regarded to its immediate advantages, the future prospect of Advantage, or the probable grounds for supposing it will remain the most important foreign possession of Great Britain.

Based on the Royal Proclamation of 1763, a misconstruction of the treaty-making process, and Simcoe’s land policy, a number of land surrenders in Upper Canada occurred from the 1790s to the Confederation of Canada (1867) and in the west and north by means of the numbered treaties.

These treaties were not entered into without resistance by First Nations’ citizens. Despite the spirit of the Two Row Wampum and, later, the ostensible promise of protection of subject peoples, the treaty-making process became a landgrab filled with corruption and land speculation, as was the case in the United States. Conflict, rooted in imperial and colonial aspirations as well as in cultural disparateness of the First Nations and the White Settlers, grew apace as a part of Canadian aboriginal policies within regional frameworks. There were treaties of peace and friendship in Atlantic Canada, no treaties in Quebec, and land loss treaties in Upper Canada that became a model of the subsequent numbered treaties (1871–1930) in the west and north. The principle of protection gave way to assimilation, and with it came European scientific racism as part and parcel of Canada’s Indian policies.

The War of 1812–1814 fought in the British North American colonies and in the United States was a “turntable” for Canadian Indian policies. Although they fought for the British in that war, the First Nations were no longer needed militarily when it was over. The result was that the United States and Britain agreed on a boundary that split the First





Nations' territories, literally carving it up along the survey of the international boundary and, more seriously, effectively taking away jurisdiction and governance (but not sovereignty) from the First Nations.

Relocation and attempted extinguishment of aboriginal title and reserve lands in Upper Canada occurred after the War of 1812–1814. Gradually, a full-blown British imperial policy of civilization was established and in effect by the 1820s. Many more requests came for land surrenders from the English crown, but the land surrenders were not followed. Most of the monies were not deposited to trust fund accounts, and more lands were taken than outlined in the written treaty documents. Even without the overt use of force, the British government sometimes used another process—one based on nonconsultation with aboriginal peoples and lacking their consent, all in violation of the spirit and intent of the Royal Proclamation and the treaties—to achieve the end of extinguishment.

Beginning in the 1820s, with increasing British immigration to Upper Canada, agricultural settlement by white settlers on a large scale began. Requests came for more land surrenders. In the 1820s under Lieutenant Governors Sir Charles Henry Darling, John Colborne (Baron Seaton), and then Sir Francis Bond Head, the British imperial government embarked on its policy of "civilization" in Upper Canada since it had already been deemed a success by English imperial officials in Lower Canada. While this policy was primarily designed with a hard edge to purposefully assimilate aboriginal people, it also promised monies for education and training and economic opportunities, for example, commercial agricultural opportunities, for the citizens of the First Nations. Another less desirable approach of the policy was a conscious plan of removal, developed by Head in the mid-1830s. The idea was to remove and to centralize aboriginal people into two geographical areas: primarily Manitoulin Island and Walpole Island. Once centralized, they could better be, according to the government view, "civilized" and then assimilated. This was strenuously resisted by the First Nations. The only group that became enfranchised as "white people" by the 1880s under this policy were the Wyandots of Anderdon.

The so-called civilization policy was not predicated on the surrender of Indian lands, at least initially, to pay for the policy. Rather, the monies for it would come from a general parliamentary grant from the crown. Subsequently, the policy became

one of assimilation, which was financed crudely by selling Indian lands and using the funds raised to pay for their own assimilation. This policy was anathema to the First Nations. By 1840, the policy had already failed at Coldwater and other places. Yet the Indian Department, confronted by wholesale squatting and trespassing on First Nation lands, continued to implement it by taking land surrenders. This policy was codified in the late 1850s in the first Indian Act of 1857. The import of this new approach to civilization was not lost on the First Nations' leadership, who rejected it and bluntly stated that it was an attempt "to break them to pieces."

Partially responding to the attempted encroachments and the alienation of the Indian Territory, the English imperial government took action, flowing from the Royal Proclamation, to protect parts of it. In 1839 it passed legislation to protect crown lands, especially the Indian Territory, which had been the subject of considerable concern because of trespassing, squatting by nonaboriginal people, illegal land use (such as the taking of timber from Indian lands), and outright fraud. However, this legislation proved not to be strong enough in the decade following its passage, and the thefts or other depredations on aboriginal lands continued. On August 10, 1850, the government of the Province of Canada passed further legislation, an act for the "protection" of the "property occupied or enjoyed" by aboriginal people in Upper Canada "from Trespass and Injury." This legislation strengthened the provisions of the 1839 Act but the legislation still appears not to have been effective since the squatting and the process of dispossession continued unabated.

In 1861 Herman Merivale (1806–1874), an astute British imperial commentator and a consummate bureaucrat, observed that British imperial aboriginal policy had been a failure. His commentary could well be a description of Canada's aboriginal policy more than 144 years later:

The subject, in short, is one which has been dealt with by perpetual compromises between principle and immediate exigency. Such compromises are incidental to constitutional government. We are accustomed to them: there is something in them congenial to our national character, as well as accommodated to our institutions; and on the whole, we may reasonably doubt whether the world is not better managed by means of them than through the severe application of principles.





But, unfortunately, in the special subject before us, the uncertainty created by such compromises is a greater evil than errors of principle.

Merivale's description of the vacillating nature of Canada's perpetual compromises between principle and immediate exigency is a significant observation about the failure of Canada's aboriginal policies. The policies only created great uncertainty and extreme frustration with the failure of the crown to uphold the Covenant Chain of Silver and the concomitant solemn treaty promises. This situation goes far to explain its failure of Canada's Indian policies.

One of the primary events of Canada's racist and colonial Indian policies was the Confederation of Canada. In 1867 the British North America Act was passed by the British imperial government, thereby establishing the Dominion of Canada. The First Nations effectively lost recognition and respect for their rights of aboriginal governance over their lands and waters. The new federal government assumed responsibility for "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians" by Section 91 (24), subject to any liabilities, which the government of the Province of Canada had, to the First Nations. This legislation allowed the federal government to pass the first consolidated Indian Act, thereby establishing a colonial relationship of the federal government to the First Nations. It also stated that the provinces had control over all other lands within the boundaries of each province (Section 109). Although this imperial statute was subject to any outstanding interests, including reserve lands as well as the aboriginal territory, much of which was still unceded, neither the interests nor the lands were specified. If the lands were not referred to, then the assumption was that the First Nations' land rights did not exist.

Originally, the Confederation of Canada was conceived of and was supposed to have been a treaty among the founding nations of Canada, including all of the First Nations based on the Two Row Wampum. But it soon became a means of carrying forward the policy of extinguishment, including the surrender or relinquishment of the Indian Territory as well as the implementation in the late nineteenth century of the residential school system with its horrific cultural and sexual abuses, which lasted well into the 1980s.

The negotiation of the so-called numbered treaties was a clear example not only of the divergence in thinking of the treaty makers in the 1870s

but also of the weaknesses of Canada's regional Indian policies at that time and thereafter. Mawedopenais, a Mide chief of the Ojibwa, spoke to the crown's commissioner and chief negotiator, Alexander Morris (1826–1889), at the third treaty negotiations in October of 1873. As a spokesperson for the Rainy Lake and Rainy River people in this treaty-making process, he was clear on the position of aboriginal nations and the title to their lands: "I lay before you our opinions. Our hands are poor but our heads are rich, and it is riches that we ask so that we may be able to support our families as long as the sun rises and the water runs." Morris replied, disingenuously, indicating that he did not understand what aboriginal title and the treaty-making process meant for the aboriginal nations: "I am very sorry; you know it takes two to make a bargain; you are agreed on the one side, and I for the Queen's Government on the other. I have to go away and report that I have to go without making terms with you. I doubt if the Commissioners will be sent again to assemble this nation." This threat, implying the government approach of divide and conquer was not, as may be expected, well received by the Ojibwa nation. Treaty 3 was eventually negotiated and signed, but not on the basis of the spirit and the terms of the treaty as understood by the Ojibwa Nation. He did not believe, as many people do to this day, that the aboriginal nations were ready to share in the treaty-making process with the riches in their heads. There was no balance in the "bargain" before or after the treaty was signed. Morris and the federal government took too much away from the life of the Ojibwa. It has continued to do so here and elsewhere in Canada.

This nonconsultative treaty-making approach became central and pivotal to the development of the top-down policy approach of the federal government inherent in the Indian Act of 1876 and its successors, making the government both colonial and racist. Under this Act, the federal government alone, in a process that is neither consultative nor community-based, decides who is an aboriginal person and who is not under the registration process. Nonstatus and Métis persons are not recognized as aboriginal, and they cannot be registered under the Act, notwithstanding that they are recognized in Canada's Constitution as aboriginal peoples. In fact, it was not until the 1930s that the Inuit of Canada's north were recognized through a court ruling as having equal status as "Indians." Yet there is no Inuit Act today. Moreover, except for one substantial





revision to that legislation in 1951, essentially the Indian Act remains a cornerstone of Canada's aboriginal policies. Canadian Indian policies have been and still are in complete disarray.

There remains a wide cultural gulf in the treaty-making process that has become intensified and that has led to the abrogation of aboriginal title and treaty rights and to the events of the summer of 1990 at the Oka and nearby Mohawk reserves. But the events at Oka were broader than those at Kahnésatake and Kahnawake. Similar situations also occurred in Ontario and in British Columbia, all involving unresolved land claims, a problem across Canada and one that resurfaced in 2006 with the conflict at Caledonia, Ontario.

What accounts for these Canadian Indian policies and the reality of Indian existence in Canada? The answer lies in the disparate histories of aboriginal and nonaboriginal people in Canada. The European, so-called scientific Western tradition of history has seen, sometimes in its crudest forms, the relationship between people and the land and its uses as a separate category and process. From the viewpoint of aboriginal traditions, these categories are wholly artificial and do not really exist. The aborigine has a holistic view, seeing land and man and nature and the uses that one makes of the lands and waters as one within a circle of time. They come from a single source—from a Creator who made all living things and nature. It is not enough to analyze each separately. The sum of the parts does not, in this instance, comprise the whole. The aboriginal way of seeing the world is simple, yet profound. Aboriginal people have protected and conserved their homelands—their territories—since time immemorial. This is understood and told by their elders, from the perspective of the First Nations. They tell who they are and, in spiritual terms, what their lands and waters mean to them. They have used the land and have shared in the harvesting of the fruits of the land for thousands of years.

The primary objective of aboriginal people is spiritual: to protect the land—Mother Earth—and the waters of Turtle Island. This is a sacred trust, a trust to protect the land. The continuity and integrity of the lands are important to the survival of indigenous people. Generations of First Nations members have used the land and have shared in its bounty and its uses. Moreover, they will continue to use this land and teach their children about the Creator and the land. So this relationship is all-important. They owe their very survival to it. It is both simple and

profound. The events of the summer of 1990 at Oka and elsewhere across Canada occurred in our time at the initiative of aboriginal people to protect their lands and waters. To do this, they had no choice but to resist those who wished to destroy the land and themselves. Not to do this meant their destruction as well as the destruction of their children and grandchildren. It would have meant the end of their cultures and of their survival as aboriginal people. They will continue to protect their lands and waters.

In the twenty-first century we are witnessing profound structural changes in the history of the world. The world of nineteenth-century European imperialism is over. Decolonization is continuing apace. This process has been characterized by the forces of both construction and destruction. In Canada, as one example, aboriginal peoples are reaffirming their inherent right to governance through diverse approaches and a variety of means. Their lands are ever so slowly being recovered, if not always respected. Aboriginal title is beginning to be understood and recognized. One watershed in the twentieth century was the *Calder v. Attorney General of British Columbia* case of 1973. This decision of the Supreme Court of Canada found that aboriginal title and rights did exist in the white justice system of Canada. It opened the legal doors for the prosecution of aboriginal title and rights cases in Canada. *Calder* was followed by many constructive Supreme Court decisions that affirmed aboriginal title and land rights and treaties, including *Guerin*, *Simon*, *Sioui*, and *Sparrow* in the late 1980s and 1990s, and most recently, *Delgamuukw* (1997), to name but a few.

*Calder* opened the door to new land claims policies of the federal government in 1974, only one year after the case was decided by Canada's Supreme Court. It has brought about an undermining of Canada's historic Indian policies and their replacement with various forms of aboriginal governance that has led to the creation of the territory of Nunavut in 1999 and then the first modern treaty: the Nishga Treaty in British Columbia in 2003. This new Indian policy is not based on land claims processes, because there are no aboriginal land claims, only land rights. There are only aboriginal title and treaty rights to the land, and these must be protected. Among the land grievances flowing from the treaty-making process is that—unrecognized by the Euro-Canadian land tenure system or by government legislation, such as the Indian Act—the spiritual foundation is lost. And it is lost not only in the reserves, places of special and specific protection,





but also in any of the strategic areas of land that aborigines used. Such lands were a major consideration for both the crown and the aboriginal people, but the antithetical concepts regarding land ownership and use still intensify conflicts over treaty areas and reserves.

For example, the people of the Bkejwanong First Nation submitted a small land claim regarding three hundred acres to the Specific Claims Branch of Indian Affairs in 1977, thirty years ago. After years of review and analysis, it was rejected in 1986, and now its rejection is being reviewed by the Indian Specific Claims Commission, which was established by the Mulroney Tories as a partial response to Oka in 1991. The hearings on the rejection of this claim were scheduled to take place in April of 1994, seventeen years after the claim was submitted. To date, federal officials are still reviewing the claim. Land claims exhibit too much process, very little substance, and too few settlements. This example is not at all unusual, because the Indian Specific Claims Commission, established after the events of the summer of 1990 at Oka and elsewhere, can only publish its findings and recommendations to the federal cabinet, but the government does not have to implement its recommendations.

Likely due to differing views between the government and aboriginal nations over land rights, the government's procedure for handling what it regards as land claims seems to be aimed at delaying resolution for as long as possible. From the aboriginal nation's point of view, a land claim is a statement of the land rights in reference to a specific geographical area. It is a claim based on whether the aboriginal users of the land and its resources ever entered into a treaty for it under the rules set out in the Royal Proclamation of 1763. A claim is not a court action; it is not litigation. It is a policy (actually two—one for comprehensive claims and the other for specific ones) and a program of the federal government administered by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. The federal government, in other words, forces First Nations into a policy that does not reflect the nation-to-nation treaty-making process. If a First Nation disagrees with this policy, its only recourse is to begin an expensive, decades-long litigation process on each of its claims.

From the government's policy and program point of view, the purpose is to extinguish "claims." When a claimant decides on litigation, the file wends its way slowly through the federal bureaucracy to

the Department of Justice, where, in time, the claimant is seen to have withdrawn the claim. First, an application for a claim must be accompanied by a statement of facts that includes a summary statement of the historical research findings on the aboriginal people and their lands. It includes events that have been recorded either by oral traditions or by the written record since time immemorial. Legal argument and conclusions are often present as well. Lastly, copies of the historical documents are included. The government, or more correctly governments, since in Canada provincial governments have constitutional jurisdiction over lands and natural resources, while the federal government has responsibility for Indian land and people, begins to assess the claim based on its perception of its validity, its (often limited) understanding of the interpretation of the history of the aboriginal people, and pure political considerations.

The actions of previous governments are also taken into account from the time of the British empire in the eighteenth century through to the successive colonial governments, the provinces, and Ottawa. Also significant in any bureaucratic and political judgment is the role of legal and legislative precedents with similar claims. For example, a previous Supreme Court of Canada decision in a claimant's favor has an enormous impact on a claim with a similar fact situation because it likely has the same legal issues at stake. The difficulty is that there are still relatively few legal precedents. Thus, decisions on validity are often determined by the Department of Justice's lawyers whose job entails a conflict of interest. This system of deciding the claims by having a federal lawyer be the judge, jury, and executioner is not at all fair, and, moreover, it has failed. Only a truly independent claims commission, such as an independent tribunal, can protect the claims process and the federal government from disrepute.

Land claims are significant only if they can add to the land and the economic base of First Nation communities. Indian reserves were initially strategic economic areas that were excepted from the treaty-making process. Later they were transformed and designed by British imperial policy makers as special areas of "civilization" with the specific objective of assimilating the First Nations. Soon they became mere "half-way houses" that were to be appropriated whenever they were needed for the purposes of the crown or for nonaboriginal uses. Thus, the federal government held





the First Nations' land in a kind of British imperial trusteeship, which gave way on a path leading to gradual and then, it was hoped, complete assimilation. This is a vestige of a pure colonial relationship. Even this misguided basis for aboriginal "claims," distorted as it is by twentieth-century lenses, has been rendered illegitimate through time by the alienation of the land and labor of aboriginal people. First Nations' land and labor were effectively or formally expropriated by the federal or provincial governments. Land surrenders, as well as the loss of the commons (their non-Reserve areas) for natural resource usage by governments and by private interests, assisted the process. What was seen to be legitimate was rendered both unlawful and unfair from an aboriginal perspective. The Temagami case, in particular the building of the Red Squirrel Road extension in 1988–1989, is a prime, but not a solitary, illustration. Only on October 2, 1990, at a conference on aboriginal sovereignty and self-determination in Toronto, as a result of many years of aboriginal resistance movements, has there been a recognition in Canada of the inherent right of aboriginal self-governance.

Fifteen years of constitution making since 1982 have collapsed into disunity, separatism, and regional antagonisms among the white visitors to Canada. The former Meech Lake Accord, the epitome of the old British imperial centralist model of confederation, stylishly referred to as "executive federalism," was defeated in 1990 and never ratified as part of Canada's constitution. The same was true for the second attempt with the Charlottetown Accord of 1992. This was a clear constitutional victory for aboriginal people: They are in the Canadian Constitution. Although the Charlottetown Accord of 1992 was also a failure, the inherent right of aboriginal people to self-governance, as well as their title and land rights, has since been reaffirmed. Gradually, Canada is becoming similar in structure to what it was in preconfederation days. At that time, British North America was a series of communities located along the Great Lakes and adjacent waterway systems. It comprised Euro-American and aboriginal communities in an alliance of nations within both aboriginal and British imperial confederacies. It was a true meeting ground of diverse languages, cultures, and communities. This is an illustration of how the past is an integral part of the present. Aboriginal title, time, and resistance movements may well be common themes in Canada's disparate histories of its founding nations.

The foundation exists now for a constructive approach to the making of Canada by means of treaty making. The Constitution of Canada recognizes aboriginal people as "Indian, Inuit and Métis." It also shows grudging respect for "existing Aboriginal and treaty rights." Why, then, did aboriginal people oppose the Meech Lake Accord, contributing dramatically to its failure in June 1990? Why did we have, some few weeks later, the violence and the blockades at Kahnésatake, Oka, and Kahnawake in Quebec, or the blockades of roads and railway lines in Ontario and British Columbia?

The answer lies in the First Nations' disparate histories and cultures. To put it simply, aboriginal people and the rest of Canada speak to one another from differing historical and cultural assumptions and experiences, including those regarding languages, customs, governance, lands, and waters, as well as time and progress. This also helps to explain the repeated failures of Canada's aboriginal policy or policies.

This reversal of English imperial policy was only altered in 1982 when Canada's Constitution was brought home from England in written form. Hitherto, it had been an unwritten document, essentially an embodiment of British imperialist legislation in 1867. With this act, "existing Aboriginal and treaty rights" (but not self-governance or sovereignty) were admitted as part of the Charter of Rights and Freedoms under that Constitution. Today the larger business of the treaty-making process and various land claims policies remains incomplete and unfulfilled. The land claims issues are currently being defined by Canada's Constitution on an issue-by-issue basis by the Supreme Court of Canada.

The validity of aboriginal oral history and traditions was reaffirmed in 1996 by the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and again in 1997 by the Supreme Court of Canada in its ruling in the case of *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia*, also known as the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en comprehensive claim. That legal ruling stated that oral traditions are "not simply a detached recounting of factual events but, rather, are 'facts enmeshed in the stories of a lifetime.'" Moreover, they are "rooted in particular locations, making reference to particular families and communities." As a result, aboriginal oral history is in fact "many histories, each characterized in part by how a people see themselves, how they define their identity in relation to their environment, and how they express their uniqueness as a people." The Supreme Court stated that the laws of evidence in





the Canadian justice system must accommodate aboriginal oral history and tradition such that it “be placed on an equal footing with the types of historical evidence that courts are familiar with, which largely consists of historical documents. This is a long-standing practice in the interpretation of treaties between the Crown and aboriginal peoples.” Not to recognize and accept this history as an equally valid way of viewing the past is to invalidate aboriginal people and their land rights.

Without pen or ink, the First Nations remember and understand, through their stories, their internal and external landscapes of being and becoming. There are no boundaries and no beginning or end points. In short, there is no periodization of history. Their history is both separate and parallel to the history of Canada, as understood by nonaboriginal people—the history of the newcomers. In this way, aboriginal oral traditions also evoke and speak to the European past and have much to teach us about ourselves. They provide a necessary corrective, a balance as well as a deeper understanding of what we know today as Canada. For aboriginal people, circles of time are part of the natural world and nature, of life and living. Every living thing has a relationship to every other, and the events that occur in one’s lifetime have an immediate impact on one’s children and grandchildren. The seventh generation is immediate and close. We are, then, within circles of time.

Yet much of Canada’s modern aboriginal land policy is still viewed one-dimensionally as primarily assimilative, as a form of directed cultural change. This has been seen as originating in the nineteenth century and culminating in the federal government’s White Paper of 1969. Canadian historians have concentrated more on the origins and development of that policy and less on the resistance to it by the First Nations, especially on aspects of it in the twentieth century. Aboriginal policies must also be viewed from the perspective of the First Nations’ citizens and their governments. It must not be forgotten that nonaboriginal people and their governmental institutions have been visitors to aboriginal homelands.

Canada’s aboriginal policies have developed gradually and consist of two primary components that are diametrically opposed to each other. Thus they become built-in obstacles. The first is that the federal government has been largely indifferent to aboriginal title and land rights, taking a legalistic approach overall, acting only when it is forced to do so by Canada’s courts. The second component is that the provinces continue to use their hegemony,

through legislation and regulations, over lands and natural resources in self-serving ways. Canada’s aboriginal policies since 1867 have been an artificial creation, both negative and destructive, for aboriginal people and their relationship to the rest of the country. Federal policies have always been driven by other more prominent national agenda items—western settlement, protective tariffs, free trade, and the Constitution. Witness, for example, the failure of the Meech Lake and the Charlottetown Accords in the early 1990s. Canada’s aboriginal policy, through a long process of denial, has created institutional racism and corresponding resistance movements that culminated in violence and death. The events of the summer of 1990 at Oka have not been erased. The initiative for change in aboriginal history has always come from the First Nations. Government policy has always been characterized by reaction, crisis management, and denial. Encountering policy words with no substance and a benign, passive policy, the First Nations have always chosen to act; they had no choice but to resist these policies if they wished to survive.

David T. McNab and Ute Lischke

*See also* Assembly of First Nations; Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Constitution Act; Cree-Naskapi Act; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Indian Act; James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement; Nunavut Land Claims Agreement; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples; Tribal Sovereignty; Tungavik Federation, Nunavut.

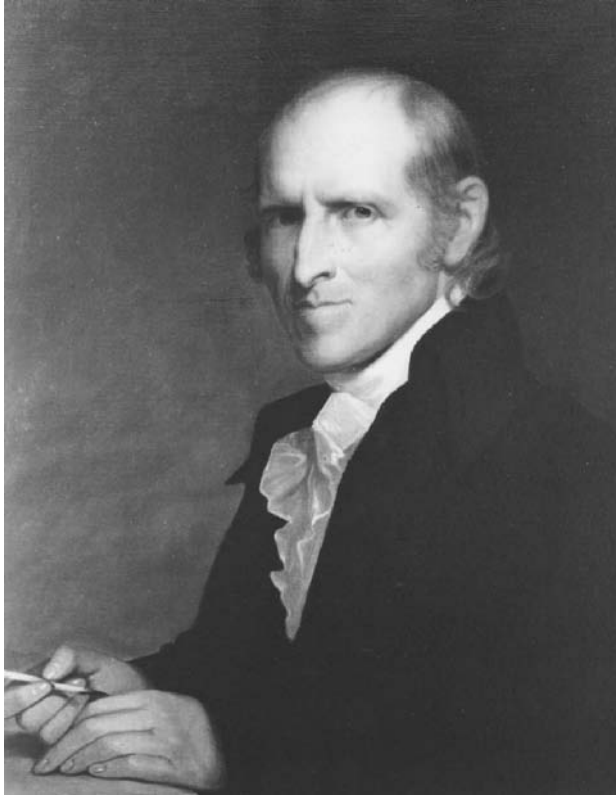
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## Canandaigua (Pickering) Treaty

United States Secretary of War Timothy Pickering negotiated the Canandaigua Treaty with the Haudenosaunee, represented mainly by the Seneca, in





*Timothy Pickering, while U.S. secretary of war, negotiated the Canandaigua treaty with the Haudenosaunee, represented mainly by the Seneca, in 1794. (Library of Congress)*

1794. The treaty called for peace, as well as noninterference in the affairs of the Six Nations by the United States, quitclaims for lands already ceded, and an annuity of \$4,500 a year. Hardly had the ink dried on the guarantee of noninterference, however, when the United States commissioners, hearing of General “Mad Anthony” Wayne’s victory at Fallen Timbers (near Maumee and Toledo, Ohio), demanded portage rights at Niagara.

The Canandaigua Treaty is important today because it defines Seneca sovereignty specifically and Haudenosaunee sovereignty by implication. Specifically, the treaty says that the United States would “never claim the same [Seneca territory], nor disturb the Seneca nation . . . in the free use or enjoyment thereof; but it shall remain theirs until they choose to sell the same to the people of the United States” (Foster, 1984, 117).

To the Haudenosaunee, the important issues at Canandaigua were familiar: Several frontier murderers of Indians by whites were going unpunished.

Jurisdiction over major crimes was a common issue in treaty negotiations. The Iroquois also main-

tained that land cessions required by the Fort Stanwix treaty, negotiated in 1784, had been unfairly extensive, encroaching on their hunting grounds. The proposed settlement at Presque Isle was at issue as well. The Seneca insisted that the warrior chiefs who had negotiated the peace at Fort Stanwix had failed to submit the treaty to the Grand Council for ratification. Pickering proposed that the Seneca relinquish a strip of land four miles wide along the south of the Niagara River from Cayuga Creek to Buffalo Creek. Red Jacket replied that this was not acceptable because it would constitute a threat to Seneca fisheries and their settlement at Buffalo Creek. Pickering dropped the issue and settled for construction of a road, to be owned by the Seneca, from Fort Schlosser to Buffalo (Fenton, 1998, 695).

The negotiations continued until the parties achieved a general consensus that they had achieved all they could. On November 9, however, the Seneca Chief Cornplanter complained of past dealings with the United States and offered that the sachems alone, and not the warriors, should sign the treaty. Pickering was unwilling to do this. He felt that if the warriors did not sign, divisions would rise among the Indians that would undo the treaty (Fenton, 1998, 699).

Cornplanter’s behavior significantly diminished his reputation as a friend of the United States in Pickering’s eyes. The treaty was signed on November 11, 1794, and went into effect under U.S. law on January 21, 1795. The primary objectives of the United States were to settle the question of the Six Nations’ claims to lands in Ohio and the Erie Triangle and to embark on a policy of sincere negotiations and fair payment in land transactions.

Today, the people of the Six Nations believe the U.S. government has not kept several promises made in this treaty. The Six Nations believe the United States recognized that the lands of the Six Nations belong to them, not to the United States. The U.S. and New York State governments have since acted contrarily to any reasonable interpretation of the promise not to claim the land or disturb the Six Nations in any way. And they do so despite the fact that the United States and New York State do not collect taxes or enforce a variety of laws and regulations on lands they have acknowledged as having status as a sovereign domain distinct from their own.

Finally, many Iroquois believe that the treaty recognizes parallel legal jurisdictions to a much greater degree than those that have evolved since 1794. The treaty states, for example, that in the event of a crime, the two parties will pursue prudent measures involv-





ing the president or the superintendent until some other “equitable” provision shall be made. Some U.S. representatives assert that transferring jurisdiction to New York State fulfilled the requirement for equitable or equal provision, involving both parties in resolution of problems. However, many Iroquois, most notably the traditional chiefs, have long complained that there was nothing equitable in either the spirit or practice of the U.S. legal system as it relates to this treaty.

The treaty, signed by George Washington on January 21, 1795, remains a seminal document in Iroquois–U.S. relations. Following the construction of the Kinzua Dam, the Senecas whom it displaced were compensated with \$18 million because the eviction violated the Canandaigua Treaty. The Canandaigua Treaty was being used in the late twentieth century to prod federal government bodies, such as the Environmental Protection Agency, to act on environmental problems that damage Haudenosaunee living conditions from sources in the United States. Pollution from off-reservation sources is most serious at Akwesasne, which has been ranked as the most expensive toxic cleanup in the United States by the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency. The Senecas’ Tonawanda reservation near Niagara Falls is close to Love Canal, one of North America’s best publicized toxic sites. The Onondagas also invoked sovereignty guaranteed under the Canandaigua Treaty in 1983 when they granted sanctuary to American Indian Movement leader Dennis Banks and his family as he was being pursued by federal law enforcement authorities.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Canada, Indian Policies of; Citizenship; Cornplanter; Hazardous Waste; Red Jacket; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Carlisle Treaty Council

The Carlisle Treaty Council between the Pennsylvania colony and the representatives of various Indian

groups met at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, for one week beginning October 1, 1753. Ever the entrepreneur, Benjamin Franklin printed an account of the negotiation in his newspaper.

The chief reason for calling the conference lay in the growing tensions between the French and British and their respective Indian allies. Realizing that a war loomed on the horizon, the Pennsylvania Assembly called the conference and sent a delegation to negotiate for the renewal of alliances with various Ohio and Iroquois groups. The Pennsylvania delegation was composed of Franklin, in his first appearance as an Indian negotiator; Richard Peters, the secretary of the Provincial Council; and Isaac Peters, the secretary of the Pennsylvania Assembly. These three were the chief diplomats sent to the conference. Conrad Weiser, a local Indian trader who acted as interpreter, assisted the three delegates in their negotiations. George Croghan assisted Weiser in these activities.

Native American groups present included the Delawares, the Twightwees, the Shawnees, and the Wyandots. These last three were Ohio Indians. The Twightwees in particular were mentioned in Governor James Hamilton of Pennsylvania’s announcement calling for the conference since the French attacked them in 1752. Also present were the Iroquois, who claimed suzerainty over the Delawares. The negotiator for the Iroquois was Scarrooyady.

Many of the normal issues of the colonial–Indian relations arose in the discussions at the conference. The various Indian groups sought restrictions on the increasing numbers of white settlers coming across their borders illegally and squatting on their lands. They therefore sought assurances that the Pennsylvanians would guarantee their lands. A paramount issue for the Indians—and one Scarrooyady became very outspoken on—was the use of rum in the fur trade. The chiefs called for a stop to this practice, and Franklin agreed. His conviction on the matter was reinforced when he witnessed the effects of alcohol on the Native Americans on the night following the conclusion of the conference.

For their part, the Pennsylvanians sought clear assurances that, should another conflict between Great Britain and France erupt in the backcountry, the Indians would at least remain neutral and at best join on the British side.

At one point during the conference proceedings, the Delawares attempted to assert their independence from the Iroquois Confederacy. This





nearly brought an end to the conference when Scarrooyady flatly rejected the claim.

In the end, Franklin signed a treaty whereby the Pennsylvania colony pledged to respect the boundaries with the various Indian groups and to hold back the flow of settlers. Likewise, he pledged to raise the matter of regulating the Indian trade, and more specifically removing liquor from the trade, with the Pennsylvania Assembly. The Indians likewise pledged their neutrality should a conflict break out with the French. In the long run, both sides failed to live up to their pledges when the French and Indian War broke out.

It is quite clear that a number of the issues that arose at the Carlisle Conference influenced Franklin's thinking as he prepared to attend the Albany Congress the following year. Among the concerns of Native Americans that certainly affected Franklin's thinking were the desires of the chiefs that white settlement be restricted and that alcohol be removed from the fur trade. Likewise, it is clear that Franklin was already thinking along the lines of mutual colonial defense as he prepared for the meeting in Albany in 1754 and that ideas along these lines developed as he negotiated with the chiefs at Carlisle. Finally, the successful conclusion of the Carlisle conference and treaty marked the beginning of nearly three decades of diplomacy on the part of Franklin with Native Americans, among the colonies, and with various European states.

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*See also* Albany Congress, Native Precedents; Franklin, Benjamin, Native American Influences; French and Indian War; Fur Trade.

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## Cherokee Nation v. Georgia

Following the discovery of gold there in 1829, Georgia attempted to assert authority over the Cherokee Nation, which comprised several economically self-sufficient towns with their own farms, mills, animal herds, and government. Cherokees also used a written language, devised by Sequoyah. The assertion of political authority by the state of Georgia set the stage for a key test of federal–state relations in the decades before the Civil War, as the Cherokees resisted removal to Indian Territory, in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832).

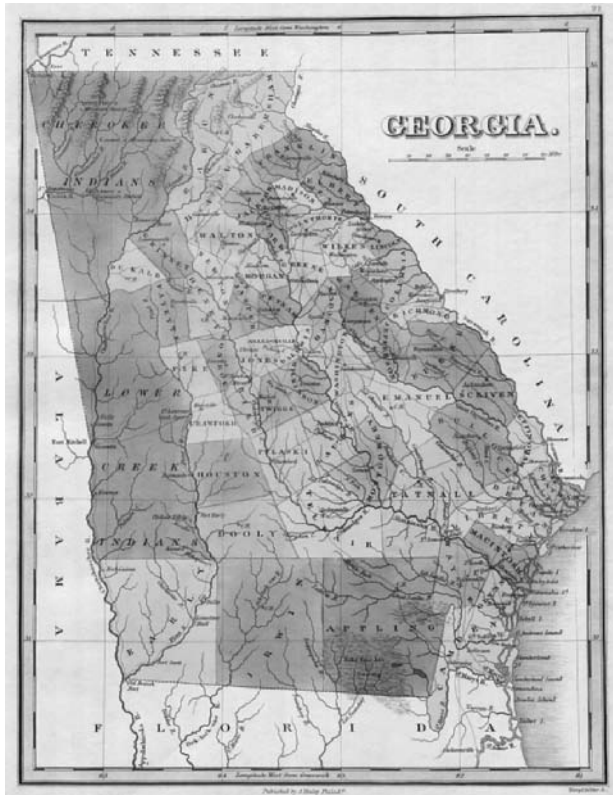
The term "Marshall Trilogy" is used to describe the group of Chief Justice John Marshall's rulings in *Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823), *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, and *Worcester v. Georgia*. In these three cases, Marshall developed legal doctrines that defined the relationships among the United States, the individual states, and Native American nations. In these opinions, according to legal scholar Charles F. Wilkinson, "Marshall conceived a model that can be described broadly as calling for largely autonomous tribal governments subject to an overriding federal authority but essentially free of state control" (1987, 24).

The Marshall Trilogy is so important in American Indian law because the key precepts of Marshall's three opinions have been interpreted by lawyers, judges, legal scholars, and government officials in many different ways. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, for example, used the phrases "dependent," "pupilage," and "ward" to construct a cradle-to-grave social and political control system in which even adult Indians were regarded legally as incompetents, much like children.

President Jackson's adamant support of Indian removal placed him on a direct constitutional collision course with Chief Justice John Marshall, who was in the process of evolving legal doctrines vis-à-vis Native American land rights on which he had been working before Jackson was elected. The Cherokee cases, which came before Chief Justice Marshall's U.S. Supreme Court between 1823 and 1832, would display, in broad and emphatic relief, how closely much of early nineteenth-century American life was connected to the land speculation machine that helped propel westward movement.

In *Cherokee v. Georgia*, the Cherokees sued in federal court under a clause in the Constitution (Article III, section 2) that allows foreign citizens or states to seek legal redress against states in the union. In this case, the Cherokees were suing as an independent





An 1866 map of the state of Georgia shows county boundaries, roads, settlements, and topographical features. Also depicted is a large reservation for the Cherokee Indians. (Michael Maslan Historic Photographs/Corbis)

nation seeking redress because the state of Georgia had extended its power over Cherokee territory, extinguished the authority of the Cherokee government, and executed one of its citizens. Chief Justice Marshall skirted the issue by deciding that the Cherokees were not an independent country, but instead a “domestic dependent nation.” Marshall thus threw the case out of court, deciding that the Cherokees had no grounds on which to sue under the Constitution.

Georgia replied, citing a clause in the Constitution that prohibits the establishment of a state within the borders of another state. Marshall found, however, that the Cherokees had a legal relationship with the federal government through treaties; Georgia’s assertion of unilateral control was said by Marshall to be “repugnant to the said treaties, and . . . therefore unconstitutional and void” (Baker, 1974, 743). Writing for the majority in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, Marshall said that the Cherokees possessed a limited sovereignty: “They may, more correctly, perhaps be denominated domestic depen-

dent nations . . . Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian.” These phrases, as interpreted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, became the legal justification for the colonial system that was being imposed on Indians as Anglo-American settlement exploded across North America in the nineteenth century. Whether he intended it or not, the government used Marshall’s conception of the relationship to justify placing Indians in state of “wardship” in which their lives were placed under control by government agents. More than a century later, the “self-determination” movement aimed to dismantle this system.

The doctrine of wardship (as it has been applied to Native Americans) often is said to have grown out of Marshall’s rulings, although he may not have intended such an application. As the legal scholar Felix Cohen wrote:

. . . [T]he doctrine of Indian wardship arose out of a misunderstanding of Chief Justice Marshall’s holding, in 1831, that an Indian tribe was not a foreign nation but was rather a “domestic dependent nation,” and that its position toward the United States *resembles* that of a ward toward a guardian. This did not mean that an Indian tribe is a ward; even less did it mean that an individual Indian is a ward. But the opinion and several later opinions popularized the term wardship (Cohen, 1960, 331).

Under the reign of these magic words [“wardship” and “trust”] nothing Indian was safe. The Indian’s hair was cut, his dances forbidden, his oil lands, timber lands, and grazing lands were disposed of by Indian agents and Indian commissioners for whom the magic word “wardship” always made up for lack of statutory authority . . . (Cohen, 1960, 131–132).

In *Cherokee v. Georgia*, the justices of the Supreme Court took a variety of positions on the issue of Native American sovereignty that reflected societal attitudes toward the issue. While Justices Marshall and John McLean held that Indians lived in domestic dependent nations, Justices Smith Thompson and Joseph Story held that the Cherokees were a sovereign nation. Justice Henry Baldwin wrote that they had no sovereignty at all, and Justice William Johnson believed that the Cherokees had no sovereignty in his time but that they





possessed an inherent political power that might “mature” into more complete independence in the future.

Removal of the Cherokees and several other Native nations during the 1830s allowed the expansion of Anglo-American populations south and west through parts of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and neighboring states. At roughly the same time, the industrial application of Eli Whitney’s cotton gin created a mass market in moderately priced cotton clothing. Within a decade after their removals, the Indians’ homelands were replaced, in large part, by King Cotton and a revival of slavery.

The removal of the “civilized tribes” from their homelands is one of the most notable chapters in the history of American land relations. Jackson’s repudiation of John Marshall’s rulings, which supported the Cherokees’ rights to their homelands, was contempt of the Supreme Court (an impeachable offense under the Constitution). The subject of impeachment was not seriously raised, however. During the incendiary years before the Civil War, the removals became intertwined with the issue of states’ rights vis-à-vis the federal government. Had Jackson followed Justice Marshall’s rulings, the Civil War might have started during the 1830s.

Jackson did not seek the removal of the Cherokees and other civilized tribes—the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles—because they did not productively use the land. On the contrary, the civilized tribes were making exactly the kind of progress that the Great White Father desired of them: becoming farmers, educating their children, constituting governments modeled on the United States. Immigrants, many of them Scots and Irish, had married into Native families. Some of them owned plantations and slaves.

The issue was not the Indians’ degree of civilization. It was ownership of the best agricultural land in the area. Land was the largest type of wealth in the United States during Andrew Jackson’s lifetime. Slaves who worked the land of the South—human capital—were the second most widely held type of financial asset. The entire financial superstructure of stocks, bonds, and various forms of fungible cash so familiar in the late twentieth century lay largely in the future.

Michael Paul Rogin wrote of the period: “Land in America was not only a symbol of national identity, but also—in a more thoroughgoing fashion than anywhere else in the world—a commodity. . . . Land was the nation’s most sought-after commodity in the

first half-century of the republic, and the effort of men to acquire it was one of the dominant forces of the period” (1975, 79). Rogin quoted a contemporary source: “Were I to characterize the United States, it would be by the appellation of the land of speculators” (1975, 80). Land, once ownership had been wrested from Native owners, became the largest “futures market” available at the time, its value determined by its hoped-for future use in a newly evolving non-Indian society. As a general, and later as president, Jackson represented the values and interests of the land speculation industry.

Removal as an idea was not Jackson’s creation. Nearly three decades before Jackson executed it, in 1802, the state of Georgia signed an agreement with the U.S. government (the Cherokees were not consulted), stating its intent to work toward extinguishment of all Cherokee land titles within state borders as early as the land could be “peaceably obtained, and on reasonable terms” (Moulton, 1978, 24). By the time the Removal Act was passed by Congress in 1830, most white Georgians regarded the United States to be “seriously delinquent in the bargain” (Moulton, 1978, 24).

As President Jackson ignored Chief Justice Marshall’s opinion in *Worcester v. Georgia*, he also showed his frontier constituencies that he supported a belief popular among states’ rights advocates of the time: that the Supreme Court should be stripped of its power to review the rulings of state courts. Marshall repudiated the states’ rights advocates’ belief that Section 25 of the Judiciary Act of 1789 prohibited the Supreme Court from hearing the case. A bill that would have repealed that section (which gives the U.S. Supreme Court the power to rule on appeals from state courts) was debated on the floor of the House of Representatives, voted on, and defeated January 29, 1831.

The purported limits on the Supreme Court’s authority based on states’ rights stirred substantial controversy during the 1830s; when *Worcester v. Georgia* was heard before the Court on February 20, 1832, fifty members of the House of Representatives (about a quarter of the body) were in attendance. Marshall stepped into the maw of the states’ rights firestorm by turning aside a ruling of the Georgia Superior Court. Jackson, in turn, all but created his own law by ignoring Marshall’s ruling.

As a result of Jackson’s action, Georgia proceeded with its plan to evict Indians living within its borders and transfer the Indians’ land to non-Natives. Between one-third and one-fourth of the





sixteen thousand Cherokee people who were removed during 1838 died on the march to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) or shortly thereafter. The Cherokees' name for the march (*nuna-daa-ut-sun'y*, "the trail where they cried") provided its English name, the Trail of Tears.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Domestic Dependent Nation; Forced Marches; Indian Removal Act; Jackson, Andrew; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Relocation; Trail of Tears; Wardship Doctrine; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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## Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission

The Columbia River Inter-Tribal Fish Commission (CRITFC) is a cooperative resource management organization composed of the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation, the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs, the Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakama Nation, and the Nez Percé tribe. Founded in 1977, following a string of tribal court victories, its stated mission is "to ensure a unified voice in the overall management of the fishery resources, and as managers, to protect reserved treaty rights through the exercise of the inherent sovereign powers of the tribes." CRITFC operates on the principles of consensus and collaboration, working through the fish and wildlife committees of its constituent tribes and in consultation with various state and federal agencies to harmonize indigenous traditions with the best modern science and the realities of the modern river. Together with the Northwest Indian Fisheries Commission, its counterpart among the tribes of Puget Sound, CRITFC has become an important player in the

ongoing effort to protect and restore the endangered salmon runs of the Pacific Northwest.

The indigenous communities of the Columbia Basin struggled for more than a century to have their voices heard by the Euro-American interests and institutions that dominate the river. By treaties signed in 1855, the tribes reserved "the right of taking fish at all usual and accustomed places, in common with the citizens of the Territory." Starting in the 1860s, however, the commercialization of salmon and other forms of economic development (especially dam construction) began to decimate fish populations, destroy spawning habitat, and obstruct Indian access to the river. Declining salmon runs and increasing competition for fishing sites at Celilo Falls compelled the Umatilla, Warm Springs, and Yakama tribes to establish the Celilo Fish Committee (CFC) in 1936. This organization, which also included representatives from local Columbia River Indian communities, constituted the first intertribal effort to settle disputes and prevent outside interference. The CFC tried for twenty years to resolve conflicts and regulate harvests, but internal strife and limited authority hindered its effectiveness until the backwaters of The Dalles Dam flooded Celilo Falls in 1957. The tribes continued to assert their sovereignty, however, and federal court rulings in *U.S. v. Oregon* (1968) and *U.S. v. Washington* (1974) finally established their right to participate in fisheries management.

CRITFC emerged from a 1976 Memorandum of Understanding among the four treaty tribes with the help of the Bonneville Power Administration, which agreed to fund tribal participation as part of its legal obligation to mitigate the effects of federal dams. The tribes then passed resolutions authorizing the commission, and by March 1977 they had adopted its constitution and bylaws. CRITFC's structure reflects the determination of its founders to overcome tribal differences and practice cooperative management. The four tribal fish and wildlife committees comprise the commission's governing body, and they must reach consensus before it can act on their behalf. Each tribal committee appoints several commissioners, who annually select three officers (vice chair, secretary, and treasurer) and a chairperson from among their ranks, with each tribe holding the chair on a rotating basis. The position of executive director also rotates among the tribes to avoid charges of bias. Although disagreements occasionally arise within the commission, it remains committed to "unity of action in service of the salmon."





CRITFC has expanded greatly in size and expertise since the late 1970s. At first, it employed only two fish biologists and depended heavily on state and federal fishery agencies for advice and support. Over the years, as the tribes gained confidence and clout, CRITFC's staff grew to include additional biologists, fish passage specialists, policy analysts, attorneys, public relations officials, and law enforcement personnel. Some tribal fishers initially resented the imposition of another layer of management, but most now view the enforcement program as essential to their own safety and protection as well as to the preservation of the salmon. CRITFC has also earned the respect (if not always the affection) of state and federal agencies, which soon discovered that the tribes had their own management objectives. Commission staffers are active in gathering scientific data, setting fishery seasons and harvest quotas, carrying out habitat restoration projects, offering technical support to tribal hatcheries, conducting legal research, and lobbying policy makers. In the late 1990s, CRITFC developed its own management plan, called *Wy-Kan-Ush-Mi Wa-Kish-Wit* ("Spirit of the Salmon"). Much bolder than the measures favored by state, federal, and private interests, the tribal plan seeks quite simply "to put fish back in the rivers and protect the watersheds where fish live." "We have to take care of them so that they can take care of us," explained former executive director Ted Strong (Yakama). "Entwined together inextricably, no less now than ever before, are the fates of both the salmon and the Indian people."

Andrew H. Fisher

*See also* Boldt Decision; Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Economic Development; Fishing Rights; Great Lakes Intertribal Council; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Sohapp, Sr., David; Treaty Diplomacy, with Summary of Selected Treaties.

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## Constitution Act

In 1980, then Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced his intention to repatriate the Canadian Constitution from Britain, complete with a Charter of Rights and an amending formula. Two years of intensive negotiations between the federal government and the provinces followed. One contentious issue threatened to stall the negotiations a number of times: the inclusion of Section 35. This section and its four subsections provided for the recognition of existing aboriginal and treaty rights, defined who the aboriginal people of Canada were, and recognized existing treaty rights and those that may in the future be obtained vis-à-vis land claims, while indicating that treaty rights were guaranteed equally to both sexes.

Originally, the British North America Act of 1867 listed Indians under Section 91 (federal responsibility), subsection 24, "Indians and lands reserved for Indians." Section 91(24) did not define what "Indian" meant or what the federal responsibilities to Indians were. The term "Indian" took on legal significance under the auspices of the Indian Act of 1876, which legally defined who an Indian was and, in particular, how to gradually do away with that status until Indians no longer existed, legislatively, in Canada. The Indian Act, which is still the prevailing piece of legislation guiding the federal government in its day-to-day interactions with Indians, did not legally reconcile the unique cultural status of Canada's Métis and Inuit populations, nor did it accept nations such as the Anishinaabes, the Haudenosaunees, or the Niitsitapis, to name a few, as distinct cultural groups. This failure to accept the unique political statuses of different groups of Indians resulted in the government's ignoring the Inuit or Métis and therefore renouncing any responsibility for their well-being. This changed in 1939 with a Supreme Court decision that interpreted the federal government's power to make laws affecting "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians" as extending to the Inuit. The Métis did not achieve similar recognition.

Prior to the Constitutional discussions of the late 1970s, the aboriginal population in Canada began aggressively to object to the continued use of the term "Indian." Historically utilized by Europeans and the British to identify North American indigenous populations, many "Indian" organizations of the late 1970s changed their names to include the word "Native" or the phrase "First





Nation.” Many aboriginal leaders also began to describe their ancestors as founding members of Canada, perhaps a “third tier” of confederation. The political influence of aboriginal leaders of the 1970s led federal officials in 1978 to invite the National Indian Brotherhood, the Native Council of Canada, and the Inuit Committee on National Issues to participate in the constitutional discussions. Not satisfied to watch from the periphery, eleven additional aboriginal organizations initiated an influential lobbying effort, the goal being to secure, among other things, the constitutional recognition of aboriginal people and their rights.

Aboriginal leaders sought distinct status for these groups within the proposed Canadian Constitution. Section 35 was the product of bilateral discussions between the federal government and the aboriginal leaders that excluded provincial involvement. Section 35 contains four subsections. Section 35(1) recognizes and affirms existing aboriginal rights arising from both common law and treaties. Thus this section grants constitutional protection of aboriginal rights. Section 35(2) recognizes aboriginal people as consisting of the “Indians, Inuit, and Métis” peoples of Canada. Section 35(3) specifically includes modern land claim agreements in treaty rights. Section 35(4) guarantees that the aboriginal and treaty rights referred to in subsection (1) are guaranteed equally to male and female persons. In theory, Section 35(2) provides the description of Canada’s aboriginal people, permitting a greater definition and understanding of subsections (1), (2), and (4). However, the ambiguous nature of the definition often means that the Canadian court system is employed to provide clarification, an expensive and time-consuming process.

For instance, in 1993, a Métis father and his son, Steve and Roddy Powley, were charged with hunting moose without a license and unlawful possession of moose meat, contrary to Ontario’s *Game and Fish Act*. A two-week trial in 1998 resulted in the judge’s determining that the Métis community at Sault Ste. Marie had an existing aboriginal right to hunt, a decision that was upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada. The case took nearly one decade to complete. In the end, Métis people were recognized as aboriginal people according to Section 35(2) and as possessing aboriginal rights according to Section 35(1).

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*See also* Assembly of First Nations; Canada, Indian Policies of.

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## Cree-Naskapi Act

The Cree-Naskapi Act, signed in 1984, is a constitutionally protected treaty that represents the first aboriginal self-government legislation in Canada. The Act is a direct result of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA, 1975) and the Northeastern Quebec Agreement (NQA, 1978), which enabled the province of Quebec to carry on with its construction of the James Bay Hydroelectric Project. Under the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, the Crees and the Inuits ended their northern Quebec land claims in return for \$225 million, special dispensation for Native hunting and fishing rights over 45,000 square miles of land, and greater prospects for self-government (Niezen, 1998, 71). The Northeastern Quebec Agreement followed a similar format, with the Naskapis of Quebec receiving \$9 million and land rights similar to those outlined in the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. In return, the Crees surrendered all their claims, rights, titles, and interest in the land.

The JBNQA forced on federal Parliament responsibility for enacting legislation enabling local government for the Crees and subsequently for the Naskapi. Pursuant to this commitment, the Canadian government enacted the Cree-Naskapi Act on July 3, 1984. The JBNQA and the NQA involved the government of Canada, the government of Quebec, three provincial crown corporations, and the Crees, Inuits, and Naskapis of Quebec. The two agreements resolved the outstanding land claims of the aboriginal people inhabiting their traditional territories, as outlined in the Quebec Boundaries Extension Act of 1912. The two agreements were sanctioned and legislatively enabled at both the federal and provincial levels of government. Consequently, the Cree, Naskapi, and Inuit people halted the progress of their claims in exchange for rights and benefits specified in the two agreements. These agreements changed the social, political, and cultural lives of





these peoples, while inevitably altering their relationship with the rest of Canada.

The Cree-Naskapi Act applies to Kobac Naskapi-aeyouch (the Naskapi band) and to eight Cree bands. The Act replaces the Indian Act, in return adopting a bilateral approach through consultation in determining relationships between the federal government and the Crees and Naskapis. The Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), by virtue of this act, has been stripped of his ability to exercise control over the Crees and Naskapis. This authority instead was assigned to the bands. The Cree-Naskapi Act established new legal and political regimes in the form of local governments accountable to the Cree and Naskapi people. According to the Act, the Crees and Naskapis were recognized as having differing titles and interests in addition to descending degrees of access to and control over resources, as well as varied powers of self-government. These powers include, but are not limited to, the administration of band affairs and internal management, public order, taxation for local purposes, and responsibility for local services, including fire protection.

The major weakness of the Cree-Naskapi Act is in its failure to confer legislative authority on the Cree and Naskapi bands, even though they possess local government-type powers that are inextricably tied to a constitutionally protected treaty. Further concerns include the facts that the Crees and Naskapis do not have the power to create their own constitution and that the Minister of Indian Affairs possesses the power to disallow or create bylaws relating to local taxation, hunting and trapping, elections, special band meetings, land registry system, long-term borrowing, band expropriation, and fines and penalties for breaking band bylaws. In addition, the Cree-Naskapi bands do not retain title to their traditional lands. They are ultimately subservient to Parliament and to the Quebec National Assembly. The Crees or Naskapis may, however, choose to challenge Canadian authority and further strengthen local sovereignty through the courts.

Nevertheless, the Cree-Naskapi Act was the first aboriginal self-government legislation that provided for a level of self-determination previously unattainable under the Indian Act and INAC structure. It has also provided the Cree-Naskapi bands with influence over land use that requires the federal and provincial governments to confer with community leaders and elders prior to enacting policies or legislation that could negatively influence the people.

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*See also* Canada, Indian Policies of; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

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## Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) was established in 1966 with the intent of administering to the varying needs of Native people in Canada, a culturally, economically, and geographically diverse clientele to be sure. DIAND's responsibility for administering Indian Affairs in Canada involved reconciling the socioeconomic interests of an increasingly suspicious and militant Indian leadership with a myriad of legislation and the agendas of federal, provincial, and territorial bodies.

Responsibility for colonial Indian affairs in British North America was originally vested with the British imperial parliament. In 1755, Sir William Johnson and John Stuart were appointed the first two superintendents of the British Indian Department in British North America. The department was established to maintain peaceful relations between settlers and Indian populations of the Ohio Valley. This relationship was codified in the Royal Proclamation of 1763, an edict passed by King George III that also reserved the lands west of the Appalachian Mountain chain as Indian hunting territory. American colonists intent on opening up western settlement were prohibited from entering this territory and from engaging Native leaders in land negotiations due in part to the history of "great Frauds and Abuses" that had been perpetrated against Indians. The new Indian bureaucracy for all intents and pur-





poses remained in operation until Canada's birth in 1867.

The Fathers of Confederation accepted responsibility for "Indians and lands reserved for Indians" according to Section 91(24) of the Constitution Act (1867). They also effectively dovetailed the British colonial model with the new federal bureaucracy by establishing the Indian Affairs Branch in 1868, one of the four branches under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces. This would not be the home of Indian affairs for long, however. In 1873, responsibility for Indian Affairs was transferred to the Minister of the Department of the Interior, when the department was created that year. This commenced a long history in which the responsibility for Indian affairs was shunted from one department to another.

The Indian Act of 1876 created the legislative framework enabling Indian Affairs to promote its Indian policy (read "civilization" policy) uniformly across the country. The Indian Act granted considerable powers to the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs and his Indian agents. It also ensured that Indians in Canada were increasingly subject to the Indian Affairs regime. An amendment to the Indian Act in 1880 elevated the branch to departmental status, albeit still under the direction of the Minister of the Interior, who now held the secondary title of Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. An 1881 amendment to the Indian Act amplified the Indian agents' powers, making them justices of the peace while permitting them to prosecute and deliver sentences for violations of the Indian Act's provisions.

During the next five decades, the department was restructured numerous times, as federal officials attempted to facilitate the assimilation of Indians into mainstream Canadian society. Promoted as a cost-cutting measure, the departmental restructuring resulted in the creation of several distinct branches, reflecting the expanded nature of the department's activities. Then, in 1936, the department was dissolved as a cost-cutting measure, and responsibility for Indian Affairs transferred to the Department of Mines and Resources, where a subdepartment was established: the Indian Affairs Branch (IAB). The branch included the following components: field administration, medical welfare and training service, reserves and trust service, and the records service. During the next three decades, responsibility for Indian affairs was transferred a number of times, including its relocation to the Department of Immigration and Citizenship in 1949, where it remained

until an independent Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was established in 1966.

In 1964, R. F. Battle was appointed the Assistant Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs in the Department of Citizenship and Immigration, and he immediately spearheaded a significant reorganization of the Indian Affairs Branch followed by the formation of three new directorates: the Development Directorate, responsible for establishing and coordinating social, industrial, and resource development; the Education Directorate, responsible for establishing and carrying out educational policy; and the Administration Directorate, responsible for dealing with Indian lands and estates, membership, records management, field administration and the provision of a secretariat and support services.

The complexity of Indian affairs led to the decision once again to elevate the Branch to departmental status. On June 16, 1966, the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) was established by the Government Organization Act. DIAND was assigned responsibility for the development of the national parks, the administration of Indian and Eskimo affairs, and the management of Canada's wildlife resources. Arthur Laing (Progressive Conservative) was appointed minister, while E. A. Cote was appointed deputy minister to oversee the five DIAND branches. Legislation made the minister also responsible for Indians and Inuits, the residents of the Yukon and Northwest Territories, and their resources. In an attempt to improve accountability to their clientele, nine regional Indian affairs offices were established across Canada. Two years later, DIAND's announcement that it was again restructuring operations was followed by the creation of the Indian-Eskimo Bureau to provide advisory services for and to liaise with field staff responsible for departmental programs. Within the DIAND, four directorates were created: policy and planning, administration, development, and education.

By 1970, the Economic Development Branch was created to assist Indians in achieving economic self-sufficiency, and the Indian Economic Development Fund was established. That year, the Membership Division began transferring local administration of membership functions to Indian bands, and the federal government began funding Indian groups and associations specifically for research into treaties and Indian rights. In 1972, spurred on by the National Indian Brotherhood's (NIB) demands for greater autonomy to deliver education programs, DIAND initiated its devolution program by transferring





responsibility for education to Native communities. The devolution program became central to the DIAND, a program that, with minor modifications during the last three decades, is still officially responsible for aboriginal people in Canada.

Commonly known today as Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC), the department is responsible for two separate mandates: Indian and Inuit affairs and Northern affairs. Primarily responsible for meeting the federal government's constitutional, treaty, political, and legal responsibilities to the First Nations, Inuit, and Northerners, INAC's mandate is all-encompassing and derived from the Indian Act, territorial acts, and legal obligations arising from Section 91(24) of the Constitution Act (1867). This comprehensive approach results in a significant level of responsibility that encompasses a wide range of services and in turn requires that INAC officials work closely with the First Nations, the Inuit and the Northerners, the Métis, and other federal departments and agencies, provinces, and territories that are responsible for issues affecting Indians.

INAC delivers basic services such as education, social assistance, housing, and community infrastructure to status (officially recognized) Indian and Inuit communities. The department also administers Indian reserve lands, oversees elections of First Nation councils, registers entitlement to Indian status and First Nation membership, and administers First Nation trust funds and the estates of certain individual Indians, in addition to negotiating the settlement of accepted land claims. According to the INAC Web site, some of the department's priorities include the recognition of greater program and political authority of First Nations and territorial governments by establishing a framework for the effective implementation of the inherent right of self-government; specific initiatives to implement self-government; continued devolution to territories of program administration; and assisting First Nations and Inuit peoples in strengthening their communities.

In many respects, the current INAC mandate reflects the basic Indian policy of the late 1860s when the first federal political branch was assigned responsibility to facilitate the physical and cultural absorption of status Indians, Inuits, and Métis into mainstream Canadian society. Paternalism remains the operating philosophy. INAC, for example, still oversees band council elections while guiding program delivery at the community level. Using the

Indian Act as its guide, INAC has significant control over Canada's First Nations. For instance, Section 6 of the Indian Act enables INAC to determine who is or is not to be considered an Indian in Canada, which has the impact of alienating a number of Native people from government programs. Through Section 81 of the Indian Act, INAC is able to limit the powers of band councils. In all, despite INAC's self-professed interest in seeing self-government develop, its control over most aspects of First Nations life in Canada continues.

*Yale D. Belanger*

*See also* Assembly of First Nations; Canada, Indian Policies of; Constitution Act; Indian Act.

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## **Domestic Dependent Nation**

This term refers to the status of Indian tribes in U.S. federal law, recognizing a government-to-government relationship with the United States and based on an inherent, though limited, sovereignty. The term was coined by Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), the second case in the seminal Marshall Trilogy. These cases provided foundational principles for determining the federal-tribal relationship and tribal sover-





eignty and guided future debate about Native American treaties.

After the discovery of gold there, Georgia began extending its own laws to Cherokee land, annulling Cherokee laws in the process. In *Cherokee Nation*, the Cherokee sought to prevent the state of Georgia from appropriating land guaranteed under the Treaty of Hopewell (signed with the federal government in 1785) and subsequent treaties. While the Court split evenly in the case, the decisive opinion was provided by Chief Justice Marshall, who dismissed the case on jurisdictional grounds. He found the matter could not be heard because the Cherokee were not a foreign nation; therefore their action did not fall under the grant to the federal authority to hear disputes between the states and foreign states. In a new formulation, Marshall found that while the Cherokee had an “unquestionable” right to the land they occupied unless it was ceded voluntarily to the federal government, “yet it may well be doubted, whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can, with strict accuracy, be denominated foreign nations. They may, more correctly, perhaps, be denominated domestic dependent nations. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession, when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile they are in a state of pupillage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian” (*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, at 17).

In his decision, Marshall achieved a compromise that reaffirmed the independent nature of Indian tribes while avoiding a constitutional confrontation between the state and the Supreme Court. The decision recognized the Cherokee Nation as “a distinct political society separated from others, capable of managing its own affairs and governing itself.” While they were not “foreign,” they were “a state.” Their independence was limited in only two matters: the alienation of land and the ability to treat with foreign powers.

The decision’s guardian/ward language underpins the doctrine of the federal trust responsibility for Indians. The ambiguity of a status at once “independent” and resembling a “ward” has allowed the Supreme Court in later cases to restrict Indian sovereignty with the trust relationship seen as a source of congressional power over Indians. In declining to view the Cherokee as a “foreign” nation, Marshall originally relied on the U.S. Constitution’s Indian

Commerce clause (Article I, 8, clause 3), in which Congress is recognized to have the power “to regulate commerce with foreign Nations and among the several states and with the Indian tribes.” In fact Congress has legislated well beyond the bounds of “commerce” into all aspects of Indian life.

While some scholars recognize conflicts with internal law, others see no legal (as opposed to political) barriers on Congress’s limiting tribal sovereignty (or treaties), so long as it makes that intent clear. Fifty years after *Cherokee*, the Supreme Court stressed that “[t]hese Indian tribes are the wards of the nation. They are communities dependent on the United States . . .” (*United States v. Kagama*). The view of Congress’s plenary power over Indians was reinforced in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*. In that case, a number of tribal members challenged the distribution and sale of tribal lands as inconsistent with a prior treaty. The Court found that to agree with that contention would be to ignore “the status of the contracting Indians and the relation of dependency they bore and continue to bear towards the government of the United States.” The treaty was found in no way to qualify the “controlling authority of Congress” (*Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*, 564–565). This authority still includes the power to modify or repeal Indian treaties.

Whereas Marshall’s reasoning implied an assumption of sovereignty in the absence of statutes or treaties that negate this presumption, more recent interpretations of the phrase “domestic dependant nation” status have seen inherent tribal sovereignty diminished. The focus has been on the “domestic dependant” rather than the “nation” aspect of Marshall’s term. Nonetheless, this status continues to underpin important protections for tribal governments, particularly against intrusions on their power by states.

Stuart Bradfield

*See also* *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Wardship Doctrine.

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## Elk v. Wilkins

The U.S. Supreme Court held in *Elk v. Wilkins* (112 U.S. 94 [1884]) that the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution does not confer citizenship on Indian people. This position held even if the individual lives in an urban area, apart from his or her nation or band. The court also ruled that acts of Congress do not generally apply to Indians unless they are specifically mentioned. Ironically, this ruling was handed down three years before the Allotment Act (1887) bestowed U.S. citizenship on Native Americans who gave up their title to communal lands in exchange for individual plots.

At issue was the constitutional status of American Indians for purposes of citizenship and voting. The Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship to “all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction of the United States.” Did American Indians fall under this definition? A federal district court ruled that it did not apply to Indians who had not been “born subject to its jurisdiction—that is, in its power and obedience” (*McKay v. Campbell* 16 Fed. Cas. 161 [1871] [No. 8840]).

John Elk had been born on a reservation outside U.S. jurisdiction, but moved to Omaha as an adult and lived what the court described as a “civilized” life. He sought to become a citizen and exercise the right to vote in Omaha elections during 1880.

The Supreme Court ruled that the Fifteenth Amendment (which grants the right to vote to all persons regardless of race) did not apply in Elk’s case, because he was not born in an area under U.S. jurisdiction. Therefore, Elk was not a citizen within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment. The fact that Elk had abandoned his Indian relatives and life-ways did not matter to the court. Elk’s citizenship and voting rights were denied because the court held that an affirmative act was required of the United States before an Indian could become a citizen. The Supreme Court’s opinion cited a dozen treaties, four court rulings, four laws, and eight opinions of the U.S. Attorney General requiring “proof of fitness for civilization” as a precondition of granting Indians citizenship and voting rights.

Six years after John Elk’s request for citizenship was denied, Congress passed the Indian Territory Naturalization Act (26 Stat. 81, 99-100), which allowed any Indian living in Indian Territory to apply for citizenship through the federal courts. The aim of this Act was to break down communal loyal-

ties among Native Americans in Indian Territory as it moved toward statehood as Oklahoma.

The Standing Rock Sioux scholar Vine Deloria, Jr., commenting on *Elk v. Wilkins*, noted that, while federal courts were busy maintaining the plenary power of Congress over Indians and classifying Indian tribes as wards of the federal government, as well as denying an international dimension to Indian political existence, individual Indians seeking to exercise their constitutional rights were being told that they were, in effect, no more than the children of (foreign) subjects.

The ruling is notable more for historical irony than for having any substantial effect as a legal precedent. In addition to contradicting the Allotment Act’s selective award of citizenship later in the same decade, this ruling was effectively annulled by the general grant of U.S. citizenship to Native Americans by an act of Congress in 1924.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Citizenship; Plenary Power; *Standing Bear v. Crook*; Tribal Sovereignty; Wardship Doctrine.

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## Factory System

Through legislation beginning in 1796 and renewed every three years thereafter, the United States of America established the factory system (1796–1822), which was to construct trading houses mainly on the unsettled U.S. frontier where a factor, appointed by the president, could trade goods for furs with the members of given Native nations or tribes located in the district of the factory. The factory system was a forerunner to the trust relationship between Indian tribes and the federal government as established by the commerce clause in the U.S. Constitution.

The Secretary of War, through the Superintendents of Indian Affairs, oversaw the day-to-day operations of purchasing goods and transporting them to the factories as well as overseeing the selling of furs. The sites for the factory trading houses were located in the westward territories and the south. The United States’ intention was to control who traded with the Indians and to build and maintain





friendly relations, while making them dependent on American goods instead of British goods.

Dating back to the first white presence on the North American continent, the colonial powers recognized the necessity of establishing ground rules for trading with the Indians. Not until after the French and Indian War ended did the control shift completely to Great Britain and in particular to London. After the American Revolution, the newly formed American government issued acts to regulate the intercourse of trade with the Indians under their jurisdiction. British traders continued to trade with Indians in what was considered American lands. Following the end of the Northwest Territory Frontier Wars in 1795, the Jay Treaty required all British traders to cease operations in the United States and its territories.

In most cases, the U.S. Army established a garrison on or near the site of a factory trade house. The construction of the factory buildings, as well as the garrison, was often done by the soldiers, though sometimes workers such as sawyers and carpenters had to be brought in. Factory trade houses were built of local materials, mostly logs, and included a trade room; it was similar to a store whose shelves were filled with trade goods. Often the factory building was also a residence for the factor, though sometimes another house would be built for him and his family, if he had one. In addition to the trade house, other buildings were constructed to store the overstock of goods, a residence for the interpreter, and storage for the traded furs. In the outbuildings, the furs would have to undergo further cleaning, and, depending on the climate or time of the year, they would have to be frequently turned and beaten to get rid of worms.

The trade goods often were manufactured not only in the United States, but also in Great Britain, Germany, France, India, and China, and other nations. They were sold or traded to Indians at a small percentage over cost to keep the prices low. Some of the goods were clearly items that were of no interest to the Indians, things such as china teapots, Queensware dishes, and ladies' parasols. Regulations stipulated that whites were not allowed to purchase goods from the factory, but they often did. In this middle ground where the two cultures met, soldiers and their wives charged against the promise of future pay just as individual Indians did in the hope of successful trapping. Often, the absence of sutlers located in or near the peace establishment army posts necessitated members of the garrison to charge

at the factory or trade furs from hunting. Soldiers often racked up more credit than Indians.

At first, issuing credit to Indians was forbidden, but soon it became a necessity before the winter hunting and trapping seasons. Furthermore, it was learned that, if they could not pay or failed to pay with furs, the government could then take the money from other sources such as annuities or force the tribe as a whole to sell land to pay off the debts. This appears to have been an aim of Thomas Jefferson in February 1803 when he informed William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, that the government would "push" their trading houses, enjoy getting the more important leaders heavily into debt, and then trade the debt for ceding land (Esarey, 1922, 71). By selling the trade goods so low, Jefferson assumed the Indians would not want to go to anyone else, especially private traders who could not afford to sell goods so low.

The Indians trapped from the late fall through the winter, and in the spring they brought in their dressed furs to be traded. The types of furs ranged from bear, mountain lion, deerskin, beaver, and muskrat. The goods offered in trade to the Indians ran the lot of cloth like woolens (baize, blanket, and shroud), cottons (calico and homespun), linen, and silk ribbons. Other goods included fishing equipment; knives, tomahawks, guns, gun powder, and shot; brass, copper, and even sheet iron kettles; sewing implements; snuff boxes, bridles, saddles, looking glasses, silk stockings, hats; and much more. At least once a year, the factor shipped furs to the East to be auctioned to manufacturers. These manufactures would make sundry articles of the furs, including hats from beaver, breeches from deerskins, and hat coverings from bear fur for the U.S. Army. Some furs were shipped to other parts of the world, including Europe and China.

One of the projects of the factory system was to encourage agriculture and education among the Indians. Religious organizations, like the Moravians and Quakers, became the agents of the government to work among the tribes to teach them farming, animal husbandry, and domestic sewing arts as well as to convert them to Christianity. The U.S. government factories issued the farming implements, payment coming out of annuities and presents to the tribes, and often paid the salaries of religious men and women working among the tribes. At first, many Indians did not take to the concept of their males farming because, culturally, it was female work. Fines could be levied against annuities if an Indian





was found to be trading or selling government-issued farm implements to other Indians or whites. After the War of 1812, Baptists and Presbyterians were offered government funds to commence Indian schools in Kentucky, Missouri, and Kansas. At these schools, Indians were taught reading, writing, arithmetic, and gender-specific occupations; females learned to spin, weave, and sew while the males learned carpentry and farming. They were also instructed in the Christian religion. In the beginning, permission of the parents was sought and no one was forced to attend. However, after the closure of the factory system, this would change.

Criticism of the factory system was most intense from private fur-trading companies. In particular, John Jacob Astor of the American Fur Company lobbied congresspeople, presidents, and others with influential connections to close down the factory system. By 1820, with Lewis Cass, the governor of Michigan Territory and Chouteaus, a prominent fur trade family from St. Louis, Astor pressured Congress to see that the government had no business regulating the trade with Indians. First, it failed to build and keep friendly relations with the Indians, resulting in the outbreak of the War of 1812; second, the trade goods were inferior; next, factors did not go out to tribal villages to trade with the Indians, rather they were required to stay at their factories; and lastly, despite the best efforts of the factories, the illegal selling of alcohol by small private traders continued to increase. Despite all the efforts of the factory system officials, the private traders won out and the system was closed down in 1822.

Sally Colford Bennett

*See also* Assimilation; Fur Trade; Trade.

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## Fletcher v. Peck

The decisions of Chief Justice John Marshall in the U.S. Supreme Court cases of *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* and *Worcester v. Georgia* have been basic to subsequent arguments advanced both to support and to suppress the autonomy of indigenous peoples. These cases refined a Euro-centric doctrine regarding aboriginal rights following two earlier cases, *Fletcher v. Peck* and *Johnson v. McIntosh*. Unlike the Cherokee Nation cases, which actually involved a controversy between an indigenous nation and an American state, in *Fletcher v. Peck* aboriginal rights issues were litigated in the absence of any conflict between indigenous people and Euro-Americans. Tried in 1810, *Fletcher v. Peck* is important because of the part it played in establishing a legal doctrine used to limit the rights of indigenous peoples.

The question of aboriginal title was brought before the U.S. Supreme Court under the feigned controversy of *Fletcher v. Peck* to force the federal judiciary to address specific issues presented by land speculators who claimed a patent by virtue of a 1795 legislative act to appropriate land for the purpose of payment to state troops. It was argued that Georgia possessed the right to convey property rights to the Georgia Land Company even though the land in question was still claimed by an indigenous nation. This case represented the first time that the Court was called to deliberate on the question of absolute title to soil existing apart from the rights of "Indian ownership" in the land.

In addressing what would become a very crucial issue, arguments in this case exhibited distortion and error. When examining the question of ownership, John Quincy Adams and Robert Goodloe, representing the majority opinion, noted that aboriginal concepts did not resemble European concepts of land tenure and advised the Court to not hold any regard for the intrinsic values of indigenous culture. Presenting arguments that reflected an overriding belief that the values of Euro-American culture were superior to those of Indian cultures, the defense stated that Indians had "no idea of a title to the soil itself. It [the land] is overrun by them, rather than inhabited . . ." and thus any claim of Indian title to the land could not represent a true and legal possession. This opinion, however, overlooked the facts. When European settlers first landed in America, they encountered innumerable stretches of cultivated fields, some of which were reported to reach





almost two hundred acres. Because the majority of settlers coming over from Europe were merchants, tradespeople, and seekers of fortune, possessing little or no knowledge of an agrarian lifestyle, many colonists had to rely on the knowledge and skills of the indigenous people for instruction in the manner of planting, culling out the best seed, observing “the fittest season, keeping distance for hoes and fit measure for hills, to worm . . . and weed . . . and prune . . . and dress . . .” as the occasion required.

The defense further argued that the United States possessed “a right not in the individual, but national. This is the right gained by conquest . . . Europeans always claimed and exercised this right of conquest.” The defense also erroneously asserted that all “treaties with the Indians were the effect of conquest, all the extensive grants have been forced from them by successful war. The conquerors permitted the conquered tribes to occupy part of the land, until it should be wanted for the use of the conquerors.” The defense even credited William Penn with having obtained Quaker land under the right of conquest.

In delivering the opinion of the Court, Justice Marshall affirmed that Georgia did indeed possess the power of disposing of land within the limits of its borders in whatever manner it saw fit. Marshall’s comments regarding Indian title came at the very end:

The majority of the court is of the opinion that the nature of the Indian title, which is certainly to be respected by the court, until it be legitimately extinguished, is not such as to be absolutely repugnant to . . . on the part of the State.

Dissenting Justice William Johnson delivered the most straightforward statements pertaining to Indian title that the case offered, arguing that the correctness of his opinion relied on a just and unbiased view of the state of the Indian nation. Pointing out that innumerable treaties formed with North American Indians acknowledged them to be an independent people, Johnson was persuaded by evidence he believed clearly indicated that the Indians held an absolute right to the soil for themselves and their heirs.

In fact, if the Indian nations were the absolute proprietors of the soil, no other nation can be said to have the same interest in it. What, then

. . . is the interest of the states in the soil of the Indians within their boundaries? Unaffected by particular treaties, it is nothing more than what it was assumed at the first settlement of the country . . . a right of conquest or of purchase, exclusive of all competitors, within certain defined limits. All the restrictions upon the right of soil in the Indians, amount only to an exclusion of all competitors from their markets . . .

The Court’s reluctance to clearly articulate a legal definition of aboriginal title most likely stemmed from a realization that, if aboriginal nations were legally acknowledged to possess an absolute title to the land, the United States would be hindered by additional obstacles as it pursued a course toward national expansion.

Although the Court ruled that Georgia was empowered with a fee simple (i.e., unencumbered) title in the land, the soundness of the decision was challenged by the dissenting opinion of Justice Johnson. In Johnson’s opinion “the interests of Georgia . . . amounted to nothing more than a mere possibility. . . .”

If the interest in Georgia was nothing more than a preemptive right, how could that be called a fee simple, which was nothing more than a power to acquire a fee simple by purchase, when the proprietors should be pleased to sell. And if this ever was anything more than a mere possibility, it certainly was reduced . . . when the state of Georgia ceded to the United States, by constitution, both the power of pre-emption and of conquest . . .

For all the rhetoric regarding American absolute sovereignty, when the Court delivered its opinion in *Fletcher v. Peck*, there still existed numerous groups of indigenous peoples who, having never signed a treaty with the American government, continued to exist in absolute sovereignty on their ancestral lands. That notwithstanding, during the preceding thirty-three years of the United States’ dealing with indigenous North Americans, the treaty had proved to represent a most effective method of acquiring Native land. After *Fletcher v. Peck*, however, the Court emerged as the new medium for a foreign settler government to acquire indigenous peoples’ lands

*S. Neyooxel Greymorning (with Dr. Gregory Campbell)*





*See also* Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Tribal Sovereignty

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## Forced Marches

As the U.S. government and its citizens took possession of indigenous lands and resources, forced marches were used to remove indigenous peoples and open their lands for European-American settlement. Though a practice originating from the earliest years of contact, forced marches reached their zenith in the nineteenth century when dozens of such “removals” occurred, affecting tens of thousands of indigenous people and the transfer of millions of acres of land to nonindigenous ownership.

In this context, forced marches are connected to broader U.S. policies, such as removal and relocation, that were used as a means to control and confine indigenous populations by concentrating them into small geographic areas. The death toll among those who were force marched to new locations was sometimes as high as 50 percent, but the most devastating consequences of forced marches were long term. Removal required the dispossession of indigenous peoples from their lands and the subsequent loss of the ways of life associated with their attachment to a particular land base. The repercussions of this tremendous sense of loss have reached into the twenty-first century as indigenous populations generally continue to suffer high mortality rates and a poor quality of life.

The best-known forced march is the 1838 Tsalagi (Cherokee) Trail of Tears in which seventeen thousand Tsalagi were removed from their southeastern homes to Indian Territory. After they were rounded up and placed in stockades, the population was removed in more than a dozen groups. Most traveled over land in small groups averaging 1,000 people, forming long refugee columns and suffering from starvation, disease, exposure, hardship, and

accidents. It is estimated that at least 4,000, and perhaps as many as 8,000 people died as a direct consequence of the forced removal and as many as half of the remaining population died within the first year after removal, largely due to disease. The extent of death and suffering as a consequence of the violent process of removal is not unusual, but is in fact characteristic of the forced marches experienced by indigenous peoples throughout American history.

The U.S. government carried out these brutal forced removals under the pretense of legality. After manipulating the Tsalagi population to obtain the signatures of a small, illegitimate faction, the United States ratified the Treaty of New Echota, which relinquished Tsalagi lands in the Southeast in exchange for lands in Indian Territory and \$15 million. This bare semblance of legitimacy in dealings with indigenous peoples is all that remained after the passing of the Indian Removal Act of 1830 under President Andrew Jackson’s administration. This Act authorized the president to exchange indigenous lands in the East for those in the West and to negotiate with tribes for their own removal. While the Act required indigenous agreement and support for removal, this aspect was ignored in practice. Furthermore, the U.S. government was indifferent to the fact that, in some cases, indigenous peoples already occupied lands in the West they were promising to others; this required taking land from some groups to make it available to others.

While Jackson has been associated most prominently with forced marches and acts of removal, he was not the first or last president to advocate indigenous removal. Early explorers such as Jacques Cartier, Martin Frobisher, and Henry Hudson practiced indigenous removal, as did early New England colonists who established “praying towns” and state reservations. Thomas Jefferson was a strong proponent of removal. He drafted a constitutional amendment, decades before Jackson, which would have allowed for the exchange of indigenous lands in the East for lands west of the Mississippi. In other contexts, he wrote that any Indians resisting American expansion should be met with the hatchet, concluding “if ever we are constrained to lift the hatchet against any tribe, we will never lay it down until that tribe is exterminated, or is driven beyond the Mississippi.” This sentiment became manifest in forced removals across the continent. If invading settlers could not exploit the indigenous labor for their own purposes, they pressured them to leave areas so that European-Americans could get on with immigration





and resource extraction. The complete subjugation through forced marches became a highly effective means of removal.

During the fall of 1862, Jefferson's sentiments were echoed by Minnesota Governor Alexander Ramsey, who stated, "The Sioux Indians of Minnesota must be exterminated or driven forever beyond the borders of the State." Unlike the Tsalagi, no segment of the Dakota population signed a treaty agreeing to its removal. Instead, the U.S. government considered the forced removal of Dakota people from their homeland to be a justifiable consequence of the U.S.–Dakota War of 1862. Rather than viewing warfare as a reasonable course of Dakota action in light of repeated U.S. violation of treaty obligations, the United States instead unilaterally abrogated Dakota–U.S. treaties and decided to take the remaining Dakota lands for European-American immigration.

The Dakota were removed from their Minnesota homeland in two successive waves. Women and children were force marched on a seven-day, 150-mile journey to Fort Snelling in St. Paul, where they spent the winter of 1862–1863. Forming a four-mile-long procession as they walked, an unknown number of the 1,700 women and children died along the way, many from the brutality of soldiers and citizenry who attacked them along the way as they were paraded through European-American towns. The following spring, the remaining thirteen hundred were sent down the Mississippi River on boats to St. Louis and then up the Missouri River to the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota. Three hundred and three Dakota men were tried and convicted of war crimes at the end of the war. While they awaited execution orders from Abraham Lincoln, they were shackled and placed in wagons that took them to a concentration camp at Mankato, Minnesota. After thirty-eight were hanged in the largest mass execution in U.S. history on December 26, 1862, the rest were sent down the Mississippi the following spring where they were imprisoned in Davenport, Iowa, for three years. After these forced removals were accomplished, Dakota lands were cleared for unimpeded immigration.

The Dine (Navajo) in the Southwest faced a similar forced march and removal in the 1864 Long Walk. As European-American immigration increased in the area and conflicts arose, Christopher Houston "Kit" Carson was sent to demonstrate that "wild Indians could be tamed." He implemented a brutal policy that included the destruction of crops and livestock, pillaging the land, and killing of the Dine. These

scorched-earth tactics were meant to hurt not just the warriors of the nation, but also the noncombatants, the women and children, by forcing them into starvation and submission. Once the Dine were gathered at Fort Defiance, Arizona, they were force marched three hundred miles to Fort Sumner in the Bosque Redondo (in New Mexico Territory). The Dine named their concentration camp Hweeldi, the Place of Despair. Suffering starvation, disease, and harsh weather conditions with grossly inadequate clothing and shelter, at Hweeldi the Dine lost approximately thirty-five hundred out of their population of nine thousand. Unlike most indigenous peoples, however, the Dine were allowed to return to their homeland in 1868, where they continue to maintain the largest indigenous land base in the United States.

Forced marches were simply a means to an end. They allowed for large numbers of indigenous peoples to be transferred from one location to another, usually from their homeland to sites farther west, while their homelands were opened for nonindigenous settlement. Few indigenous peoples have ever recovered from the trauma caused by the disconnection from homeland and the accompanying destruction of their way of life. While the initial and significant loss of life caused from forced marches was enough to wreak havoc with any population, the devastation is compounded for indigenous peoples because of the simultaneous loss of land and way of life. Stories of suffering, particularly of the women and children, remain painful episodes in indigenous American history.

Waziyatawin Angela Wilson

*See also* Trail of Tears; Cherokee; Dakota; Navajo; Relocation; Jackson, Andrew.

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## Fort Laramie Treaty (1868)

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 was the second of two important midnineteenth-century treaty documents signed by Native nations of the American Great Plains and the United States government.





The terms of the treaty guaranteed ownership of *Paha Sapa* ("Black Hills") to the Lakota, the removal of military forts along the Bozeman Trail in the Powder River Country, and the establishment—on Lakota land—of the Great Sioux Reservation, a 26-million acre reserve of land that ran from the north line of the state of Nebraska to the forty-sixth parallel, bordered on the east by the Missouri River, and running westward to the hundred and fourth degree of longitude. Moreover, the treaty closed the Powder River Country to military and settlement incursions. The treaty, however, also prophetically designated this same country as "unceded Indian Territory" and therefore left the land in a temporary relation of ownership to the Lakota and outside the official "reservation." Additionally, the treaty articles specified the intention of the U.S. government to pursue the stated long-term goals of forced assimilation with agriculture, education ("They [the Lakota] therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school" (Art. 7), and the division of land held in common. The treaty document is lengthy and relies heavily on dense legal language that often contradicts its own provisions. Red Cloud himself would later claim that the only provisions of the treaty that he was able to understand were the continued tenure of the Lakota in their own land and the expulsion of the United States military from the Powder River Country.

The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 was signed by representatives of the Oceti Sakowins, Seven Council Fires of the Lakota, the Sincangus (Brûlés), Oglalas, Minniconjou, Hunkpapas, Sihasapas (Blackfeet), Pabaskas (Cuthead), Itazipacolas (Two Kettle), and Oohenupas (Sans Arc) of the Lakota nation; by the Yanktonais of the Nakota nation; by the Mdewakantonwans and Wahpekutes of the Dakota (Santee) nation; by members of the Inuna-ina (Arapaho) nation; and by members of a U.S. treaty commission. The treaty document itself, as well as a year-long process of negotiating for signatures, was the result of a successful war waged against the United States by the Lakota, led by Makhpyia-luta (Red Cloud). Red Cloud's War (also known as the Bozeman War) was fought in the Wyoming and Montana Territories from 1866 to 1868 for control over the important hunting grounds of the Powder River Country in north central Wyoming.

Signatories of the treaty documents included Makhpyia-luta (Red Cloud), Tasunka Kokipapi

(Young Man Afraid of His Horses), Lieutenant General William T. Sherman, General William S. Harney, and General Alfred H. Terry. The Fort Laramie Treaty was ratified by the U.S. Congress on February 16, 1869.

For the Lakota and their Native allies, as well as for Euro-American immigrants and the U.S. government, the Fort Laramie Treaty was important to the history of the late nineteenth century, from the Battle of the Greasy Grass/Little Bighorn (1876) to the Massacre at Wounded Knee in 1890. Discovery of gold in the sacred *Paha Sapa* ("Black Hills") by George Custer's governmentally sanctioned expedition resulted in the Black Hills Gold Rush, which only increased the pressure on Lakota land already under attack by settlement, by the decimation of the great buffalo herds, by the demands of the Northern Pacific Railroad, and by unstable and changing governmental and military policy.

In September of 1875, President Ulysses S. Grant sent a special commission to Lakota territory to negotiate for the sale of "unceded Indian Territory" of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty and the *Paha Sapa* themselves; the Lakota refused to sell. In November of 1875, the Indian Bureau ordered all Lakota who were in the "unceded" hunting lands to come into the reservation and submit to agency control by January 31, 1875. The government launched a military campaign against the Lakota who were unwilling and unable to comply with the order; the campaign began in the winter of 1876 and lasted into the spring of 1877. The Battle of Greasy Grass/Little Bighorn—a military engagement in which an allied Lakota–northern Cheyenne force and the Seventh Cavalry of the U.S. Army—was one battle in the so-called Indian Wars of 1876–1877, fought by the Lakota to maintain the ownership of the land they believed the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 guaranteed them. The Massacre at Wounded Knee, December 29, 1890, in which 150 Minniconjou Lakota were killed while surrendering to the Seventh Cavalry, was the result of the same complex of factors involving struggle over land tenure in Lakota country and the United States' attempt to confine the Lakota to a shrinking and reconfigured reservation space.

As it was in the nineteenth century, the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 remained an important document in the struggle over native rights and land claims in the twentieth century. Two important events in the history of the Indian Movement during the 1960s and 1970s were predicated on the language





*General William T. Sherman and Sioux leaders sign the Fort Laramie Treaty at Fort Laramie, Wyoming, in 1868. The treaty's signing ended Red Cloud's War and called for the closure of the Bozeman Trail and three U.S. Army forts. The war, led by Lakota Sioux Chief Red Cloud, started in 1868 in response to white advancement and the building of three government forts in the Powder River country and is best known for the Fetterman Fight of December 21, 1866. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

and history surrounding the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty: the occupation of Alcatraz in 1964 and again in 1969; and the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. On March, 8, 1964, a group of about forty Native people from various tribes took possession of the unoccupied island of Alcatraz off the coast of California and its abandoned prison complex under the provisions of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, which guaranteed surplus or federally abandoned property to the Lakota. The first occupation of Alcatraz paved the way for another longer and more spectacular occupation of the island starting in November of 1969 and lasting until a forcible eviction in June of 1971. The dramatization of land claims, issues of tribal sovereignty, racism, poverty, and other important issues that characterized the two occupations of Alcatraz under the provisions of the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 also defined the American Indian

Movement's occupation in 1973 of the site of the Wounded Knee Massacre. The statement of demands made by the occupiers of Wounded Knee and passed to the Justice Department opened with an appeal to the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868: "Communicate this to whomever [sic] is in charge. We are operating under the Provisions of the 1868 Sioux Treaty."

In the twenty-first century, the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 continues to be an important aspect of the long-standing Black Hills Land Claim wherein the Lakota nation continues to press the U.S. government for the return of the *Paha Sapa* that were guaranteed to them by the 1868 treaty. The Supreme Court of the United States itself ruled in 1980 that the sacred land was indeed unlawfully seized by the government and ruled that the monies that were never paid to the Lakota, along with interest accrued





over time (over \$100 million dollars), be given to them. The Lakota refused the payment and continue to argue for the return of their land.

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**See also** Alcatraz Proclamation: A Proclamation from the Indians of All Tribes; American Indian Movement; Battle of the Little Bighorn; Black Hills; Buffalo; Crazy Horse; Great Sioux Uprising; Occupation of Alcatraz Island; Red Cloud; Sacred Sites; Sitting Bull; Treaty Diplomacy, with Summary of Selected Treaties; Wounded Knee, South Dakota, Massacre at.

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## Hawai'i, Legal Status of Native Claims

In 1893, a cabal of American planters, supported by U.S. warships and a contingent of Marines, overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy by armed force. This "act of war," as even President Grover Cleveland admitted at the time, was invalid under international law. A century later, in 1993, the Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians) secured an apology from the U.S. House of Representatives for this illegal act and are currently pressing a land claim that would return 1.8 million acres (of Hawai'i's 4.2-million acre land area) to the jurisdiction of a government to be elected at a Native Hawaiian constitutional convention.

Following the 1893 overthrow, the United States quickly recognized the "legitimacy" of what the insurgent planters called the Republic of Hawaii and in 1898 accepted a request by the resulting government that the islands be formally annexed as a "trust territory" of the United States. At no point in this process were the wishes of the Kanaka Maoli themselves taken into consideration. Instead, annexation occurred over the express opposition of Queen Lili'uokalani, the last of a long line of chiefs and constitutional monarchs ruling the Hawaiian kingdom (Budnick, 1992; Dougherty, 1992).

Over the next half century, as Hawai'i gained increasing importance as a strategic base for the U.S. military, as its land was increasingly converted for sugarcane production by a cluster of local corporations known as the Big Five (geared entirely to U.S. markets), and as the now rampant tourist industry began to take hold, the Kanaka Maoli were systematically dispossessed of what little property remained to them. By 1950, their destitution was endemic (Kent, 1993; Trask, 1999).

As a result of the dire poverty into which they were thrust, the Kanaka Maoli population underwent a steady decline throughout the first half of the twentieth century. Meanwhile, the number of whites moving to the islands from the continental United





States surged dramatically. Hence, when the holding of territories in perpetual trust was rendered illegal under the United Nations Charter, the United States was required to allow Hawai'i to determine for itself the nature of its political status. It circumvented this requirement simply by having the larger population of white settlers outvote the Kanaka Maoli on the matter. Consequently, although still not in accordance with international law, Hawai'i was made a U.S. state in 1959 (Churchill, 2003; Churchill and Venne, 2005).

Despite, or perhaps because of, this turn of events, a Hawaiian renaissance began in the 1970s. The native language, which had nearly died, began to flourish again; Hawaiians, all but homeless in their own land, began to recapture their heritage. Teams of seafarers built canoes capable of traveling to Tahiti to renew ties with indigenous people there. They sailed practicing ancient navigational skills that tied together the people of widely dispersed islands centuries ago.

At about the same time, Aloha Hawai'i, the first organization dedicated to asserting the legal and political rights of Native Hawaiians, was founded. Focusing first on the recovery of the sacred island of Kaho'olawe, used by the U.S. Navy as a bombing and artillery target range since World War II, the group had by the 1980s sparked a broad movement devoted to halting the increasingly widespread destruction of the islands' fragile environment through such military usage and ever more intensive commercial development (Churchill, 2003).

Over the next decade, the emphasis of such activism shifted steadily toward the recovery of a land base by the Kanaka Maoli themselves, and, with the decision to formally reestablish Kalahui Hawai'i (the Native Hawaiian nation) in 1987, the agenda was expanded to include the right to self-government as well. Both goals were pursued through a multipronged strategy combining demonstrations, litigation, and participation in the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (Churchill, 2003; Trask, 1999).

During the summer of 1993, pursuant to U.N. Resolution 1503 (XLVIII), an international tribunal convened in the islands to hear and receive evidence on U.S. violations of Native Hawaiian rights and the conditions suffered by the Kanaka Maoli as a result. Shortly thereafter, the House of Representatives issued its apology for abolishing the government of Queen Lili'uokalani 100 years earlier (Churchill and Venne, 2005).

The tribunal's findings strongly affirmed the rights of the Native Hawaiians to govern themselves within their own clearly defined territory. This was followed, in 1996, with a vote by some thirty thousand Kanaka Maoli—roughly 40 percent of the eligible electorate—who opted by a margin of three-to-one to resume a fully self-governing existence. An overwhelming majority also registered to participate in a referendum intended to resolve Kanaka Maoli land claims (Weinberg, 1996).

The land at issue includes all state and federal lands in the islands—about 1.6 million acres—but leaves private owners untouched. It has been proposed that another 200,000 acres presently occupied by U.S. military bases, a total acreage corresponding rather precisely to the quantity embodied in the so-called Hawaiian Home Lands the Kanaka Maoli were to have retained all along, might be leased to the Department of Defense at market value for some fixed period of time.

By the early years of the twenty-first century, no motion had been made in this direction, however, because the U.S. government asserts that only a government that it recognizes has the legal standing to resolve the claim to the so-called ceded lands. The Hawaiians as a group have no federal recognition of the type extended to many other Native peoples in the United States.

As of late 2005, a measure designed to accomplish such recognition remains stalled in the U.S. Congress. Only with the passage of the Akaka Bill, as the measure is known, would the Kanaka Maoli be in a position to engage in government-to-government negotiations with the United States and the state of Hawai'i regarding jurisdiction over and title to their lands (Meheula, 2005).

Such delays continue to exact an ugly toll. As long as the Kanaka Maoli continue to be "ruled by U.S. laws, not our own," as Native Hawaiian rights advocate Beadie Kanahele Dawson put it, they are all but certain to remain by far the islands' most "at risk people: seriously undereducated, overrepresented in prisons, overburdened with serious diseases and plagued with drug abuse and homelessness" (Dawson, 2005; McNarie, 2005).

*Ward Churchill and Bruce E. Johansen*

*See also* Genocide; Identity; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Language and Language Renewal; United Nations, Indians and.





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## Hudson's Bay Company

The Hudson's Bay Company exerted a powerful influence on the economic development of Canada since its formation as a commercial entity under an English royal charter dated May 2, 1670. The European desire and demand for fashionable animal pelts dates back to the Middle Ages, and the Company therefore originated in the fur trade. After the European intrusion into North America, competition sparked London merchants in the late seventeenth century to seek a charter for trading rights in the northern part of North America, in an area centered on Hudson and James Bays and extending south-

ward and westward. King Charles II gave the charter to eighteen adventurers of London, who called themselves the "Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay." Under their charter, the Company was granted the:

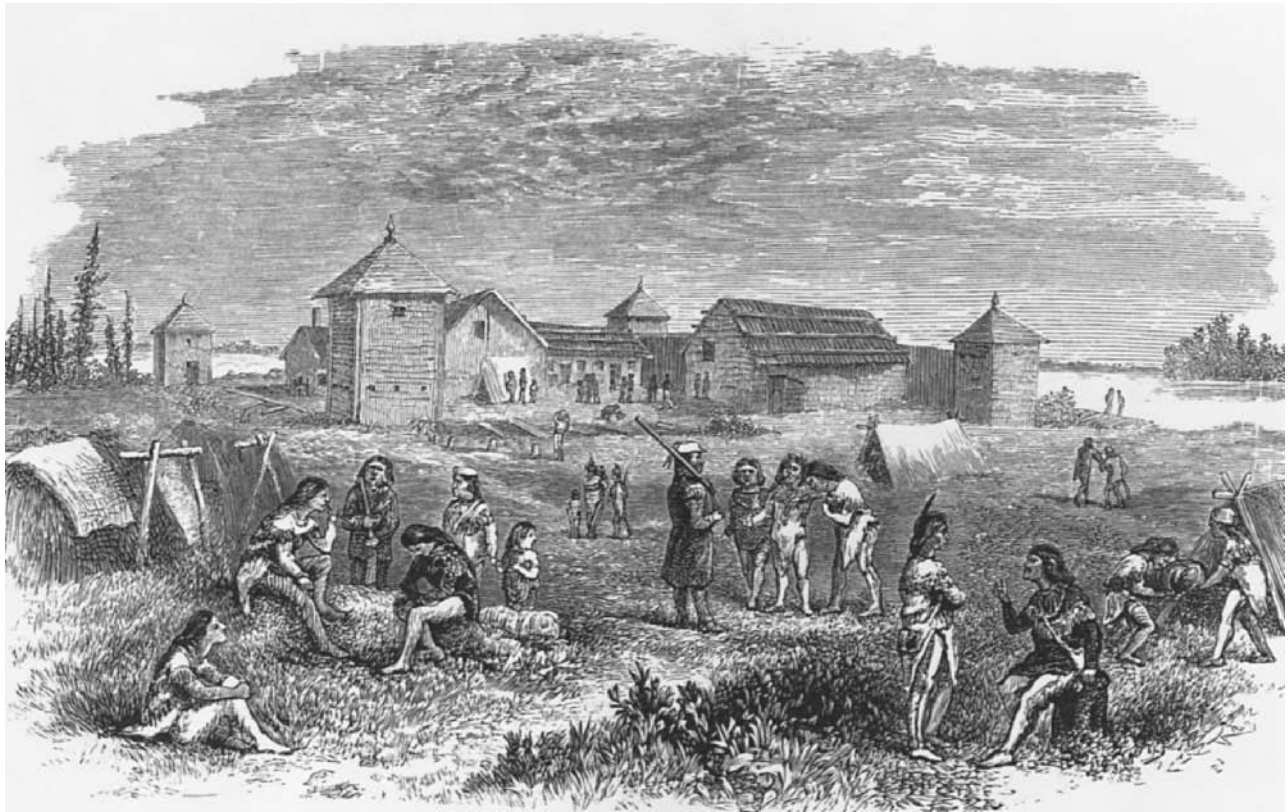
sole Trade and Commerce of all those Seas Streights Bayes Rivers Lakes Creekes and Sounds in whatsoever Latitude they shall bee that lye within the entrance of the Streights commonly called Hudsons Streights together with all the Landes and Territoryes upon the Countryes Coastes and confines of the Seas Bayes Lakes Rivers Creekes and Soundes aforesaid that are not actually possessed by or granted to any of our Subjectes or possessed by the Subjectes of any other Christian Prince or State.

It further stated that the Company was to be the "true and absolute Lordes and Proprietors" of this vast territory, which was to be known as Rupert's Land after Prince Rupert. The only responsibility of the Company was to pay two elks and two black beavers in the event that the English crown ever set foot in this territory. This nominal amount in kind, which was never paid by the Company, illustrates the character of the bargain between the Crown and the Company for land and trading rights held by the latter.

The charter was based on a false assumption. One of the basic principles of English common law is that you cannot give what you do not own, and England did not own Rupert's Land. The First Nations have continued to use, occupy, and retain it as the true proprietors, even though France also claimed and occupied the territory until the Peace of Paris at the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763. Although the Hudson's Bay Company may have had trading rights in the area, these soon expired when, after the Company's royal charter was finally confirmed by the English Parliament in 1690 and renewed for seven years, the charter was not renewed in 1697. The legal fiction of the Hudson's Bay Company grew apace and did not deter the Company from claiming not only the exclusive trading rights to the area but also all of the surface and subsurface property rights.

In the 1950s, E. E. Rich wrote the Company's official history. Sir Winston Churchill, who believed in Britain's imperial mission (although it appears he had Iroquoian ancestry), as Grand Seigneur of the





*Gwich'in Indians, an Alaskan indigenous people, are seen outside the Hudson Bay Company trading post at Fort Yukon in this late nineteenth-century illustration. Indigenous peoples gained wealth from trading with the company. However, problems, such as disease and social fragmentation, also emerged. (Corbis)*

Company, wrote a Foreword to it in September 1957. In it, he said: "Many great merchant expeditions set out in the last four centuries from the shores of these Islands and materially the history of the lands to which they sailed. Of these, none was more prominent than the Hudson's Bay Company." Churchill continued, "Its interests have swelled from the early trading posts, where furs were the principal article of trade, to the vast commercial undertakings of the 20th century, when the Company is active in so many spheres of exploration and development in every Province of Canada. It is most fitting that the story of this epic of British enterprise, interwoven with the growth of the great country that Canada has become, should now be written" (Rich, 1960). Thus the Company's history has been written until recently largely by British imperial historians who have relied on the Company's own defense of the major challenges to its charter since 1670 rather than on an indigenous perspective, much less on a critical analysis of its relationships and histories with indigenous peoples.

The Company's relationship with indigenous peoples in what became Canada's North has always been both curious and ambivalent, stemming from a mutual interest in the gathering and the hunting of furs. The Company's partners in the fur trade—the First Nations, the Métis and the Inuit—collaborated reciprocally with the largely Scottish traders who ran the trade on the ground in Rupert's Land. The Company and aboriginal peoples benefited from the relationship in very different ways, creating wealth for one another. The fur trade even led to the creation of the Métis, who were the offspring of the miscegenation of aboriginal and nonaboriginal peoples. However, eventually there were problems. With the trade came the disease and epidemics and the social fragmentation of indigenous peoples that are still being felt in communities in Canada to this day. Along with pathogens, in response to increased competition from the Montreal merchants in the late eighteenth century, came the use of alcohol as a trading item, which led directly to alcoholism and the





breakdown of many First Nation, Métis, and Inuit communities.

Aboriginal peoples who were not employed by the Company used their canoes and kayaks as well as their intimate knowledge of their lands and waters to resist its dominance. The alternatives to the company were twofold. First Nations and Métis people could refuse to trade with the Company and continue to trade within their own networks, or they could trade with the Northwest or other European companies instead of the Hudson's Bay Company. These options existed because of Canada's enormous geographical land mass as well as the fact that aboriginal people controlled the water routes into the interior of the country through the use of canoes. Even though the Company failed to win this economic war with the Montreal merchants, primarily the Northwest Company, British imperial legislation in 1821 joined the companies under the banner of the Hudson's Bay Company. Thereafter, and until 1870, the Company consolidated its trade in a ruthless manner under the manipulative, high-handed, and frequently racist tactics of Sir George Simpson, its governor, in its acquisition of new trading territories outside Rupert's Land into the Pacific Northwest and as far west as Hawaii.

Further challenges to the Company followed: The 1849 Sayer trial over free trade provided the Métis with a legal victory which allowed free trade in Rupert's Land and also effectively challenged the Company's charter. A select Parliamentary inquiry into the Company and its relationship with aboriginal peoples in the late 1850s challenged the Company's charter, which had been a legal fiction since 1697 and led eventually to the denial of the Company's license in 1859. Amid these challenges in the middle of the nineteenth century, two of the most prominent Métis leaders in London and Canada were almost singlehandedly fighting the Hudson's Bay Company's charter on the basis of aboriginal title and rights: William Kennedy (1814–1890) and his nephew, Alexander Kennedy Isbister (1822–1884). The Company gradually moved its trading posts northward and consolidated its efforts. The late nineteenth century saw the gradual decline of the Company's trading monopoly and its fortunes. Finally, the Company turned itself into an International Financial Society in 1863 and, on December 1, 1869, relinquished its trading rights and ostensibly its proprietary rights (which it did not possess) to Rupert's Land with its sale and deed of surrender to the new federal government of Canada.

Even after relinquishing its rights, the Hudson's Bay Company continued its ambivalent relationship with aboriginal peoples. Eventually its actions leading up to the sale of its trading rights of Rupert's Land provoked the Métis nation, led directly to the first of two armed resistance movements against the federal government in 1869–1870 and 1885, and perhaps were an unwitting cause of the Manitoba Treaty with the Métis under the 1870 Manitoba Act. In the years that followed, the Company, having retained its lands around its trading posts, operated as a commercial enterprise, still trading with aboriginal peoples, especially in the North.

Until recently, the Company survived commercially as a large department store with its headquarters in Toronto. Early in 2006, the American corporation, Target, took it over. Perhaps, fittingly, the Hudson's Bay Company, long the hunter, now became a "target" itself and was hunted down.

David T. McNab and Ute Lischke

*See also* Fur Trade; Trade.

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## Indian Act

Legislation concerning American Indians dates back to the first European and British settlers in North America. The one discernable commonality in all of the legislation is that it was focused on promoting the assimilation of Indians into mainstream colonial and later U.S. and Canadian society. These laws also had the effect of helping colonial officials secure political hegemony and destabilizing local Indian governing structures and philosophies. Several centuries after the initial legislation, the Indian Act of 1876 consolidated and amended all earlier statutes regarding the rights of indigenous peoples in Canada. Described as a coercive form of social control, the Indian Act was and, as some First Nations leaders would argue, remains Canada's best means of assimilating Indians into mainstream society.

When Native people first came into contact with Europeans and the British, political interaction was confined to treaty relationships and military alliances in times of war, a process that persisted until 1755 and the establishment of the British Indian Department in British North America. Indian affairs were administered by the Indian Department, a branch of the military, until 1830, when responsibility for Indians was detached from the military. The main goal of the civilian Department of Indian Affairs was to purchase and sell Indian lands in Upper Canada. In 1844, responsibility for the administration of Indian affairs was once again transferred, this time to the Province of Canada and away from the imperial authorities in England.

Beginning in the 1830s, a long line of legislation was implemented that directly affected how the colonial government in Canada dealt with Indians. By 1850, colonial officials attempted to consolidate the myriad Indian laws into two parallel acts (passed by Upper and Lower Canada respectively) designed to

deal with the infiltration of settlers into Indian-held territories. These acts transferred control of and responsibility for leasing land and the collection of rents to the commissioner of Indian Lands. Canada's ostensible aim was to protect Indians and their lands from abuse until such time as they became “civilized.” This was made clear in the next attempt to consolidate Indian legislation. The 1857 Gradual Civilization Act overtly promoted assimilation as the central goal of Indian policy, while also declaring that Indians of advanced education who were capable of managing their own affairs were eligible for enfranchisement. This legislation also established a separate legal status for Indian populations from equals in need of protection and civilization to that of wards in need of a guardian. Legislative activity increased with the passage of the Civilization and Enfranchisement Act of 1859, which consolidated all previous legislation regarding Indians. By 1860, authority for Indians and Indian lands was formally transferred to the colonial legislature. The Management of Indian Lands and Property Act of 1867 declared the Commissioner of Crown Lands to be the Chief Superintendent of Indian Affairs, while the 1869 Act for the Gradual Enfranchisement of Indians and the Better Management of Indian Affairs introduced the concept of local government to the reserves. By the 1870s, Canadian officials were involved in time-consuming, costly treaty negotiations in addition to fostering the conversion of British Columbia and Manitoba into provinces. Consistently revisiting and amending existing Indian legislation was deemed ineffective, and too many acts were considered cumbersome.

The Indian Act of 1876 consolidated all past Indian legislation into one law that created the legislative framework for an Indian policy that was generally applied uniformly throughout Canada. The Act granted considerable powers to the Superintendent General and to Indian agents located throughout Canada, while guaranteeing that Indians were subject to the Indian Affairs bureaucratic regime. In 1880, Indian Affairs attained departmental status, although it remained under the direction of the Minister of the Interior. An 1881 Indian Act amendment augmented the Indian agents' influence by making them justices of the peace, thereby enabling their prosecution and sentencing of Indians for violations of any Indian Act provisions.

The Indian Act provided for the administration of three key areas: (1) allocation of reserve lands, (2) defining “Indian” status, and (3) granting powers of





enforcement to the Canadian government. The Act was (and remains) a comprehensive piece of legislation that regulated and controlled nearly every aspect of Indian life. Indian agents were in place to administer the Act directly in Indian communities. Provisions within it forced an end to traditional governing practices, which were replaced by municipal-style structures. The traditional and hereditary leadership selection processes were outlawed. Indian agents were empowered with extraordinary administrative and discretionary authority. From the beginning, the Indian Act was considered a temporary, stopgap measure that would outlive its usefulness following the absorption of Indians into Canadian society.

The Indian Act also structured an enfranchisement process, thereby permitting Indians to acquire full citizenship but only after relinquishing their ties to their community. In addition to giving up one's culture, enfranchisement required an individual to meet a number of standards that included obtaining higher education and being a person of strong moral character. In doing so, the Act distinguished between status and nonstatus Indians. Status Indians who were registered with the federal government according to the terms of the Act were eligible for minimal government services. Nonstatus Indians were not registered and were therefore not eligible for government programs. According to Section 12(1)b, an Indian woman who married a non-Indian man under the Act had her status taken away from her; her children would also lose their status. An 1880 amendment declared that an Indian person who obtained a university degree would automatically be enfranchised.

By the late nineteenth century, the Indian Act was constantly referred to in Department of Indian Affairs' dispatches to field agents when questions arose concerning issues of land ownership, land use, health regulations, tribal government elections, and justice issues. The Act was also open to amendment when a situation materialized that was not dealt with in the existing provisions. For instance, an 1881 amendment made it illegal for Indians to sell their agricultural produce. This provision was extended in 1941 to all Indians in Canada and to the sale of furs and wild animals. In 1884, the Act was again amended to outlaw the West Coast potlatch; a year later the Sun Dance on the prairies was also made illegal. A 1914 amendment banned Indians from wearing Native costumes in any dance, show, exhibition, stampede, or pageant without the

Department of Indian Affairs' official permission. A 1920 amendment made residential school attendance compulsory and set out penalties for parents who refused to part with their children; and a 1927 amendment made it illegal for Indians to raise money to hire a lawyer to pursue land claims against the government. This list represents but a handful of Indian Act amendments made from 1880 to 1951.

Despite the best efforts of Canadian officials, however, Native people held onto their native identity tenaciously. By the 1940s, Canadian officials were aware that their enfranchisement scheme had failed. The House of Commons special committee on reconstruction confirmed officials' fears while highlighting poor on-reserve living conditions. This resulted in the creation of the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons (SJC) that sat from 1946 to 1948. The Indian Act was the catalyst for debate. The SJC held 128 sessions, heard 122 witnesses, including thirty-one Indian leaders, and published 411 written briefs (Belanger, forthcoming). The SJC called for the repeal or amendment of all the sections of the Indian Act to assist Indians in the gradual transition from wardship to citizenship, a strategy that would help Indians advance themselves. In 1951, the new Indian Act was unveiled and many of its more restrictive provisions were repealed, such as those concerning the potlatch and the Sun Dance. However, the new Act was a recycled version of the original, the main difference being that the 1951 Act increased the application of provincial laws to Indians.

Few changes to the Indian Act occurred during the next fifteen years. Then, in 1969, newly elected Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau (Liberal) proposed its repeal. Citing his just society mandate, he concluded in a White Paper that eliminating the Indian Act would abolish the existing chasm between Native and mainstream Canadians through the termination of Indian special status and federal responsibility for Indian affairs. However, opposition within the Native community was so strong that the White Paper was withdrawn in 1971. The next major change to the Indian Act occurred in 1985 with the passing of Bill C-31. This removed many of the discriminatory provisions of the Indian Act, especially those that discriminated against women. It also for the first time permitted the limited reinstatement of Indians who were denied or lost status and/or band membership in the past. Finally, it allowed bands to define their own mem-





bership rules. It is anticipated that the bill returned more than 22,000 men, women, and children to treaty status, giving them access to federal programs and services for off-reserve Indians. The next major attempt at change took place in April 2001, following Minister of Indian Affairs Robert Nault's announcement that he intended to alter the Indian Act by curtailing self-government in favor of mandated government structures. Given this proposed violation of their right to self-government, many Native people reacted negatively to Nault's plans, and in 2004 the bill died in Parliamentary process.

Yale D. Belanger

*See also* Assimilation; Canada, Indian Policies of; Citizenship; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

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## Indian Civil Rights Act (1968)

The Indian Civil Rights Act, enacted with the Omnibus Civil Rights Act of 1968, specifically delineated the civil rights of Indians as protected by the U.S. Constitution and as recognized by the federal government; in effect, it extended certain provisions of the Constitution to the Indian tribes. The crucial section of this Act, Title II, reads:

Sec. 201. For purposes of this title, the term (1) "Indian tribe" means any tribe, band, or other group of Indians subject to the jurisdiction of the United States and recognized as possessing powers of self-government; (2) "powers of self-government" means and includes all governmental powers possessed by an Indian tribe, executive, legislative, and judicial, and all offices, bodies, and tribunals by and through which they are executed, including courts of Indian offenses; and (3) "Indian court" means any Indian tribal court or court of Indian offense.

Sec. 202. No Indian tribe in exercising powers of self-government shall: (1) make or enforce any law prohibiting the free exercise of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition for a redress of grievances; (2) violate the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable search and seizures, nor issue warrants, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or thing to be seized; (3) subject any person for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy; (4) compel any person in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; (5) take any private property for a public use without just compensation; (6) deny to any person in a criminal proceeding the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and at his own expense to have the assistance of counsel for his defense; (7) require excessive bail, impose excessive fines, inflict cruel and unusual punishments, and in no event impose for conviction of any one offense any penalty or





punishment greater than imprisonment for a term of six months or a fine of \$5,000, or both; (8) deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws or deprive any person of liberty or property without due process of law; (9) pass any bill of attainder or ex post facto law; or (10) deny to any person accused of an offense punishable by imprisonment the right, upon request, to a trial by jury of not less than six persons.

Sec. 203. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall be available to any person, in a court of the United States, to test the legality of his detention by order of an Indian tribe.

President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act of 1968 in the East Room of the White House on April 11, 1968. Title II of the act confirmed the rights of Indians in the language of the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. A month earlier President Johnson delivered an address to Congress titled "The Forgotten American," in which he proposed a policy of "maximum choice for the American Indian: a policy expressed in programs of self-help, self-development, [and] self-determination."

Other portions of the law established a model code governing the courts of Indian offenses, asserted some state jurisdiction over criminal and civil actions involving Indians, amended an issue as to offenses within Indian country, allowed for the employment of legal counsel, called for the publication of materials relating to the constitutional rights of Indians, and set a policy regarding fair housing regulations for Indians. Further, the action ended Termination as a federal policy and expressly repealed the controversial Public Law 280 unless tribal councils specifically requested that states continued to oversee civil and criminal matters involving Indians. Senator Sam Ervin (Democrat, North Carolina) commented that the passage of this act "confer[red] upon the American Indians the fundamental constitutional rights which belong by right to all Americans."

C. S. Everett

*See also* National Congress of American Indians; Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act.

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## Indian Civilization Fund Act

The Indian Civilization Fund Act authorized the federal government to allocate money to instruct Native Americans in agriculture, reading, writing, and arithmetic. The Act went into effect on March 3, 1819, and it provided \$10,000 per year to promote cultural assimilation among the nation's Indians.

Prior to the establishment of the Indian Civilization Fund, religious missionaries had long sought to teach Native Americans about Christianity and other elements of what they called "civilized" society. After the formation of the United States, and largely beginning with the Jefferson administration, the federal government took an active role in promoting the secular transformation of Natives. What became known as the Indian factory system began in 1795 to set standard rates and to control the behavior of traders and hunters. Indian agents, like Benjamin Hawkins, and other employees of the federal factory system, used their presence among the Indians to teach them to herd cattle, grow cotton, use written laws, adopt Western gender norms, and otherwise embrace elements of American "civilization." When Indian agents did not perform these functions, religious missionaries often did. A lack of steady funding for these efforts, however, frustrated many Americans who believed in the desirability of assimilating Native Americans.

In 1817, Thomas L. McKenney, the Superintendent of Indian Trade for the United States, began to lobby Congress to coordinate and fund a large-scale campaign to promote cultural change. He believed that such a program could be beneficial to both Indians and the United States. By expanding the federal factory system, McKenney believed that he could teach Indians to stop hunting and start practicing agriculture. He encouraged Indian agents to cooperate with religious missionaries, he provided agents with agricultural equipment and livestock to give to cooperating Indians, and he otherwise pursued policies that he believed would lead to acculturated Indians. These actions, McKenney hoped, would allow Indians to become citizens and at the same time bring Native lands under the control of the United States.

With the cooperation of Henry Southard, chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, McKenney brought his plan for widespread schooling for Indians to Congress in 1818. After much internal haggling over who should be in charge of the education, whether profits from the factory sys-





tem could fund the program, and, if not, how the program would be funded, Congress passed the Indian Civilization Fund Act. It provided a \$10,000 annual allocation, far short of McKenney's \$100,000 request. In addition, it authorized the president to use his discretion on how to spend the money. Rather than expand the factory system, President James Monroe chose to fund groups who were already engaged in educating Indians to do the work.

Most of the groups who received money from the Indian Civilization Fund were religious missionaries from Protestant sects, primarily Methodists and Baptists. With this new funding, they were able to expand their presence in Indian Country and to create new schools to teach Indians how to become part of American culture. Other allocations went directly to Indian nations, who could choose for themselves which schools to support.

Even with this additional funding, missionary schools did not become a prominent presence in Indian Country. Still, the money allowed the schools to expand and it made the education of Native Americans a central component of U.S. Indian policy. In 1824, the Indian Civilization Fund subsidized thirty-two schools and contributed to the ostensible education of more than 900 Indians. Funds allocated from various Indian treaties helped augment the program, and, by 1830, the Indian Civilization Fund helped support fifty-two schools with 1,512 enrolled students.

The Choctaw Academy was the most well-known institution that received money from the fund. Created in 1825, the academy also received federal funds as a result of several treaties and land sales by the Choctaws. The school was built in Scott County, Kentucky, outside of the Choctaw nation, and it was run by the Baptist General Convention. Students studied basic subjects like English and mathematics while also learning the mechanical arts. Most of the students were Choctaws, but students from other Indian nations attended as well. In 1835, the all-male academy had 188 students.

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*See also* Assimilation; Baptist Church; Factory System.

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## Indian Claims Commission

The Indian Claims Commission (ICC) was a federal commission created in the 1940s to resolve the issue of awarding monetary compensation to Native Americans for the loss of their ancestral lands. More than six hundred claims were filed during its first five years. By the commission's expiration in 1978, over five hundred claims had been resolved, with over \$800 million awarded to Native Americans.

The expanding United States had long acquired native lands through the treaty process. By 1868 Indian tribes had ceded to the United States over 2 billion acres of land through almost four hundred treaties, leaving Native Americans only 140 million acres. In 1855, some tribes began to file claims against the federal government for treaty violations in the newly established Court of Claims. The government restricted this practice in 1863, and, after 1881, a jurisdictional act of Congress was required before tribes could petition the Court of Claims. By World War I, only thirty-one claims had been filed, with fourteen positive verdicts for the tribes. In the 1920s, however, with a change in public sentiment toward American Indians, tribes had greater success using the Court of Claims to redress their grievances. By 1946, almost 200 native claims were on the dockets of the Court of Claims, a surge that prompted a new procedure to deal with the immense volume of cases.

The ICC was first proposed in 1910 by Commissioner of Indian Affairs Francis E. Leupp. The 1928 Meriam Report also suggested a special commission be created to examine existing claims without the passage of individual jurisdictional acts. After World War II, additional hearings on this topic continued, until finally H.R. 4497 passed through Congress on October 25, 1945, to create the ICC. Concurrent with the passage of the ICC Act, the federal government was in the process of altering its policy toward Native Americans. Termination—the attempt to “desegregate Indian communities, and to integrate Indians into the rest of society” (Fixco, 1986)—was gaining momentum. Historian Donald Fixco, in *Termination and Relocation*, further says that termination was also intended as “the ultimate destruction of





*Photographed after the signing of the Indian Claims Commission Act are President Truman, seated, and from left to right, Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney of Wyoming; Reginald Curry of the Ute Tribe; Julius Murray of the Uintah Ute Tribe; and Oscar Chapman, acting Secretary of the Interior. The Indian Claims Commission operated for thirty-two years, adjudicating the long-standing land and accounting claims of Native Americans against the federal government. (Bettmann/Corbis)*

tribal cultures and native life-styles." President Harry S. Truman ignored the issue that the federal government had a long history of unilateral appropriation of native lands. The ICC Act was passed to "absolve" the federal government from any obligation to honor treaties or to compensate Indians for these unilateral landgrabs in return for monetary compensation alone. The ICC Act did not mention the restoration of native lands to their original owners.

The ICC was officially created on August 13. The first cases came in gradually over the first few years, with only 200 claims filed by 1951. A remarkable increase in the quantity of cases occurred in that year, because Indian attorneys had previously refrained from filing until the earlier decisions had been determined. By the end of 1951 over 600 claims

had been filed, primarily concerning western lands. To develop a feasible system to accomplish their enormous charge, ICC commissioners decided to transform their organization into an official court. Since the majority of claims were land cases, they were heard in three stages: title, value-liability, and offsets. The long beginning of the ICC's early work troubled Congress, which desired a quick and speedy resolution of Indian claims. In addition to evidence that the petitioners supplied, outside expert witnesses, consisting of anthropologists, historians and land specialists, were required to present major portions of the testimony for these cases. These experts defined vital information concerning tribal boundaries, duration of tribal possession, and assessment of the land. This immense amount of data was presented at the ICC hearings. From the outset, the commission's work was full of unexpected complications. This was evident as the time involved in each step of the claims process lengthened. The challenge of presenting the historical, anthropological, and legal resources in the medium of a courtroom setting made progress sluggish in the early years of the ICC.

The legislation that enacted the ICC was based on the premise that the Indians would have "their day in court." The original conception of a court to hear these claims evolved into a commission format. Five broad categories of claims were permitted under the ICC Act:

- (1) claims in law or equity arising under the Constitution, laws, treaties of the United States, and Executive orders of the President;
- (2) all other claims in law or equity, including those sounding in tort . . . ;
- (3) claims which would result if the treaties, contracts, and agreements between the claimant and the United States were revised on the ground of fraud;
- (4) claims arising from the taking by the United States . . . of lands owned or occupied by the claimant without the payment for such lands of compensation . . . ; and
- (5) claims based upon fair and honorable dealings that are not recognized by any existing rule of law or equity (60 Stat. 1049).

The ICC sent out a notice to all eligible Native claimants, with an explanation of its function and procedure. The tribes could obtain any legal representative they desired, subject to the approval of the secretary of the interior. The attorney general and





his associates represented the United States' side of the case. When a claim was finally decided, a final report was forwarded to Congress, and tribal petitioners were forever barred from "any further claim or demand against the United States arising out of the matter involved in the controversy" (Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946, Section 22). All awards were transferred to the Treasury, and the Bureau of the Budget was to include the allocation in the next appropriations bill. The Act specifically precluded land restoration. Final payment remained in the Treasury until Congress directed its dispersal. Additional compensation was awarded if the ICC found a "grossly inadequate" difference between the adjudicated price and fair market value. Other types of claims involved government accountability; for instance, the government might be held responsible if the ICC determined that tribal funds had been misspent.

After granting the ICC several five-year extensions, Congress finally shut it down in 1978. Two main problems confronted the commission during their last active decade. The first was confusion over the denotation of "unconscionable consideration" for claims filed, since no established formula existed to measure disparity between the payments made to tribes and land value. For example, if the ICC decided that less than 50 percent of the land value had been offered to the tribes by the government, then a disparity was deemed to have existed. A second problem was the lack of progress in compromise settlements, since only the claims attorneys could promote this avenue of settlement. New commissioners joined the ICC during the 1960s, for a total of five by 1968, and their addition expedited the resolving of claims; by 1971 over half the cases had been settled. By 1978 the ICC had only sixty-eight remaining dockets, which were remanded to the Court of Claims.

The ICC awarded over \$800 million to Native groups. The claims took about two decades on average to reach their conclusion. The commission achieved other results as well. By hiring their own attorneys, Native people continued to guard their interests. The claims process also resulted in increased public awareness of Native land loss and the search for appropriate compensation. The ethnohistorical research gathered for these cases allowed for further study of Native American societies. The claims process and its difficulties united several Native groups as they strove toward a similar goal. Historians still differ on whether the ICC achieved

its goal of allowing Indian people to have "their day in court."

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See also Meriam Report; Leupp, Francis Ellington; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Termination; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Indian Gaming Regulatory Act

Prior to the 1988 enactment of the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA), a few tribes ran small-scale commercial gambling operations on their reservations. Consisting of poker games and bingo, these businesses were conducted with federal approval but were not subject to state law. Gaming revenues at this time were modest, generating only about \$212 million annually ("Indian Gaming," 2005, 858).

Because Native American tribes and nations have attributes of sovereignty, state law is inapplicable to tribal lands in some cases, absent express congressional intent to the contrary. For this reason, before IGRA, tribes were able to establish commercial gaming enterprises on tribal trust lands without regard for the law of the surrounding state. Yet conflicts arose between states and tribes as states tried to impose their laws on tribal gaming enterprises. An attempt by the state of California to enforce its laws on the Cabazon Reservation ended up as the Supreme Court case of *California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians*, 480 U.S. 202 (1987).

With Public Law (PL) 83-280, Congress had made state criminal laws applicable on tribal lands located in California. However, PL280 extended only state criminal laws to reservations—not civil and





Casino sign on the Morongo Indian Reservation, near Cabazon, California. (Bob Rowan; Progressive Image/Corbis)

regulatory laws. Thus, the primary issue in *Cabazon* became whether California's law limiting the conduct of bingo games to charitable organizations was criminal or regulatory in nature.

The state argued that, because the laws were enforced as misdemeanor criminal offenses, they should be considered criminal. However, the court found that, since California permitted gambling in some circumstances—a state lottery, parimutuel horse race betting, and charitable bingo and card games—gambling did not violate state public policy. Rather, the court found that California permitted gambling, although it was subject to regulation. As a result, the court concluded that the state's gaming laws were regulatory rather than criminal and therefore were not applicable to Indian reservations located in the state.

The general rule derived from *Cabazon* was that, if a state permitted any form of gambling, then tribes located in the state could conduct gaming operations. In contrast, tribes located in states that prohibited all forms of gambling were prohibited from operating gaming enterprises. By clearing up legal

ambiguities, this ruling encouraged tribes across the country to open gaming enterprises. The expansion of tribal gaming in turn led to an increasing number of conflicts among states, citizen groups, and tribes. To ease the conflicts, Congress quickly acted to develop a comprehensive federal regulatory scheme for tribal gaming. In 1988, Congress passed the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, which superseded the ruling in *Cabazon* by completely controlling the field of Indian gaming regulation.

Central to IGRA is the Act's division of gambling activities into three separate categories: Class I, Class II, and Class III. Each class is regulated differently. Class I gaming includes games played socially or as part of traditional activities for prizes of low monetary value. Tribes have exclusive jurisdiction over Class I games. Class II games are bingo, games similar to bingo, and some nonbanking card games, such as poker. Class III is a catchall category that incorporates all other games, such as slot machines and casino table games. IGRA limits Class II and III gaming to states in which such games are permitted. In addition, Class II and III games require the enact-





ment of a tribal resolution, and Class III gaming requires the negotiation of a tribal–state gaming compact. (Additional regulations apply to tribal management and federal oversight of Class II and Class III gaming operations.)

Casinos and game designers are always at work developing new games to attract customers. Because Class II gaming can be conducted without a tribal–state agreement, determining whether a new game or machine fits into Class II or Class III is an important and sometimes contentious decision.

Tribes that wish to conduct full-scale casino gambling must negotiate a gaming compact with the state. A compact is a written agreement between the tribe and the state that sets out how the tribe will conduct its Class III gaming operations. IGRA sets out some suggestions for compact provisions, but the Act's parameters are quite broad and permit provisions regarding any "subjects that are directly related to the operation of gaming activities" (Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, fn 2 25 U.S.C. § 2710[d] [3][C][vii]). Existing compacts vary widely. Some common provisions relate to the waiver of the tribe's sovereign immunity related to gaming activities, state inspection of gaming facilities, licensing, enforcement of compact provisions, and casino security.

A key provision of IGRA is its waiver of state immunity from suit. States are generally immune from suit in federal court. However, to ensure that states will negotiate with tribes in good faith toward the adoption of a tribal–state gaming compact, Congress, under its Indian commerce clause authority, included in IGRA a provision giving tribes a cause of action in federal court against states that fail to negotiate a gaming compact in good faith. The U.S. Supreme Court invalidated this provision in a five-to-four decision in the 1996 case, *Seminole Tribe of Florida v. Florida*, holding that Congress does not have the authority to waive a state's sovereign immunity from suit. *Seminole Tribe*, which overturned earlier case law allowing Congress to waive a state's immunity from suit, has had repercussions stretching far beyond the field of Indian law. However, the immediate effect of the ruling was to preclude tribes from enforcing in federal court IGRA's requirement that a state negotiate a gaming compact in good faith. Although *Seminole* pulled some of the teeth out of IGRA, it left in place alternate remedies that have helped ensure the cooperation of states in the compact negotiation process.

IGRA represents a compromise between state and tribal interests. Similar to the ruling in *Cabazon*, the Act permits tribes to open gaming enterprises in states that allow some form of gambling. Yet the Act infringes on tribal sovereignty in several ways. First, it permits tribal gaming only in states where gambling is legal. In other words, the ability of a tribe to open a commercial gaming operation on tribal lands is dependent on state law. The Act also forces tribes to negotiate with states. In the course of these negotiations, states may demand that tribes allow state boards to license casino employees or permit state inspectors to inspect tribal facilities. In addition, although states cannot tax tribes directly, tribal–state gaming agreements often include a revenue-sharing provision that requires tribes to give a state a sizable percentage of tribal gaming revenues, often in exchange for the exclusive right to conduct casino gambling in the state. Tribes with gaming enterprises have been willing to accept these infringements on their sovereignty in exchange for the substantial economic benefits that gaming provides.

In the more than 200 years since the establishment of the first Indian reservations, gaming has been by far the most successful means of economic development. According to the National Indian Gaming Commission, the federal regulatory agency charged with oversight of Indian gaming, 2004 total revenue from the country's more than 300 tribal gaming enterprises was about \$19.4 billion. Tribes have used gaming revenues to fund health clinics, schools and scholarship programs, tribal government, and infrastructure improvements. Some tribes also distribute gaming revenues as per-capita payments to tribal members. Today, casino gambling is one of the fastest growing sectors of the U.S. economy. However, the future of the industry and of tribal gaming in particular is uncertain. As a buffer against future uncertainty, some tribes have begun to use their gaming revenues to create more diverse tribal economies by investing in other enterprises.

Many tribes see gaming as the best option for tribal economic development and some have received a large financial benefit from their gaming operations. However, not all tribes are able to operate financially successful casinos. The tribes that have been the most successful usually have land close to a major highway or urban area. Tribes with land in remote rural areas far from major roads have had little success attracting nonmember customers to their casinos. In addition, market saturation can





reduce revenues. Some tribes choose not to open casinos, for reasons of tradition, religion, or economics. Thus IGRA, while providing a boon to some, has caused a deep economic division and some political friction between successful gaming tribes and the many other tribes who are still struggling to develop viable economies.

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*See also* Economic Development; Gambling; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Indian Mineral Leasing Act

Mining in Indian country is a matter of great significance both for the nation as a whole and for the tribes and Indian nations that contain mineral resources. Native nations constitute one of the largest owners of minerals in the country; only the federal government and the railroad companies have larger mineral holdings (Royster, 1994, 542–543). For many tribes, mining is the principal economic engine that brings revenues and employment to reservation communities (Royster, 1994, 544). Passed in 1938, the Indian Mineral Leasing Act (IMLA) has served as the principal piece of federal legislation that governs mineral leasing activities on Indian lands. The IMLA serves three primary purposes: (1) to obtain greater uniformity in the leasing of Indian lands for mining purposes, (2) to harmonize mineral leasing with the Indian Reorganization Act's policy of tribal self-determination by requiring tribal consent to mineral leasing on Indian lands, and (3) to foster greater tribal economic development by ensuring that Indians receive "the greatest

return from their property" (Senate Report, 1937, 2–3; House Report, 1938, 1–3)

Prior to the IMLA's enactment, mineral leasing on Indian lands was governed by several other federal statutes, including the Acts of 1891, 1909, 1919, 1924 and 1927 (Royster, 1994, 556). The multiple statutes governing Indian mineral leasing created a patchwork that varied with respect to types of Native lands subject to the statute, the kind of leasing permitted (oil and gas or non-oil and gas mineral leasing), whether tribal consent was required, and whether state taxation of the mineral leasing was permitted (Royster, 1994, 556). The IMLA introduced a much more uniform mineral leasing regime by imposing one set of rules governing nearly all mineral leasing on tribal lands.

The IMLA authorizes the leasing of unallotted lands and other tribal lands for mining purposes if a tribe and the Secretary of Interior both consent to the lease (25 U.S.C. § 396a). The terms of mineral leases entered into under the Act may extend up to ten years "and as long thereafter as minerals are produced in paying quantities" (25 U.S.C. § 396a). The statute provides for the public auctioning of oil and gas leases, with the right to set the terms of such auctions and the right to reject bids delegated to the Secretary of Interior, and requires that mineral lessees post surety bonds in amounts set by the Secretary of Interior (25 U.S.C. §§ 396b and 396c). Finally, the Act delegates authority to the Secretary to promulgate rules and regulations governing mineral leases (25 U.S.C. § 396d).

Congress's second major goal in enacting the IMLA was promotion of tribal self-government through a requirement that all mineral leases be tribally approved, coupled with a requirement that the Secretary of the Interior also approve mineral leases on Indian lands (Senate Report 1937, 2–3; House Report 1938, 1–3). Although the tribal consent requirement provides assurance that tribes have a critical role in the initial approval of mineral leases on their lands, the consent requirement does little to promote tribal self-government once mineral leasing is underway, since the Act does not include provisions that allow tribes to control mining exploration and development activities once commenced (Royster, 1994, 561). In 1982, Congress responded to the demand for greater tribal control of mineral development activities by enacting the Indian Mineral Development Act.

Congress's third purpose for enacting the IMLA was to ensure that tribes received the "greatest





return” possible for mineral leasing conducted on their lands (United States, 1937, 2–3; United States House of Representatives, 1938, 1–3). The Supreme Court has held that the reference to the “greatest return” in the Act’s legislative history is not intended to guarantee tribes the maximum profit available, but instead to provide tribes with a “profitable source of revenue” (*Cotton Petroleum v. New Mexico*, 1989, 179). The IMLA is designed to accomplish this objective through the surety bonds that the statute requires and through the system of bonuses, rents, and royalties that the IMLA’s regulations establish.

Mineral leasing conducted in accordance with the IMLA has given rise to several controversies that strike at the core issues of federal Indian law, including the federal government’s trust relationship with Indian tribes and tribal and state taxing authority in Indian country.

In *United States v. Navajo Nation*, the Supreme Court addressed whether the IMLA imposes a fiduciary duty on the federal government that, if breached, could mandate compensation for damages. The case involved a coal lease between Peabody Coal Company and the Navajo Nation. When the original lease was ripe for amendment, the Secretary of the Interior, after an ex parte meeting with a Peabody Coal representative, directed the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs to encourage the parties to renegotiate new royalty rates for the lease, rather than wait to accept an impending decision from the Deputy Assistant Secretary that was expected to affirm a substantial increase in the royalty rate to 20 percent of gross proceeds. In accordance with the new instruction, the parties resumed negotiations and agreed to a smaller adjustment, raising the original royalty rate to only 12 percent of gross proceeds.

The Navajo Nation sued the United States for \$600 million in damages, claiming that the secretary’s approval of the coal lease amendments constituted a breach of trust. The Supreme Court rejected the tribe’s claim, holding that the IMLA does not impose a duty on the federal government that is enforceable in a claim for money damages. The court found that the IMLA creates a lesser role for the secretary, one that is limited to approving mineral leases and promulgating rules and regulations governing mineral leasing. The court concluded that the IMLA was distinguishable from other statutes that served as the basis for money damages following a breach of fiduciary duty, as in the case of *United States v. Mitchell* (*Mitchell II*).

In *Merrion v. Jicarilla Apache Indian Tribe*, the Jicarilla Apaches assessed an oil and gas severance tax on the production activities of oil and gas lessees that operated on the tribe’s reservation, pursuant to mineral leases entered into under the IMLA. The Supreme Court affirmed the tribe’s power to tax the lessees, holding that “the power to tax is an essential attribute of Indian sovereignty because it is a necessary instrument of self-government and territorial management” that enables tribal governments to raise revenues for essential services (*Merrion v. Jicarilla Apache Tribe*, 1982, 137).

In *Montana v. Blackfeet Tribe of Indians*, the state of Montana assessed several taxes that were applied against the Blackfeet tribe’s oil and gas royalty payments under several oil and gas leases with non-Indian lessees. The state argued that the taxes were authorized because it claimed that the IMLA had incorporated a provision in an earlier mineral leasing statute, the Act of 1924, which had authorized state taxation of Indian mineral leases. The Supreme Court rejected Montana’s interpretation of the IMLA, holding that the court will find that the general rule of tribal exemption from state taxation is lifted only when Congress has made its intent “unmistakably clear” (*Montana v. Blackfeet Tribe of Indians*, 1985, 765).

In *Cotton Petroleum v. New Mexico*, the Supreme Court upheld various state oil and gas production taxes assessed against Cotton Petroleum Corporation, a non-Indian party to oil and gas leases entered into with the Jicarilla Apache tribe in New Mexico. The court considered whether the tax was preempted by federal law through either an express or an implied prohibition of the tax, and the court looked to the history of tribal sovereignty, including the broad policies furthered by the IMLA, as a backdrop to its analysis. The court concluded that, although the legislative history of the IMLA referred to tribes receiving the “greatest return” from their property, this did not mean that Congress intended “to remove all barriers to profit maximization,” with the effect of precluding all state taxation of non-Indian mineral lessees (*Cotton Petroleum v. New Mexico*, 1989, 180). The court also determined that tribes did not have a history of independence from the imposition of state taxes in the area of mineral leasing, since the Act of 1927 specifically authorized such taxes in the past. Furthermore, the court noted that the state had an interest in taxing Cotton Petroleum’s on-reservation oil and gas production because it provided services to both the company





and tribal members on and off the reservation. The court also held that states generally have the authority to tax the activities of non-Indians on the reservation unless Congress prohibited the tax.

The *Cotton Petroleum* court refrained from reexamining its prior rejection of a state tax imposed by Montana on a non-Indian mineral lessee on Crow tribal lands. In that case, *Montana v. Crow Tribe*, the state of Montana assessed extraordinarily high state taxes on coal mining activities that amounted to an effective rate of 32.9 percent. The Ninth Circuit Court held that the taxes were unlawful, and the Supreme Court summarily affirmed its holding. This case stands in stark contrast to *Cotton Petroleum*.

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*See also* Economic Development; Indian Reorganization Act; Individual Indian Monies; Mining and Contemporary Environmental Problems; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Tribal Sovereignty; Trust, Doctrine of.

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## Indian Removal Act

Provisions for Indian "removal"—the relocation of entire Native nations from areas about to be annexed by non-Indians—were first laid down in an 1817 treaty between the United States and the Cherokee Nation (7 Stat. 156). By 1830, the federal government had passed general removal legislation aimed at the Five Civilized Tribes (the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles) after they had

adopted ways of life and political institutions resembling those of European-Americans. Many other Native American nations (such as the Osages and Poncas) also were removed to Indian Territory during the nineteenth century. By 1883, twenty-five Indian reservations occupied by a total of thirty-seven nations had been established in Indian Country.

The many trails of tears, mostly between the 1830s and 1860s, resulted in immense suffering among the estimated 50,000 to 100,000 Native people who were forced to move. Between one-third and one-fourth of those who were removed died either on the marches or shortly thereafter of exposure, disease, and starvation. Some Native nations, such as the Senecas, Seminoles, Navajos, and Poncas, resisted removal and won the right to remain (or return) home. Notable numbers of Native people, including many Cherokees, evaded removal, and they remain in their home territories to this day. Some, such as the Osages, found themselves forced to new lands that contained rich resources, such as oil.

Removals sometimes led to important legal conflicts that shaped U.S. law for centuries afterward. Such was the case with the Cherokees, on whose behalf Chief Justice John Marshall ruled in the early 1830s in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* and *Worcester v. Georgia*. The decision in the latter case did not keep President Andrew Jackson from illegally forcing the Cherokee from their lands, but it did define the relationship of Native Americans to the United States as one of "dependent domestic nations" that endures to this day. The removal of the Poncas led to the case of *Standing Bear v. Crook* (1879), which established Indians as human beings under U.S. law.

Mention "Andrew Jackson" to most Americans, and the phrase "Jacksonian Democracy" may spring to mind. To the descendants of Native Americans who survived the period, however, the first comparison may be to the Bataan Death March of World War II or to Joseph Stalin. There was very little that was democratic about Jackson's handling of relations with Native nations.

Andrew Jackson thought of Indian treaties as anachronisms. "An absurdity," he called them. "Not to be reconciled with the principles of our government" (Johansen, 2000, 88). As Jackson elaborated in a letter to President James Monroe (another advocate of Indian removal) in 1817, "The Indians are the subjects of the United States, inhabiting its territory and acknowledging its sovereignty. Then is it not absurd for the sovereign to negotiate by treaty with the sub-





ject? I have always thought, that Congress had as much right to regulate by acts of legislation, all Indian concerns as they had of territories, are citizens of the United States and entitled to all the rights thereof, the Indians are subjects and entitled to their protection and fostering care" (McNickle, 1949, 193).

Given the convoluted grammar, it is not easy to decipher what General Jackson is saying. Is he declaring the Indians to be citizens? Legally, that was not the case until a century later. Is he personally annulling the treaties, which had been signed by parties who regarded each other as diplomatic peers barely two generations earlier? Whatever the nature of his rhetoric, the ensuing decades made clear, especially for the Native peoples of the South, just what Jackson meant by "protection and fostering care."

The private rationale for removal was expressed by Henry Clay (like Jackson, a political product of the trans-Appalachian west). Clay's recitation, preserved in the *Memoirs* of John Quincy Adams, came at the end of a meeting of Adams' cabinet on December 22, 1825, during which the entire agenda was taken up by the conflict between the Creeks and Georgia. Clay was responding to a suggestion that the United States stop making treaties with the Indians and treat them as citizens. According to Adams, Clay said:

It is impossible to civilize Indians. . . . There never was a full-blooded Indian who took to civilization. It was not in their nature. He said they are destined to extinction and, although he would never use or countenance inhumanity towards them, he did not think them, as a race, worth preserving. He considered them as essentially inferior to the Anglo-Saxon race, which were now taking their place on this continent. They were not an improvable breed, and their disappearance from the human family will be no great harm to the world (Drinnon, 1990, 179–180).

Clay's point of view was popular among Anglo-Americans in need of a rationale for relieving Native Americans of their lands. The fact that the civilized tribes had become, in some respects, as Europeanized as the immigrants seemed not to matter. Removal was less an ideological statement than a convenient method to transfer land from one group of people to another. During the 1820s, before their forceful removal from their homelands, the Chero-

kees developed prosperous villages, a system of government modeled on that of the United States, a written language, and a newspaper. The Cherokees owned 22,000 cattle, 2,000 spinning wheels, 700 looms, thirty-one grist mills, ten saw mills, eight cotton gins, and 1,300 slaves.

Passage of the Removal Act of 1830 climaxed a years-long struggle. The Creeks, for example, had become concerned about non-Indian usurpation of their lands as early as 1818, when the Muscogee (Creek) nation passed a law against the sale of any Native American land without council approval, under penalty of death for the transgressing party. The edict was enforced. In 1825, federal treaty commissioners bribed William McIntosh, leader of the Creek Lower Towns, to sign a land cession agreement, the Treaty of Indian Springs, with a few of his close associates. The National Council declared McIntosh to be a traitor and, on May 1, 1825, sent a delegation to torch his house. When McIntosh appeared at the door of his burning home, his body was riddled with bullets.

Removals of specific Native nations usually were negotiated by treaties (frequently under duress), in which the nations surrendered what remained to them of their aboriginal homelands in exchange for lands west of the Mississippi River. Although some small bands (and a few members of larger nations) had been moving westward since the War of 1812, the Removal Act forced the wholesale removal of entire Native nations, notably the Five Civilized Tribes, in the various phases of the trails of tears.

As the federal government prepared to remove entire nations of Native people west of the Mississippi River, little thought was given to the fact that Indians, European-Americans, and Afro-Americans had been intermarrying among Native peoples for more than a century. Many of the families who were forced to abandon their homes were nearly as European-American, genetically, as their nonreservation neighbors. John Ross, for example, the Cherokee best-known as an opponent of removal, was only one-eighth Cherokee. He lived in a plantation house and owned slaves.

These complications meant little to President Jackson, who had earned his national reputation as a general in the U.S. Army, whose primary business was subjugating Indians. When he ran for president, Jackson sought frontier votes by favoring removal. Once in office, Jackson considered the Removal Act of 1830 to be the fulfillment of a campaign promise.





Others felt less sanguine; even with extensive lobbying from the White House, the House of Representatives passed the Removal Act by only six votes (103 to 97). Representative William Ellsworth of Connecticut opposed Removal in a passionate speech delivered on the House floor, as he said, in part: "We must be just and faithful to our treaties. There is no occasion for collision. We shall not stand justified before the world in taking any step which shall lead to oppression. The eyes of the world, as well as of this nation, are upon us. I conjure this House not to stain the page of our history with national shame, cruelty, and perfidy" (Johansen, 1998, 275).

President Jackson's adamant support of Indian removal placed him on a direct constitutional collision course with Chief Justice John Marshall, who was evolving legal doctrines vis-à-vis Native American land rights on which he had been working before Jackson was elected. The Cherokee cases, which came before Marshall's U.S. Supreme Court between 1823 and 1832 would display, in broad and emphatic relief, how closely much of early nineteenth-century American life was connected to the land speculation machine that helped propel westward movement.

The removal of the "civilized tribes" from their homelands is one of the most notable chapters in the history of American land relations. Jackson's repudiation of John Marshall's rulings, which supported the Cherokees' rights to their homelands, constituted contempt of the Supreme Court (an impeachable offense under the Constitution). The subject of impeachment was not seriously raised, however. During the incendiary years before the Civil War, the removals became intertwined with the issue of state's rights vis-à-vis the federal government. Had Jackson followed Justice Marshall's rulings, the Civil War might have started in the 1830s.

The assertion of states' rights vis-à-vis Native American territorial sovereignty (against the background of removal legislation) provided the legal grist for an 1832 Supreme Court decision written by Chief Justice Marshall that has defined the relationship between Native Americans' sovereignty and state's rights for more than a century and a half.

Marshall's opinions outlining Native Americans' status in the U.S. legal system occurred as he defined the Supreme Court's place in U.S. politics. When Marshall became chief justice in 1801, the Supreme Court was little more than a clause in the Constitution. For the next thirty-five years, Marshall played a major role in defining the Court as an insti-

tution. According to author Jean Edward Smith, if George Washington founded the United States, John Marshall legally defined it.

Chief Justice Marshall had long-run political differences with President Jackson, and he agonized over the conflicts between states' rights and Native sovereignty. In 1831, in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, Marshall held that the Cherokees had no standing in court to appeal the state of Georgia's seizure of their lands. This situation troubled Marshall so deeply that he said at one point that he thought of resigning from the Supreme Court because of it. A year later, in *Worcester v. Georgia*, Marshall held unconstitutional the imprisonment by Georgia of a missionary (Samuel Worcester) who had worked with the Cherokees. The specific issue was the refusal of Worcester, while a resident on Cherokee land, to swear loyalty to the state of Georgia in conformance with a state law.

The case began when three white missionaries living on Cherokee territory refused to swear an oath of allegiance to the state of Georgia. They were arrested, chained to a wagon, and forced to walk more than twenty miles to jail. Two Methodist preachers who objected to the cruelty that accompanied the arrests were also chained and taken to jail. The three missionaries were tried, convicted, and sentenced to four years of hard labor at the Georgia state penitentiary. Two of them later swore allegiance and were released; one (Worcester) did not. When the case reached the Supreme Court (as *Worcester v. Georgia*), Justice Marshall wrote that Native nations had a degree of sovereignty that denied Georgia the right to compel an oath of loyalty.

Historians disagree over whether President Jackson actually said, "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it." Whether Jackson expressed himself in those words may be a moot point; his implementation of removal flew in the face of the law as interpreted by Marshall in *Worcester v. Georgia*. Marshall wrote that the Cherokees had "always been considered as distinct, independent political communities, retaining their original natural rights . . . and the settled doctrine of the law of nations, that a weaker power does not surrender its independence—its right to self-government—by associating with a stronger, and taking its protection. . . . The Cherokee nation, then, is a distinct community, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia can have no force, and which the citizens of Georgia have no right to enter, but with the





assent of the Cherokees, or in conformity with treaties, and with the acts of Congress" (Worcester, 1975).

Marshall reasoned in *Worcester v. Georgia* that the Constitution, by declaring treaties to be the supreme law of the land, had adopted and sanctified previous treaties with the Indian nations. The words "treaty" and "nation" are "words of our own language," wrote Marshall, "selected in our diplomatic and legislative proceedings, by ourselves, having each a definite and well-understood meaning. We have applied them to Indians, as we have applied them to the other nations of the earth; they are applied to all in the same sense" (Worcester, 1975). Marshall defined Indian nations neither as totally sovereign nor as colonies, but as "domestic dependent nations." The Congress, however, fearing that a confrontation over states' rights could provoke civil war, took no action against Jackson.

Although Ross continued to protest removal for several more years, the state of Georgia coerced Cherokees to sell lands for a fraction of their value. Marauding immigrants plundered Cherokee homes and possessions. They destroyed the *Cherokee Phoenix's* printing press because it had opposed removal. The U.S. Army forced Cherokee families into internment camps to prepare for the arduous trek westward. As a result of unhealthy and crowded conditions in these hastily constructed stockades, many Cherokees died even before their Trail of Tears began. While failing in his efforts to stop removal, Ross did manage to gain additional federal funds for his people.

After almost six years of delays, the Trail of Tears was initiated in 1838. Before they were exiled from their homelands by force of arms, the Cherokees released a "memorial" expressing their feelings:

The title of the Cherokee people to their lands is the most ancient, pure, and absolute known to man; its date is beyond the reach of human record; its validity confirmed by possession and enjoyment antecedent to all pretense of claim by any portion of the human race.

The free consent of the Cherokee people is indispensable to a valid transfer of the Cherokee title. The Cherokee people have neither by themselves nor their representatives given such consent. It follows that the original title and ownership of lands still rests with the Cherokee Nation,

unimpaired and absolute. The Cherokee people have existed as a distinct national community for a period extending into antiquity beyond the dates and records and memory of man. These attributes have never been relinquished by the Cherokee people, and cannot be dissolved by the expulsion of the Nation from its territory by the power of the United States Government (O'Brien, 1989, 57).

In preparation for the Cherokees' removal, John Ross was evicted from his mansion to a dirt-floored cabin. When John Howard Payne, author of the song "Home Sweet Home," came to visit him at the cabin, just across the Georgia state line in Tennessee, the Georgia State Guard crossed the state line and kidnapped both men. Realizing that the federal government did not intend to protect the Cherokees, Ross and others reluctantly signed the Treaty of New Echota in 1835 and prepared, with heavy hearts, to leave their homes.

During 1838 and 1839, the U.S. Army removed the Cherokees by force, except for a few hundred who escaped to the mountains.

The Cherokees' phrase for their long, brutal march (*nuna-daa-ut-sun'y*, "trail where they cried") gave the march its enduring name. At least one-fourth of the Cherokees who were removed died along the way. Ross's wife Quatie was among the victims of this forced emigration. James Mooney described how the Cherokees were forced from their homes: "Squads of troops were sent to search out with rifle and bayonet every small cabin hidden away in the coves or by the sides of mountain streams. . . . Families at dinner were startled by the sudden gleam of bayonets in the doorway and rose up to be driven with blows and oaths along the trail that led to the stockade. Men were seized in their fields or going along the road, women were taken from their wheels, and children from their play" (Van Every, 1966, 242). A U.S. Army private who witnessed the Cherokee removal wrote: "I saw the helpless Cherokee arrested and dragged from their homes, and driven by bayonet into the stockades. And in the chill of a drizzling rain on an October morning I saw them loaded like cattle or sheep into wagons and started toward the west. . . . Chief Ross led in prayer, and when the bugle sounded and wagons started rolling many of the children . . . waved their little hands goodbye to their mountain homes" (Worcester, 1975, 67).





Despite the cruelty of the marches they were forced to undertake, and the death and disease that dogged their every step, the surviving members of the peoples who were removed to Indian Territory quickly set about rebuilding their communities. Much as they had in the Southeast, the Creeks, Cherokees, and others built prosperous farms and towns, passed laws, and set about organizing societies once again. Within three generations, however, the land that in the 1830s had been set aside as Indian Territory was being sought by non-Indians. At the turn of the century, as a rush for “black gold” (oil) inundated Oklahoma, the Allotment Act (1887) broke up the Native estate much as Georgia’s state laws had done a little more than a half century earlier. There would be no Trail of Tears this time, however: There was no empty land left to occupy.

Bruce E. Johansen

**See also** *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Citizenship; Domestic Dependent Nation; Forced Marches; Genocide; Jackson, Andrew; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Ross, John; Trail of Tears; Tribal Sovereignty; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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## Indian Reorganization Act

It has been more than eighty years since the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) in 1934. During that time, there have been many opportunities to examine the conventional wisdom that it is a signal example of federal administrative reforms favorable to American Indians, reversing decades of land alienation and cultural abuses caused by the 1887 General Allotment Act. John Collier was Indian commissioner from 1933 to 1945 during President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Democratic administration, and the IRA was Collier’s brainchild and the centerpiece of his reforms. Collier, a radical social worker who became an anthropologist, was both a prolific writer and a skilled propagandist. His books, *Indians of the Americas* (1947) and *From Every Zenith* (1962), have been widely read, and they put the best possible interpretation on the Indian New Deal. Until recently, conventional wisdom has followed Collier’s interpretation. The question remains, however: Was the IRA truly an Indian agenda, and was it fairly and intelligently applied? In short, how should one evaluate the IRA legacy?

A twenty-year appraisal of the IRA took place in conjunction with the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in 1953. It included John Collier himself, along with several prominent Indians and anthropologists. When the fiftieth anniversary of the IRA occurred in 1984, scholars, Indian leaders, and political activists began another reevaluation. The Institute of the American West, for example, held a conference at Sun Valley entitled “Fifty Years Under the Indian Reorganization Act—Indian Self-Rule,” in which many notables participated in a series of panels. Both appraisals during these reevaluations were uniformly positive.

In the past few decades, however, scholars have taken yet another look at the IRA and Collier’s administrative reforms. Kenneth Philp’s biographical study, *John Collier’s Crusade for Indian Reform, 1920–1954*, came out in 1977, and Lawrence Kelly’s *The Assault on Assimilation: John Collier and the Origins of Indian Policy Reform* appeared in 1983. Philp generally follows Collier’s favorable view of the IRA. Kelly, on the other hand, emphasizes the failure of the IRA legislation to attain Collier’s idealistic reform goals. He also faults the Collier administration for its failure to extend the Act’s limited benefits to the majority of Indians. Two other scholars who have written major reevaluations are Graham Taylor and Lawrence Hauptman. They, too, are critical of





the Indian New Deal as not being all that it was purported to be. We should also mention Deloria and Lytle, who present an insightful analysis of the IRA in *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*.

In 1977 the American Indian Policy Review Commission reported its findings to Congress on the economic, social, and political conditions of the Indian tribes and nations. Its findings, as Graham Taylor observes, seem to indicate that the twin goals of the IRA (Indian economic development and the restoration of Indian self-determination through a council system of government) have been notable failures of existing Indian policy. As a result, as the Meriam Report found in 1928, American Indians continued to rank at the bottom of virtually every social indicator fifty years later.

New criticism of the IRA incorporates the views of traditional Indians, many of whom opposed the IRA and the Indian New Deal from its very beginnings. The traditional Indian movement has historically struggled to achieve three goals: (1) a viable land base for economic self-sufficiency and nationhood, (2) political self-determination through sovereignty under the treaties, and (3) cultural rights (language, religion, and heritage). John Collier's two aims under the Indian New Deal, on the other hand, were (1) to preserve the Indian people as a "race" and as distinct cultures, which Collier termed "grouphood," and (2) to preserve and develop resources, including land. The means to achieve these goals for Collier were "tribal" organization and economic incorporation under the IRA. For traditional Indians, however, the means to their goals is for the United States to return to the treaty relationship (treaty federalism) and to recognize the Indian peoples as sovereign with the right to self-determination.

### **The 1920s: Protest from the Pueblos**

The first two decades of the twentieth century were particularly onerous for American Indians within the borders of the United States. Not only had the 1887 General Allotment Act resulted in reservation land loss and impoverishment, but the government's policy of Americanization and cultural assimilation ushered in a virulent period of ethnocide. One of the worst manifestations was the federal crackdown on Indian religious ceremonies. The proassimilationist Indian Rights Association led an

attack on "indecent" ceremonies among the Indian Pueblos of the Southwest, and the Board of Indian Commissioners deplored the fact that tribal rituals were still being conducted on many Indian reservations. In its 1918 report, the Board described the Indian dances as evil and a reversion to paganism. On April 26, 1921, Indian Commissioner Charles H. Burke issued Circular 1665, which outlawed the Plains Sun Dance and other traditional religious ceremonies and made them punishable by fines or imprisonment. The Native American (peyote) Church also came under attack. This period of Indian policy also saw many other instances of religious abuse.

About the same time that the assault on Indian culture and religion was occurring, Secretary of the Interior Albert B. Fall led an attack on Indian rights through his sponsorship of the Bursum and Indian Omnibus bills in Congress. The former bill would have confirmed white encroachment on sixty thousand acres of Pueblo Indian land, while the Omnibus bill sought to individualize remaining tribal assets, including timber, coal, and other minerals, thereby ending federal trusteeship responsibility. Fall also attempted to create a national park out of part of the Mescalero Apache Reservation bordering on his Three Rivers ranch, which would have enhanced the value of his own property. When oil was discovered on the Navajo Reservation in 1922, he issued a ruling that opened all executive order reservations to exploration by oil companies under the 1920 General Leasing Act. These were the federal Indian policies that struck at Indian sovereignty, especially in New Mexico, and that led to the protest from the Pueblos and the entry of John Collier as an advocate for Indian rights.

Instead of destroying Native societies and cultures through forced assimilation, John Collier believed in a policy of cultural pluralism and Indian administration through indirect rather than direct U.S. rule. The controversy over the Pueblo land grants (part of a larger struggle against landlessness stemming from allotment) and religious dancing led to the formation of the American Indian Defense Association in May 1923. Facing criticism from Collier, the Pueblo Indians, New Mexico democrats, and the 2-million-member General Federation of Women's Clubs, Fall was forced to resign from the Harding administration. He was replaced in 1923 by Dr. Hubert Work, who was described as the last of the frontier commissioners. Secretary Work was under the influence of Christian missionaries and





opposed Indian dancing, but he had to back off from former Commissioner Burke's order prohibiting the theocratic Taos and Zuni Pueblos from withdrawing selected Indian youth from Bureau of Indian Affairs schools for traditional religious training.

Despite Collier's advocacy work, the Bureau continued its policy of suppressing Indian religious ceremonies. The issue came to a head during the summer of 1925 at Taos when the Pueblos' officials disciplined two members of the Native American Church for invading traditional religious ceremonies. Acting unilaterally to "establish order," the Indian Bureau thereupon arrested virtually the entire governing body of Taos Pueblo. Collier's Defense Association provided bail and lawyers, and the All-Pueblo Council swung into action, denouncing the Bureau's effort to destroy Indian self-government. Collier took Pueblo representatives on a tour of Utah and California in the cause of Indian religious freedom and to raise money for its defense. Secretary Work denounced these activities, saying that "propagandists are touring part of the country with a company of dancing and singing Pueblos in full Indian regalia in order to awaken people to the 'crime' in New Mexico. There is no crime in New Mexico." Congressman Scott Leavitt of Montana sponsored a bill drafted by the Bureau that would give Indian superintendents the power to throw any reservation Indian in jail for six months and levy a \$100 fine without trial. Because of the work by the Defense Committee the Leavitt bill did not get out of committee.

In 1928, on the eve of the Indian New Deal, a government commission issued a landmark report to Congress, "The Problem of Indian Administration." Collier declared that the Meriam Report, as it was popularly called, had "blasted apart the walls of the dungeon called the Indian affairs system" and constituted a major indictment of the Indian bureau. The report made it clear that allotment policy had not produced assimilation and was, in fact, an unmitigated disaster judging by any social or economic indicator. The Indian population had actually decreased since the passage of the 1887 General Allotment Act. There were more landless Indians than before; Indian trust lands had decreased in value; family income was as low as \$48 per year on some reservations; the annual death rate had increased; and the Indian land base had shrunk from 137 million acres to a mere 47 million. Collier saw horrible material and spiritual decline as a result of the allotment policy.

As the Depression deepened, the Bureau began a retreat from instituting reform, and Congress was less inclined to vote for Indian appropriations. In March 1932, representatives of forty-nine Indian tribes petitioned the U.S. Senate, alleging that the Hoover administration had reneged on its promises for Indian reform as recommended in the Meriam Report. After his election in 1932, President Roosevelt received a document signed by more than 600 educators, social workers, and other concerned citizens, drawing attention to the extreme situation of the American Indians. The signers asserted that "your administration represents almost a last chance for the Indians."

### The Indian New Deal (1933–1937)

Harold Ickes, who became FDR's new Secretary of the Interior, was a Chicago Progressive reformer and former director of the American Indian Defense Association. Ickes appointed Collier to become commissioner of Indian affairs on April 2, 1933. A cultural pluralist, Collier sought to reverse the policy of forced assimilation and its detrimental economic exploitation and land dispossession. He still believed in eventual assimilation, but at a slower and more equitable pace and without the loss of community solidarity and Indian values. He proposed that government follow a colonial policy known as indirect administration.

Upon taking office, Collier immediately instituted recovery measures legislated under the New Deal FDR administration. He successfully established a separate Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC, a jobs program for the unemployed) for Indians known as Emergency Conservation Work (ECW). The conservation of reservation lands and the training of Indians to utilize their own lands and resources distinguished it from the regular CCC. Before its demise in 1943, the ECW had employed 85,349 enrollees from seventy-one different reservations with a total of \$72 million in appropriations. The ECW was perhaps the most successful of Collier's Indian New Deal reforms, and it was very popular at the grassroots level on the reservations.

Collier initiated many other reform measures as well, all of which became known as the Indian New Deal. The assimilationist-minded Board of Indian Commissioners was abolished in May 1933, and by the following August Collier persuaded Ickes to declare a temporary cessation of further Indian land allotments, of the sale of allotted lands, of the





issuance of certificates of competency, and of similar measures. Of equal importance was the cancellation of debts owed by Indian tribes to the federal government. Because of the debt cancellation and the appropriation of more than \$100 million in relief programs, American Indians were able to survive the worst years of the Great Depression and even enjoy a higher standard of living than they had a decade earlier. In some respects, the impact of the Depression in the wider society was already reversing the process of assimilation by driving Indians back to their reservation homelands for economic survival.

Other Indian New Deal reforms included the creation of an Indian Arts and Crafts Board, a reservation court system, and a directive ordering the Indian Service to observe "the fullest constitutional liberty in all matters affecting religion, conscience and culture." The ban against religious dances was lifted, and government repression of Indian languages in Bureau schools was ended. The major accomplishment of the Collier administration, however, was the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act.

### Indian Reorganization Act

In a meeting held at the Cosmos Club in Washington, D.C., in January 1934, Collier laid out his ideas for a basic piece of legislation to correct the evils of forty-seven years of allotment policy. To this meeting he had invited representatives from organizations that formed the nucleus of Indian reform: the American Indian Defense Association, Indian Rights Association, National Association on Indian Affairs, American Civil Liberties Union, National Council on American Indians, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Later the same month, he tested the waters for his ideas in a circular to reservation superintendents, tribal council members, and individual Indians in a document entitled "Indian Self-Government." Despite the mostly negative replies, Collier nevertheless advanced plans to draft a bill for major Indian reorganization. The primary thrust of Collier's draft legislation was self-government, a policy that ran directly counter to the previous policy of assimilation. The completed Collier bill contained forty-eight pages and four major titles, each divided into a number of substantive sections. The final Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) as passed by Congress, on the other hand, omitted important parts of two of Collier's original titles and one title altogether, the one dealing with a proposed Court of

Indian Offenses. Although the three remaining titles (self-government, education, and Indian lands) were all substantively reduced in content, they at least made it into the new law.

The bill was signed into law June 18, 1934, as the Wheeler-Howard, or Indian Reorganization, Act, but it bore little resemblance to Collier's original bill. Opposition to the Collier bill came from Indians who favored assimilation, western congresspersons (many of whom were reflecting special interests in their home states containing Indian reservations), missionaries, and Bureau personnel. The powerful Indian Rights Association still favored the melting pot concept, but hoped that the legislation with its provision for educational training would promote assimilation. Only the section of Title II in the original bill that dealt with education came through relatively unscathed. The act in its final form eliminated four key features of Collier's draft bill: (1) The tribes were denied the right to take over heirship lands; (2) the section setting up a reservation court system was eliminated; (3) social units smaller than the tribe, such as local or community level groups, were not empowered, although Alaska Native villages were later included when the IRA was amended in 1936; (4) the section on promoting Indian culture and traditions was deleted.

#### *Self-government*

Title I of the IRA gave Indian tribes the right to organize for the purposes of local self-government and economic enterprise. Collier's bill would have conferred limited self-government on reservation Indian groups or communities, treating them as municipalities, but the final version of the IRA limited this provision to tribal units only. The first step in the process was for a tribal committee to draft a constitution. Then an election would be held to ratify the constitution, with a majority vote of reservation members necessary for adoption. Approval by the Secretary of the Interior was also required. Congress modified this section of Collier's bill by cutting the annual appropriation for the organization of tribal governments from \$500,000 to \$250,000.

Deloria and Lytle, in *The Nations Within*, point out that the self-government provision of the IRA helped to define important powers of Native political entities. With the support of Collier, after the Act was passed, a ruling by the Solicitor of the Interior Department found that the powers conferred under the Act's self-government provision were inherent in the tribes' and nations' status as domestic dependent





nations. These powers are a tribe's right to adopt its own form of self-government, to determine tribal membership, to regulate the disposition of tribal property, and to prescribe the rules of inheritance on real and personal property.

### ***Tribal business corporations***

An emphasis on economic development was an important feature of the IRA. Upon receiving a petition from at least one-third of the adult reservation Indians, the Secretary of the Interior could issue a charter of incorporation. When ratified by a majority of reservation members, a Native tribe or nation could then engage in business enterprises. The IRA also established a revolving loan fund of \$10 million for economic development. This was twice the amount that Collier had suggested in his original bill.

### ***Education and employment***

The education provisions of Title II were not controversial, and Congress raised the appropriation from Collier's \$50,000 to \$250,000. Congress, on the other hand, limited the amount to loans rather than outright grants, and training was primarily for vocational education. An important clause in Title I waved civil service requirement for employment in the Indian service, thus establishing the principle of Indian preference in hiring. Omitted from Title II was Collier's draft section declaring that it would be the policy of Congress "to promote the study of Indian civilization, including Indian arts, crafts, skills and traditions." This entire section was struck. Congress, it would seem, was not interested in promoting the Indian heritage.

### ***Indian lands***

A key part of Title III was the section abolishing the 1887 Indian Allotment (Dawes) Act. Title III also declared it the policy of the United States to undertake a constructive program of Indian land use and economic development, with a pledge to consolidate Indian land holdings into suitable economic units. Two million dollars was set aside annually for land acquisition.

The new law also extended indefinitely the trust period of allotted lands as a protection against loss of Indian lands to non-Natives. Under the previous system, allotted lands were held in trust for twenty-five years, after which they were vested in the ownership of the Indian allottee. At the same time, however, they became subject to state taxes. As a result,

the Indian landowner almost always lost his land because of nonpayment of taxes or was forced to sell to a non-Indian.

The lands provisions of the Collier bill were so controversial in the congressional debate that its original twenty-one sections were reduced to eight, thus negating many of Collier's plans for significant land reform. The Collier bill had addressed the land alienation and heirship problems with language ensuring that previously allotted lands would be returned to tribal ownership. In the Collier draft, the Secretary of the Interior was empowered to compel the sale or transfer of trust allotments to tribal governments, and trust allotments not immediately returned would revert to tribal status upon the death of the landowner. Congress modified this section by making it voluntary rather than compulsory. In addition, the land title would now pass to the heirs and not to the tribe upon the death of the Indian landowner. This dealt a deadly blow to Collier's efforts to consolidate fragmented Indian parcels and return them to the tribal estate.

Under the IRA as passed by Congress, the Bureau of Indian Affairs became a real estate entity for thousands of Indian heirs possessing an interest in ever smaller pieces of inherited land from an original allotment. Today, the number of heirs to an original 160-acre allotment distributed under the 1887 Allotment Act in many cases exceeds one hundred. Tens of millions of dollars are lost every year to Indian tribes through the Bureau's practice of renting or leasing these uneconomical interests in allotted or heirship lands to non-Indian farmers and ranchers at low rates, who then combine the parcels into viable economic units. The heirship problem has continued to become more unmanageable with each passing generation. Because of allotment, which the IRA stopped but did not reverse, twenty-five reservations have greater non-Indian than Indian populations and thirty-eight have lost at least half of their original reservation land base to non-Indians.

### ***Indian law and order***

Title IV of the Collier bill that would have created a Court of Indian Affairs was eliminated entirely from the Indian Reorganization Act. It also would have removed IRA tribes from state jurisdiction in Indian cases, heirship cases, and appeals from tribal courts. Title IV also stipulated that law and order must be consonant with Indian customs and traditions. Although the then existing tribal court system needed significant improvement and stability, and





the federal attempt to deal with Indian legal problems was woefully inadequate, Collier realized that it was politic to give up Title IV more or less as a sacrificial lamb to a not too friendly Congress.

### **Voting**

Part of the congressional debate concerned the voting or ratification by the tribes and nations for self-government under the IRA provisions. An early version of the bill merely specified "three-fifths of the Indians on the reservation or territory covered by the charter." The House bill changed this to a simple majority vote. Finally, a supplementary act passed in 1935 resolved the question to "the vote of a majority of those voting."

Collier lost out to Senator Burton Wheeler, a sponsor of the legislation, with respect to the blood quantum legal definition of an American Indian under the IRA legislation. Collier wanted one-fourth "blood," but Wheeler insisted on one-half "blood."

Within a year after the passage of the IRA the Secretary of the Interior was to call for a referendum election on the reservations. Each tribe was to discuss the provisions of the act and then vote on whether to accept or reject it. Senator Wheeler favored a simple majority vote, but Collier managed to insert language that would make the IRA operative on a reservation *unless a majority of the tribal members voted to exclude themselves from the Act*. In other words, the adult Indians not voting could be counted as voting for the IRA. In this way, Collier's stratagem resulted in more tribes and nations coming under the IRA than would otherwise have been the case. No matter how small the number of eligible Indians voting in favor of the IRA, by counting the nonvotes as "yes," IRA acceptance was virtually assured. A case in point is the Santa Ysabel tribe in California that came under the Act because sixty-two eligible tribal members who did not vote were counted as being in favor of adoption. Another example is the vote manipulation that took place on the bitterly divided Hopi Reservation. A plurality of Hopi "progressives" voted for the referenda while a larger number of traditional Hopi "voted" by not voting. The Collier administration nonetheless ruled that the Hopi had voted to accept the IRA. As Kenneth Philp points out in his biography of Collier, at least seventeen Native polities that voted to reject the Act were considered as being in favor of it. Collier knew that on many of the reservations the more traditional, full-blood Indians would refuse to participate in the IRA elec-

tions, preferring instead to assert their tribal sovereignty under the treaties.

A related feature of the Act was the provision that allowed a tribe only one chance to either accept or reject the IRA. Any benefits of the new law would be lost forever if a tribe wanted to take a wait-and-see approach.

When administrative manipulation of the voting was exposed, Collier was forced to agree that Congress should amend the IRA. In June 1935, an amendment was passed that extended the deadline for referenda for another year. It also clarified the voting requirements by stipulating that a majority of those voting would determine whether a tribe accepted the IRA or not. At the same time, a distressing feature of the majority rule amendment was that it also contained a provision that 30 percent of the eligible adult Indian population had to participate in the referendum in order for a majority of no votes to reject the Act. If the number of voters did not amount to 30 percent, then even an overwhelming number of no votes could not result in the IRA being rejected. On the other hand, the same rule did not apply for a tribe voting to accept the IRA. Theoretically, even a 1 percent voter participation could effect acceptance of the IRA.

### **Extending and applying the IRA**

Because a number of nations and tribes did not want to participate in certain provisions of the new law, and because of political pressure brought by special interest groups, a section of the IRA provided for exclusions and modifications.

Congress passed the Alaska Reorganization Act on June 1, 1936, which included Alaska Natives at the village level under the IRA provisions. The original IRA, on the other hand, had limited its provisions to tribes only. Ultimately, sixty-six Alaskan Native groups adopted constitutions and corporate charters under this law. The Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act was passed in the same month, which included the Indian tribes of that state.

According to the reorganization plan, after a tribe or nation voted to accept the IRA, it would draw up a constitution and bylaws, submit it to a referendum, have the Secretary of the Interior certify the results, and then start operating as a corporate tribal council. Of the 181 tribes accepting the Indian Reorganization Act between 1934 and 1945, only ninety-six adopted a tribal constitution, and only seventy-three tribes ever received corporate business charters. Seventy-seven tribes with a population of 86,365 members rejected





the Act outright. Several of these were large reservation groups, such as the Klamath Indians of Oregon and the Crows of Montana. An especially bitter blow to Collier was the rejection of the IRA by the Navajo Nation. With 98 percent of the eligible Navajo voting, the tribe rejected the Act by 419 votes. The Navajo had not forgiven the Collier administration for its drastic livestock reduction program on the reservation, carried out ostensibly to protect the land against overgrazing, that had reduced many of the small herding families to destitution.

### *Councils vs. communities*

Graham Taylor stood alone as the only contemporary critic to raise the question of Native political organization and the nature of Indian communities at the time the IRA went into effect. He believed that the Indian responses to the Act differed because each Indian group was at a different point on the assimilation–traditional continuum. There were great differences among the reservations in terms of intermarriage, English literacy, Anglo-American education, and acceptance of Christianity. These differences provoked factional strife on most reservations at the time. Many of the monolingual, full-blooded, traditional Indians were unfamiliar with parliamentary procedures, their aboriginal political systems having been a council of elders and chiefs acting on the unanimity principle. Consequently, many of the traditionals boycotted the IRA proceedings altogether. For most reservation Indians, the “tribal governments” established under the IRA constitutions were a totally new and unfamiliar form of political organization. At Hopi it was primarily the more acculturated villages on the First Mesa that strongly supported the IRA and drew up the tribal constitution, while the villages on the other mesas, being more traditional, either vacillated or withheld their support.

The misreading by Congress and Collier on the question of Indian social organization defies explanation because many of Collier’s closest advisers were anthropologists. Yet Collier and his Applied Anthropology Unit, in pressuring Native peoples to accept the IRA, neglected the existing social organization of Indian communities, the nature of which varied tremendously from reservation to reservation. Many of the Six Nations Iroquois were still committed to a confederacy based on the clan system; the Choctaws, Cherokees, Chickasaws, and Creeks had a history of secular Indian republics; the Shoshones and Paiutes of Nevada, Utah, and

Wyoming were organized only at the level of the extended family band; the Rio Grande Pueblo societies were settled, agricultural villages run as theocracies; and the full-bloods among the Plains Indians were organized into a complex of band councils under traditional chiefs. If the goals of the Indian reform were cultural preservation and economic self-sufficiency, then it would have made sense for reorganization to be tailored to each specific situation. Instead, the “tribal” governments established under the IRA constitutions were a totally new and unfamiliar level of sociopolitical organization for many Indian populations.

### **Evaluation**

John Collier continually defended the IRA and the Indian New Deal programs during his tenure as commissioner of Indian affairs. He was forced to appear before Congress several times to justify the reforms, and there were two attempts by Congress to repeal the Act, although both were ultimately unsuccessful. The House Appropriations Committee underfunded IRA programs, and by 1944 the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs had also come to oppose the commissioner and his program of Indian reform. Among the most active Indian opponents of the IRA was the American Indian Federation, which joined forces with American pro-Nazi groups in labeling Collier a communist.

In hindsight one can conclude that the self-government provisions of the IRA, although important, had a problematic impact on Indian communities, but Collier’s most lasting achievement was economic development. Much of the Indian New Deal involved bringing needed resources to economically depressed reservation communities. Collier’s economic policies also helped Indians rebuild their badly depleted land base, if only modestly; Indian land holdings increased from 48 to 52 million acres, and almost 1 million acres of surplus land was returned to Native tribes and nations.

Following Collier’s resignation in 1945, federal Indian policy became stridently regressive for the next two decades during the termination and relocation policy periods in which the limitations of Indian “self-government”—the relative powerlessness of the tribes under the IRA—became apparent. Federal policy did not improve until the federal War on Poverty in the early 1960s and the resurgence of American Indian activism.

*Steve Talbot*





See also Assimilation; Collier, John; Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Identity; Indian Claims Commission; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Meriam Report; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act

Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (ISDEAA) in 1975 to implement its tribal self-determination policy. The Act began to loosen the tight grip of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and several other federal agencies, such as the Indian Health Service (IHS), on the daily life of Indians and their tribal governments. Prior to passage of this law, the BIA and other federal agencies minutely regulated the delivery of educational, health, and a myriad of other services to the Indian people. The BIA, for example, operated a number of boarding schools, some for many years, with little meaningful input from tribal members or the tribal governments themselves. Some of these schools are still in existence.

Although this law deals primarily with the delivery of educational services, nearly all other federal support to Native Americans is also within the

purview of the Act. Such services include agriculture, health care, law enforcement, and other programs in support of tribal government.

Essentially, the ISDEAA permits the tribes themselves or any group chartered by the tribe's governing body to assume the responsibility for delivering federal services to tribal members. Contracting organizations other than the tribe itself must meet certain requirements before they are eligible to enter into such agreements with the federal government. Elementary and high schools located on a reservation are among the most common organizations that have so-called 638 contracts (named after the number of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, Public Law 93–638). Where the BIA itself operates boarding or day schools for Indian students, it oversees every detail of their operation. Under the Act, the tribes and local tribally chartered schools contract with the BIA for it to take over school operations. The BIA or other agency allocates a fixed sum to the contractor, which must then furnish the services to the tribe.

This law also strengthens the Johnson-O'Malley (JOM) Act of 1934 by requiring all off-reservation schools that receive federal funding for the education of Indian children to involve Indian parents in decisions over how those funds shall be used. Local committees of Indian parents have considerable authority over how local schools may spend JOM monies.

The Act is not without its critics, however. Although tribes and allied organizations now deliver these services using their own employees, buildings, and equipment, the federal government retains significant oversight over the contracts. The government must approve each contract and must be provided with data regarding accounting practices, equipment, personnel, and other important details of the proposed contract. If the government is not satisfied with the agreement, it may reject it despite local community support. The contractor may, under the Administrative Procedures Act of 1946, appeal that rejection to the highest levels of the executive branch and ultimately to the federal courts. Such appeals, of course, are lengthy and expensive.

Some critics see the law as one step back toward the termination of federal responsibility for Indian services. They reason that the next step beyond turning over the running of federal programs to the tribes is eventually to end that assistance to the tribe entirely. Nonetheless, the current trend is to expand





the number of federal programs to be operated by Indian tribes.

Later amendments to the law established a pilot project for ten tribes to take over the activities previously conducted for them by the BIA and IHS. In addition to those already mentioned, these endeavors include resource conservation, land use planning and zoning, among others. Many tribes have only limited 638 contracts with the government. These agreements must be negotiated one at a time. These tribes chosen for the pilot program administer all federal services themselves. Additionally, unlike the usual 638 contracts, the tribes chosen for this program have much more latitude in designing or altering their programs to meet the needs of their people and in reallocating the funds among the different programs. These 638 contracts are similar to block grants, in which recipients may use the funds in nearly any way they wish, subject only to some very limited restrictions.

Daniel R. Gibbs

*See also* Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Education; Tribal Sovereignty.

## Individual Indian Monies

The Individual Indian Monies (IIM) scandal has become the stuff of political and legal legend since the *Cobell v. Norton* class action was first filed in 1996. With half a million plaintiffs, the case concerning the abuse of royalty accounts for Native Americans kept by the federal government has become the largest class action ever filed against the U.S. government. Employing more than 100 lawyers on the payrolls of the Interior and Treasury departments, *Cobell v. Norton* (after Elouise Cobell, lead plaintiff, and Gale Norton, Secretary of the Interior) has become the largest single employer of federal legal talent in the history of the United States.

How much money is at stake? In 1997, the commonly accepted figure was between \$2 and \$3 billion. By late 2002, lead prosecutor Dennis Gingold placed the figure at “far north of \$10 billion” (Kennedy, 2002). A report prepared for the Interior Department suggested that the federal government’s total liability might reach \$40 billion.

On December 21, 1999, Judge Royce C. Lamberth, who supervised the case from Washington, D.C. Federal District Court, issued his first (Phase

One) opinion (the case is divided into two phases). The 126-page opinion stated that the government had massively violated its trust responsibilities to Native Americans. He called the IIM mess the “most egregious misconduct by the federal government.” While *Cobell v. Norton* is certainly a high-stakes case, such a superlative overstated its historical scope. Perhaps it is the most egregious example of *financial* misconduct in a trust relationship by the U.S. government, which in its two-plus centuries has done worse to Native Americans than lose several billion dollars.

Judge Lamberth later ordered the government to file reports quarterly describing in detail its efforts to account for the monies. The judge also ordered the Interior and Treasury Departments to compile an audit of the Individual Indian Monies trust fund system reaching to its origins in 1887.

Judge Lamberth is a Republican appointee, a Texan with a taste for fancy boots and large cars, who seemed, on the surface, unlikely to take a serious interest in a Native American class action suit. However, he possessed a keen knowledge of bureaucratic politics and an ability to read and comprehend vast amounts of information. Like fishing rights judge George Hugo Boldt (also a Republican appointee), Lamberth also possesses a sharp sense of justice, regardless of vested interests. Like Boldt, he also has been hardworking and ruthlessly judicious.

## The Education of an Indian Accountant

The IIM case produced evidence of what must have been the world’s sloppiest banking record keeping. Even Elouise Cobell, who initiated the suit, has been amazed at the sorry state of the BIA’s banking “system,” if it can be called that. Cobell, a member of the Blackfeet tribe and a banker by profession, filed the suit in 1996. Cobell, of Browning, Montana, founded (and still has a hand in operating) the first Native American-owned bank in the United States. She also served as treasurer of the Blackfeet from 1970 through 1983.

Cobell’s education in the BIA’s ways of banking began with a detailed examination of the Blackfeet’s trust accounts. After Cobell discovered a number of problematic transactions, she began asking questions. Her initial inquiries were rebuffed by the BIA. “They said, ‘Oh! You don’t know how to read the reports,’” Cobell recalled. “I think they were trying





to embarrass me, but it did the opposite—it made me mad” (Awehali, 2003).

Cobell has spent much of her life in and near the reservation town of Browning, Montana. She was one of eight children in a house with no electricity or running water. The major form of entertainment was old-fashioned: oral history, sometimes describing Baker’s Massacre, during which U.S. soldiers killed about two hundred Blackfeet, a majority of them women and children, following an ambush near the Marias River. She also sometimes heard stories from her parents and their neighbors about small government checks that bore no relationship to reality.

Cobell spends much of her time tutoring Blackfeet and other Native peoples in how to best start their own businesses. She also helps with chores on a ranch that she co-owns with her husband, Alvin. During a sojourn off the reservation in her twenties (she was nearly fifty in 2004), Elouise met Alvin, who is also Blackfeet, in Seattle. He was fishing off the Alaska coast, and she held a job as an accountant with a Seattle television station.

At the age of thirty, Cobell returned to Browning with Alvin, to resume a life on the family ranch. She also was offered a job as the reservation government’s accountant. At the time, Browning had practically no Native-owned businesses; unemployment rose to more than 70 percent in the winter (which can last into May), when construction employment ceased. She found the Blackfeet accounting system “in total chaos” (Kennedy, 2003). Some trust accounts were being charged negative interest. Checks were being posted against accounts without her knowledge, even though she was supposed to be the only valid signatory. In 1987, Cobell moved on to start the first Native-owned bank in the United States, mainly to help finance local business ventures. In a few years, she could point to several businesses that she had helped to finance: the Glacier Restaurant, Browning Video, the Dollar Store (Kennedy, 2003).

Years before the class action suit was filed, Cobell asked questions within the system. As she began to delve into the trust issue on a national basis, in Washington, D.C., Cobell was introduced to Gingold, the lead prosecuting attorney for the case, who was quoted in the *Los Angeles Times* as saying of his first meeting with her: “From my experience, American Indians were not involved in banking. I was looking for a bunch of people with turbans” (Kennedy, 2003). Gingold admitted that he had a

great deal to learn about how the government had separated Native Americans from their trust assets.

Cobell did not decide to file suit lightly, but only after several rebuffs by the government that displayed an unwillingness to take the trust accounts problem seriously. She realized that large legal actions were massively expensive. Her years of activism and her experience as the Blackfeet’s accountant had suggested some sources of support, however. She contacted the Arthur Bremer Foundation of St. Paul, Minnesota, and won a \$75,000 grant and a \$600,000 loan. In 1997, a year after she filed the class action suit, Cobell also received, quite unexpectedly, a \$300,000 genius grant from the John D. MacArthur Foundation, most of which went into the case. Shortly after that, J. Patrick Lannan of the Lannan Foundation read about Cobell’s MacArthur grant, and traveled to Browning to meet with her. Lannan eventually donated \$4 million to the cause. By mid-2002, the cost of the legal action had reached \$8 million, still barely a drop in the proverbial bucket next to the hundreds of millions of dollars in tax money that the federal government has spent to defend itself.

Some in the government saw the problem coming before Cobell filed suit. During 1992, the House of Representatives Committee on Government Operations issued a report, “Misplaced Trust: The Bureau of Indian Affairs’ Mismanagement of the Indian Trust Fund.” During 1994, Congress passed the Indian Trust Fund Management Reform Act, with the stated aim of cleaning up the mess. As part of this law’s implementation, Paul Homan, an expert at cleaning up failing private financial institutions, was hired. Homan, having taken stock of the situation, later quit in disgust, describing a banker’s nightmare.

The BIA, for example, did not establish an accounts receivable system, so it never knew how much money it was handling at any given time. Partial records indicated that more than \$50 million was never paid because the BIA had lost track of account holders. About 21,000 accounts were listed in the names of people who were dead. Large numbers of records had been stored in cardboard boxes, left to soak (and smear) in leaky warehouses. About \$695 million had been paid—but to the wrong people or Native governmental entities. One property record valued chain saws at \$99 million each. Some of the records were contaminated with asbestos, and others had been paved over by a parking lot. As he resigned, Homan said he had never seen anything like this in his thirty years as a banker.





Before he quit, Homan reported that no one knew just how many people were owed money. Of the 238,000 individual trusts that Homan's staff located, 118,000 were missing crucial papers, 50,000 had no addresses, and 16,000 accounts had no documents at all. Homan further reported that one could assume money had been skimmed extensively from the trust: "It's akin to leaving the vault door open," he said (Awehali, 2003).

In the meantime, before a dime has been paid to any of the half million Native people who are part of the class action, the Bush administration requested \$554 million in its 2004 budget to "reform" the trust fund, an increase of \$183.3 million over the \$370.2 million budgeted in 2003. "Reform" in this case means, to a large degree, paying legal talent to resist the class action suit. In a January 2001 interview with Harlan McKosato on the national radio show, "Native America Calling," Cobell noted that "just by not settling the case, it's costing the government and taxpayers \$160,000 an hour, \$7 million a day, \$2.5 billion a year" (Awehali, 2003).

### **"Pen and Ink Witchcraft"**

With the government's mismanagement now so widely known, a sensible person might conclude that the time had come to find a way to reimburse the many Native people who have been cheated. If you are one of the 500,000 Native Americans who unwillingly did your banking with the BIA, when might you expect a corrective check in the mail? Don't hold your breath. If the Bush administration has its way, you could turn very blue before the guarantor of your trust makes you, as they say in financial litigation circles, "whole."

The spin doctors in the White House probably didn't realize that their designs resemble some treaty negotiations for its Alice-in-Wonderland quality (things are never what they seem). In 1791, the famed Ottawa speaker Egushawa, observing treaty negotiations, called such machinations "pen and ink witchcraft."

What Egushawa witnessed had nothing on the trust money mess. After eight years of legal song and dance by the federal government, the central fact of the case is this: The BIA and Treasury Department never built a record-keeping system capable of tracking the money owed to Native Americans based on income from its superintendency of their resources.

As time passed (the system, in its modern form, began with the advent of the Allotment Act in 1887), the lack of a functioning banking system made record keeping worse; the sloppiness of errant (or nonexistent) record keeping was compounded, for example, because of the divisions of estate required by generations of fractional Native inheritances. By the time Cobell and a few other banking-minded Native Americans began asking, seriously, what had become of their individual Indian monies, the Interior Department, by and large, did not have a clue.

In an average year, \$500 million or more was deposited into the Individual Indian Trust from companies leasing Native American land for grazing, oil drilling, timber, coal, and other natural resources. According to law and financial theory, the money is collected by the Interior and sent to the Treasury, where it is supposed to be placed into individual trust accounts. Problems began with the roughly 50,000 accounts that lacked names or correct addresses. One such account contained \$1 million (Awehali, 2003). Along the way, it also was learned that some companies simply neglected to pay as expected; they soon learned that, much of the time, no one seemed to be watching.

As early as 1999, the plaintiffs' legal team discovered that the Departments of the Interior and Treasury had "inadvertently" destroyed 162 boxes of vital trust records during the course of the trial, then waited months to notify the court of the "accident." "You tell me if that's fair," Cobell told Mike Wallace in a *60 Minutes* interview shortly after the discovery. "When they have to manage other people's money according to standards, why aren't they managing our money to standards? Is it because you manage brown people's money differently?" (Awehali, 2002).

Judge Lamberth was shocked when he discovered, in the course of the lawsuit, that the Interior and Treasury Departments had, as a matter of course, destroyed accounting documents and filed false reports with the court. In the course of the litigation, thirty-seven past and present government officials, including Bush's Secretary of the Interior Gale Norton and Clinton's Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, were held in contempt of court. On August 10, 1999, Lamberth ordered the Treasury Department to pay \$600,000 in fines for misconduct.

As he delved into the trust account debacle, Lamberth found that some records were stored in rat-infested New Mexico warehouses. Others were dispersed haphazardly on several remote reservations. When the Interior Department kept computer-





ized records at all, they were so inadequate and insecure that hackers could set up their own accounts (and presumably draw money from them).

During the first phase of the case, many experts testified that the Interior and Treasury lack the records to render any semblance of true accounting for the monies that the government was supposed to be managing. Instead, the plaintiffs suggested various methods of estimating what is owed. For example, the Geographic Information System (GIS) might use satellite-mapping technology to estimate the amount of oil produced by wells on Native lands and thereby derive an idea of royalties owed.

### The “Midnight Rider”

In September 2003, Judge Lamberth ordered the Interior Department to conduct a thorough investigation into money that was supposed to be paid to Indians for oil, gas, timber, and grazing activities on their land, dating back to 1887. He said that the accounting must be completed by 2007.

Responding to Lamberth’s first-phase opinion and this directive, Cobell was enthusiastic at the time. “This is a landmark victory,” she said. “It is now clear that trust law and trust standards fully govern the management of the Individual Indian Trust and that Secretary Norton can no longer ignore the trust duties that she owes to 500,000 individual Indian trust beneficiaries” (Awehali, 2003).

The idea of a complete accounting, which sounded so simple, suddenly became very problematic in the land of pen-and-ink-witchcraft. The Interior and Treasury, with their allies on Capitol Hill and in the Bush White House, prepared a hastily inserted “midnight rider” to a federal spending bill that forbade spending that would have implemented Lamberth’s directive. Funding, according to the rider, was to be frozen for a year or until an accounting methodology could be agreed on by the Interior, Treasury, and Congress.

In the meantime, the Interior Department was reported by several news organizations as complaining that the type of historical accounting required by Judge Lamberth’s ruling would take ten years and cost \$6 to \$12 billion. Some feat of accounting that would be—the accounting equivalent, perhaps, of building the Panama Canal or putting many men on the moon, a rubber figure with an odor of obstructionist politics. (To illustrate just how rubbery the estimate is, let’s crunch a few round numbers. At \$100,000 each per year, very good pay for an accoun-

tant, \$10 billion would hire a hundred thousand accountants. Even if they worked ten years each, \$10 billion would still pay 10,000 number crunchers. Add a few zeroes here and there, and soon we’re talking some very serious money. Bear in mind that the folks who came up with these quick estimates work at the same agencies that lost track of all that Native American money in the first place.)

With a federal budget deficit approaching \$500 billion a year (including Iraq and Afghanistan war and reconstruction liabilities running at least \$87 billion a year), the Bush Administration and the then Republican-controlled Congress seemed unwilling to seriously consider paying up a century-plus of Indian trust money bills that could cost as much as \$40 billion—the bill that could come out of the second phase of the case, once the Interior and Treasury assessed the due bills, as ordered by Judge Lamberth. The midnight rider was sponsored in large part by a Republican-controlled executive branch and Congress that added 721,000 federal jobs to the federal payroll during George W. Bush’s first term as president.

About fifty Republicans voted against the appropriations bill containing the rider, however, led by Representative Richard Pombo (Republican, California), chairman of the House Resources Committee, with Representative J. D. Hayworth (Republican, Arizona), cochair of the bipartisan House Native American Caucus. Pombo, who favors a legislative solution to the court case, called the rider a “poison pill that was added to the legislation in blatant violation of House rules and protocol” (Reynolds, 2003). The rider passed narrowly, 216–205, on October 30, 2003.

The Senate passed the spending bill (with the midnight rider) 87–2 on November 4, and sent it to Bush for his signature November 10. Cobell sharply criticized President Bush’s administration, including Interior Secretary Norton, for sponsoring the rider. Said Cobell, “What this vote shows is the length that the Interior Secretary and the Bush administration will go to in their efforts to deny Indians the accounting for funds that belong to Indians—not the federal government. Now American Indians are being victimized once again by politicians in Washington” (Reynolds, 2003). Cobell said that she expected the courts to strike down the rider as an illegal interference with the judicial process, a violation of the Constitution’s separation of powers.

“It’s a clear act of bad faith to seek a stay based on an unconstitutional statute,” said Gingold





(Appeals Court, 2003). The Senate's legal counsel and House members from both parties said the provision is probably unconstitutional because the administration cannot dictate to courts how to interpret the law.

### Wither the Trust Fund Billions?

So wither the trust fund case? When all is said and done, will the plaintiffs in *Cobell v. Norton* ever get anything close to what they are owed? While optimism is always in season and justice sometimes does actually prevail, there is ample precedent in United States legal history vis-à-vis Native Americans to create doubts that right and reasonable outcomes follow the opinions of courts presided over by hardworking, honest judges, even after the government has copiously admitted its errors.

Some historical parallels present themselves: John Marshall, chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, found in favor of the Cherokees' sovereignty; President Andrew Jackson ignored him and his Court, leading to the Trail of Tears. Jackson's action was an impeachable offense—contempt of the Supreme Court and a violation of his oath of office. It was never prosecuted because Georgia made a states' rights case that could have started the Civil War thirty years before it actually began.

More recently, during the mid-1970s, the courts found in favor of a 250,000-acre land claim for the Oneidas. Thirty years later, they have yet to receive any land from this legal proceeding.

Might *Cobell vs. Norton* end up being another perpetual motion employment engine for lawyers, and another reminder that sometimes the legal system talks the talk as the executive branch fails to walk the walk of justice? Or might the contending parties, with judicial prodding, find a way to at least estimate what is owed the plaintiffs and take the necessary steps to pay them? The next few years may provide an answer, after the second phase of *Cobell v. Norton* is adjudicated and a final ruling is issued—but not by Judge Lamberth, who, in a virtually unprecedented decision, was ousted from the case by a U.S. Court of Appeals in 2006.

Senator Ben Nighthorse Campbell, who is Cheyenne, has insisted that all parties to the Cobell litigation must work together to resolve the case; he believes that, otherwise, it may not be resolved at all. "We have one year to reach settlement on this issue," he said during a hearing of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, as it considered his bill,

S. 1770, to encourage individual beneficiary settlements in the lawsuit (Reynolds, 2003).

Native-owned companies could benefit from the requirement that the Interior Department compile an accounting for the 117-year record of Indian trust fund mismanagement. Earnings for such work may reach \$50 million by some estimates. Tlingit and Haida Technology Industries has applied to do some of the court-ordered accounting work, according to Dan DuBray, an Interior Department spokesperson quoted in the Fairbanks *Daily News-Miner* and the Juneau *Empire*, both on November 5, 2003.

### Blackfeet History at Ghost Ridge

"I've heard from friends that the government thinks I'm tired and that they'll wear me down, so that I'll just go away," said Cobell (Awehali, 2003). Near Cobell's hometown a marker describes the winter of 1884, when 500 Blackfeet died of starvation and exposure while awaiting supplies promised them by the federal government. The dead were buried in a mass grave that is now called Ghost Ridge. During the more difficult stages of the lawsuit, Cobell said she has visited Ghost Ridge, thinking of her ancestors who perished in the cold 120 years ago, while waiting for the government to fulfill its promises (Awehali, 2003).

The Blackfeet starved as U.S. Indian Agent John Young hoarded food that would have allowed them to survive. From Ghost Ridge, it is not difficult to draw parallels to the entire course of Indian-European-American relations, most notably to the case at hand. Once again, Native land and fiscal resources were taken, hoarded in faraway places, as the promises of the "trust" relationship between the United States and Native peoples were massively abused.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Trust, Doctrine of.

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## James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement

The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) was signed in 1975 and represents the first treaty in what has become Canada's modern treaty period. It also continues a long history of treaty making between the First Nations and the crown and, later, Canada. Treaties were regularly utilized by the crown from the 1870s until 1921, when the last of the numbered treaties, Treaty 11, was signed. A five-decade moratorium on treaty making followed. Canadian officials distanced themselves from engaging the First Nations in treaties largely because the land previously required to promote Canada's nation-building efforts had already been obtained from them. As federal officials found out in the early 1970s, however, territorial occupation did not necessarily signify fee simple title. This issue exploded when the James Bay Crees initiated an aggressive lobby effort demanding a formal treaty relationship that would protect their territorial integrity.

All of the lands that comprise the JBNQA area were at one time within the demarcated region known as Rupert's Land. Officially the domain of the Hudson's Bay Company, the land in question was ceded to Canada in 1868. In 1870, by imperial order in council, crown officials agreed to obtain formal title to the lands through treaties with the First Nations, a process that never occurred. Two boundary extensions—in 1898 and 1912—resulted in the

transfer of territorial title to the province of Quebec, the latter of which promised formal recognition of the rights of the Indians inhabiting the lands. In return, the Indians were to release their rights to the province, and any agreements would then have to be approved by order in council, a commitment that was never honored. Nevertheless, Native people continued to utilize the vast region because the only non-Native presence consisted of a handful of Hudson's Bay Company employees, missionaries, and some members of the federal department responsible for Indian affairs.

Due to limited outside interest in the region, little thought was given to aboriginal rights in Quebec. The Native territorial presence notwithstanding, provincial officials in the mid-1960s began researching the region's hydroelectric potential. By 1971, the province of Quebec announced its intention to initiate development of the James Bay hydroelectric project. The project that government officials had in mind, however, would require blocking and, in certain cases, diverting rivers within the James Bay drainage basin. Subsequently, the province established the James Bay Development Corporation to develop all the territory's resources, which included hydroelectricity, forestry, mining, and tourism. Provincial officials failed to consult with the 10,000 Crees and 5,000 Inuits who occupied the area, people who discovered through media reports that their homeland was destined to be flooded.

The Crees quickly mobilized. Community leaders held information sessions and developed a political strategy they anticipated could end the onslaught of workers and heavy machinery moving into their territories. In 1972, the newly formed Quebec Association of Indians petitioned the Quebec Superior Court for an injunction to stop all construction in the region. The injunction was granted on the grounds that the province of Quebec had failed to settle all outstanding land claims as required by the 1898 and 1912 boundary extensions. This decision was overturned within days, once again opening the region to hydroelectric development. Many Native leaders, however, optimistically viewed the decision as affirming their claims and once again lobbied the provincial government for a land claim agreement.

By 1974, the Crees and Inuits of northern Quebec, the governments of Canada and Quebec, and the Quebec Hydro-Electric Commission concluded an agreement in principle, which led to the signing of the JBNQA in November 1975. Early in the negotiations, Cree Indians formed the Grand Council of





*George Manuel (from left), president of the National Indian Brotherhood; Aurilien Gill, 3rd vice president of the Association of Indians, and Chief Max Louis, 2nd vice president of the Association of Indians speak in November 1974 at a news conference discussing the agreement between the James Bay Cree and the Quebec government. The agreement was finalized in 1975 and was the first treaty in the modern Canadian treaty period. (Bettmann/Corbis)*

the Cree (of Quebec), with one chief and leaders from each of the eight Cree communities comprising the organization's board of directors. An executive group of four regional leaders was then selected, whereupon the Grand Council took over negotiations. Even though they represented the Cree people in negotiations, the Grand Council was not empowered to act without consulting the people at the community level. In sum, the Cree people remained the final decision makers.

The JBNQA total compensation package was worth \$225 million, a sum to be paid over a period of twenty years to the Cree Regional Authority and to the (Inuit) Makivik Corporation, on behalf of the Inuit, by the Canadian and Quebec governments. This modern-day treaty settled all outstanding Native land claims in northern Quebec at that time. It also defined Native rights and established regional land use regimes for both Native and non-Native people in the region and among

local, regional, provincial, and federal governments. The Crees retained 3,100 square miles of territory while the Inuit retained 5,000 square miles of settlement land, in addition to exclusive harvesting rights over an additional 10,000 square miles of land. The JBNQA effectively extinguished Aboriginal title to 600,000 square miles of land (McCutcheon, 1991).

Under the JBNQA, the territory was divided into Category I, II, and III lands. Category I lands are for the exclusive use and benefit of Native people. Category II lands belong to the province, but Native governments share in the management of hunting, fishing and trapping, tourism development, and forestry. Native people have exclusive hunting, fishing, and trapping rights on these lands. Category III lands are a special type of Quebec public lands, whereby Native and non-Native people may hunt and fish subject to regulations adopted in accordance with the JBNQA. A provision was





*The James Bay hydroelectric project flooded many Cree and Inuit lands. (Christopher J. Morris/Corbis)*

included requiring the province to monitor the environmental impact and the social effects of development. Committees have also been established to advise governments about environmental issues, policies, and regulation. Each committee consists of federal, provincial, and Native representatives.

The JBNQA also recognized a form of Aboriginal self-government. Accordingly, Inuit communities were incorporated as municipalities under Quebec law, and municipal powers are delegated to them by Quebec legislation. Quebec also established the Cree Regional Authority to assist in creating services for Cree communities. Cree and Inuit school boards were also established as part of the agreement, with a special mandate and unique powers enabling them to adopt culturally appropriate educational programs. Canada and Quebec jointly fund the school boards, with Canada paying 25 percent of the Inuit budget and three-quarters of the Cree budget. A coordinating committee of federal and provincial representatives and Native delegates was established to administer, review, and regulate wildlife harvesting, while

ensuring that Native rights to hunting, as acknowledged in the agreement, are not abused.

Implementation of the agreement began almost immediately. However, the process was uneven and the results varied from community to community. Cree and Inuit leaders both identified problem areas and lobbied the federal and provincial governments to meet their obligations as outlined in the JBNQA. In 1982, all involved approved of a review of the JBNQA implementation process to deal with the concerns identified by the Crees and Inuits. Unfortunately for Cree and Inuit leaders, the implementation review focused specifically on the adequacy of program support up to 1981 and failed to resolve many fundamental problems plaguing program implementation or any of the anticipated problems. During this period, however, constitutional issues were the leading political issue in Canada, and Native people recognized that their treaty rights had constitutional protection. With the JBNQA now a constitutionally protected treaty, Crees and Inuits began aggressively lobbying both provincial and





federal officials through the media for improved program implementation.

By 1986, the Canadian government approved the establishment of a mediated negotiation process between JBNQA beneficiaries and federal and provincial officials. The overarching goal was to address what had by now become problems endemic to the implementation process. Four years of protracted negotiations followed, leading to an agreement between the Canadian government and the Inuit in September 1990. The heart of the final agreement calls for the Inuits to receive a lump sum payment of \$22.8 million in lieu of relieving the federal government of its financial obligations pursuant to the JBNQA. Pending final implementation of this agreement, all matters related to the Inuits and the JBNQA will be resolved. Despite the resolution of the Inuit negotiations, the Crees and the federal government have not come to terms. The Crees maintain that the operational matters associated with the implementation process must first be addressed before final-stage negotiations may proceed.

The cash and natural resources provided to the Crees by the JBNQA have proven inadequate to the people's needs. What appeared to be a large sum of money in 1975 turned out to be modest in relation to the costs of social and economic development and of self-government. Despite problems concerning the final agreement, however, the Crees are now well versed in the language of politics. They have also come to the realization that, notwithstanding their poor relations with the federal and provincial governments and project developers, they are capable of maintaining a political strategy to their benefit. Negotiations between true equals may be the only way to resolve a process now entering its second generation of negotiations.

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See also Canada, Indian Policies of; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

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## Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Treaty Councils

In 1742, Pennsylvania officials met with Iroquois sachems in council at Lancaster to secure an Iroquois alliance against the threat of French encroachment. Canassatego, speaker (tadadaho) of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy, spoke on behalf of the Six Nations to the Pennsylvania officials. He confirmed the League of Friendship that existed between the two parties and stated that "we are bound by the strictest leagues to watch for each other's preservation" (Colden, 1902, 2: 18–24).

Two years later, Canassatego would go beyond pledging friendship to the English colonists. At Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744, the great Iroquois chief advised the assembled colonial governors on Iroquois concepts of unity:

Our wise forefathers established Union and Amity between the Five Nations. This has made us formidable; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighboring Nations. We are a powerful Confederacy; and by your observing the same methods, our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire such Strength and power. Therefore whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another (Van Doren and Boyd, 1938, 75).

Richard Peters described Canassatego at Lancaster as "a tall, well-made man," with "a very full chest and brawny limbs, a manly countenance, with a good-natured [sic] smile. He was about sixty years of age, very active, strong, and had a surprising liveliness in his speech" (Boyd, 1942, 244–245). Dressed in a scarlet camblet coat and a fine, gold-laced hat, Canassatego is described by historical observers





such as Peters as possessing an awesome presence that turned heads whenever he walked into a room.

Benjamin Franklin probably first learned of Canassatego's 1744 advice to the colonies as he set his words in type. Franklin's press regularly issued Indian treaties in small booklets, which enjoyed a lively sale throughout the colonies, from 1736 until the early 1760s, when his defense of Indians under assault by frontier settlers cost him his seat in the Pennsylvania Assembly. Franklin subsequently served the colonial government in England.

Canassatego's admonition would echo throughout the colonies for many years. For example, colonial representatives called upon them some thirty years later at a treaty council near Albany.

After some preliminaries, the sachems and treaty commissioners began their deliberations in earnest on August 24, 1775, at Cartwright's Tavern in Albany, New York. On the next day, the treaty commissioners (who had specific instructions from John Hancock and the Second Continental Congress) told the sachems that they were heeding the advice Iroquois forefathers had given to the colonial Americans at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, in 1744. At this point, the commissioners quoted Canassatego's words:

Brethren, We the Six Nations heartily recommend Union and a good agreement between you our Brethren, never disagree but preserve a strict Friendship for one another and thereby you as well as we will become stronger. Our Wise Forefathers established Union and Amity between the Five Nations . . . we are a powerful Confederacy, and if you observe the same methods . . . you will acquire fresh strength and power (Proceedings, n.d.).

The Americans then said that their forefathers had rejoiced to hear Canassatego's words, which sank

deep into their Hearts, the Advice was good, it was Kind. They said to one another, the Six Nations are a wise people, let us hearken to their Council and teach our children to follow it. Our old Men have done so. They have frequently taken a single Arrow and said, Children, see how easy it is broken, then they have tied twelve together with strong Cords—And our strongest Men could not break them—See said they—this is what the Six Nations

mean. Divided a single Man may destroy you—United, you are a match for the whole World (Proceedings, n.d.).

In this statement, the commissioners were not merely engaging in diplomatic protocol to flatter the Iroquois; they were actually summarizing a historical process of assimilating Iroquois ideas of unity that was expressed in subsequent meetings and in the papers of some of the Founding Fathers (Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, and Thomas Jefferson, for example). Indeed, the Americans talked of creating a government of federated unity as an alternative to colonial conquest. The Americans continued and thanked the "great God that we are all united, that we have a strong Confederacy composed of twelve Provinces." The American delegates also pointed out that they have "lighted a Great Council Fire at Philadelphia and have sent Sixty five Counsellors to speak and act in the name of the whole" (Proceedings, n.d.).

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See also Canassatego; Franklin, Benjamin, Native American Influences.

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## Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock

In 1903, the United States Supreme Court issued a decision in the case of *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*, in which the Court allocated plenary authority over Indian affairs to Congress. This authority included the power not only to break Indian treaties at its discretion, but also to dispose of treaty-protected Indian land at will. Although widely discredited, the case





*Lone Wolf, a Kiowa chief, led his people in resistance to the allotment of their reservation. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

has never been overruled and represents a landmark case in American Indian law.

*Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* was decided amid a background of separation, assimilation, and allotment. In an effort to confine Indian occupancy and use of land to specific territories, the earliest Indian treaties established the idea of reservations. However, the lure for gold, land, and other resources in Indian territory was a temptation too great for the settlers to resist. Consequently, many Indian tribes were removed westward to large blocks of land reserved for their use with the assurance that the new lands would remain Indian reservations forever. In fact, settlers soon encountered Indian Country as the nation expanded westward. Before long, homesteaders demanded more lands from the government, and the federal policy makers acquiesced by developing programs to diminish the Indians' reservation land base.

Specifically, in 1853 Commissioner of Indian Affairs George Manypenny instituted a general policy of attempting to negotiate allotment provisions in treaties, which converted communally held tribal lands into individually owned parcels. Any surplus lands remaining were then opened to settlement by non-Indians. Congress quickly adopted his policy and, by virtue of the General Allotment (Dawes) Act of 1887, Congress was able systematically to allot some 41 million acres of tribal lands. Former reservations soon became checkerboarded with non-Indian-owned land.

However, the Dawes Act did not apply to all Indian territory; rather, the allotment of certain areas, particularly those lands in the Oklahoma Territory, required a special act from Congress. In 1892, Congress sent three commissioners, known as the Jerome Commission, to negotiate with the Kiowas, a tribe whose reservation was located in the Oklahoma Territory, for the allotment and cession of their lands. According to the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, no further Kiowa land cessions would occur without the approval of a supermajority of the tribe. Specifically, Article XII of the treaty stated that any cession of tribal land required the signatures of "at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying the same."

Lone Wolf, the Kiowa chief, led his people in resistance to the allotment of their reservation. During negotiations, Lone Wolf reminded the commission that the Treaty of Medicine Lodge, which established their reservation, guaranteed their lands forever. In addition, Lone Wolf noted that the small farms that would result from allotment would not support tribal families. Realizing that the negotiations were going badly, the commission threatened the tribe, asserting that Congress has the power to take their land without payment or assent. Nevertheless, Lone Wolf and his tribe resisted any form of allotment.

Once negotiations faltered, the commissioners fraudulently induced some tribal members to sign various allotment documents under false pretenses. To obtain the supermajority required by the treaty for the cession of the Kiowa lands, the commissioners had members of other tribes sign the documents as well. By October 6, 1892, the government claimed that a majority of Kiowas had signed the agreement, which proposed to give every member of the tribe a 160-acre allotment and to pay \$2 million for the surplus lands. The Commission then returned to





Washington, asking Congress to proceed with the allotment of the Kiowa lands.

However, Lone Wolf and several other Kiowas claimed that any assent to the agreements had been obtained by fraudulent misrepresentations of the terms by interpreters. In addition, they alleged that the agreement was invalid since, according to the tribal rolls, less than three-fourths of the adult male Indians signed the agreement. In October 1899, the tribes held a council and drafted a petition to Congress signed by a supermajority of eligible Kiowa members. The petition was a clear and simple statement of the tribes' repudiation of the agreement.

Despite the Kiowas' opposition and any congressional concerns about the fraudulent process used by the commission, in February 1900 Congress proceeded with the allotment. Subsequently, Lone Wolf filed a complaint in the equity division of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia seeking to restrain the Department of Interior from carrying out the provisions of the Allotment Act, arguing that the Acts of Congress were unconstitutional, void, and a violation of solemn treaty provisions.

The Court refused to entertain any complaint concerning the statute or the federal policy of allotment in general. Instead, by recognizing the tribe's dependent relationship with the federal government, the Court upheld Congress's authority to allot the Kiowa reservation without any tribal assent:

The contention in effect ignores the status of contracting Indians and the relation of dependency they bore and continue to bear towards the government of the United States. To uphold the claim would be to adjudge that the indirect operation of the treaty was to materially limit and qualify the controlling authority of Congress in respect to the care and protection of the Indians, and to deprive Congress, in a possible emergency, when the necessity might be urgent for a partition and disposal of the tribal lands, of all power to act, if the assent of the Indians could not be obtained (*Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*, 1903, 564).

According to the Court, Congress, through its plenary power, has the authority to abrogate treaties unilaterally if that action is in furtherance of its obligation to care for and protect the Indians. Thus, the Court held that whether a supermajority of the tribe had signed the allotment documents was

inconsequential. Rather, because Congress thought it necessary to allot the Kiowa reservation for the care and protection of the tribal members, it was entitled to do so without their assent.

In effect, the *Lone Wolf* decision granted Congress not only the plenary authority to abrogate treaties with the Indians unilaterally, but also an absolute, unchecked power to regulate in all aspects of Indian affairs. By relying on the Indians' special fiduciary relationship with the federal government, the Court established the presumption that any congressional actions taken toward Indian affairs are made in good faith: "We must presume that Congress acted in perfect good faith in the dealings with the Indians of which complaint is made, and that the legislative branch of the government exercised its best judgment in the premises" (*Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*, 1903, 568). Furthermore, by characterizing such plenary actions as political questions, the Court announced that congressional legislation in the field of Indian law is "not subject to be controlled by the judicial department of the government" and is therefore unreviewable (*Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*, 1903, 565). Thus, because any regulation of Indian affairs is presumed to have been taken in good faith and because such regulation is a political question, Congress has unfettered authority to act as it sees fit.

In recent years, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* has been widely discredited, and the Supreme Court has attempted to mute its harsh ruling. Specifically, the Court now requires that any congressional intention to abrogate an Indian treaty or treaty right be clear and plain. In addition, the Court has declared that congressional activity in Indian affairs is no longer an unreviewable political question; rather, if such action cannot be characterized as that of a good faith trustee toward its beneficiary, the Court will subject the action as to the Takings Clause of the Fifth Amendment. Nonetheless, *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* remains a precedent in the field of American Indian law and provides authority for Congress, subject to few limitations, to deal with Indian tribes as it sees fit.

J. Landon K. Schmidt

*See also* General Allotment Act (Dawes Act); Plenary Power.

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### **Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association**

This 1988 U.S. Supreme Court case concerned the protection of American Indian religious practices. The case exemplifies the difficulties that courts have in recognizing the holistic, connected nature of indigenous religious practices as opposed to mainstream religions and in applying constitutional religious principles to peoples not originally protected by such principles. The six justices who ruled in the majority stressed that the U.S. government was not prohibiting the free exercise of religion of members of three tribes by building a road near and allowing tree harvesting within a half mile of certain traditional ritual sites in the Chimney Rock section of Six Rivers National Forest.

Since the First Amendment applies only if the government prohibits the free exercise of religion, the constitutional claim of the American Indians failed. The majority felt that to rule otherwise would give the tribes effective ownership over public, government-controlled and -owned lands. The three dissenting justices noted that the Forest Service commissioned the Theodoratus Report, which examined

Native religion. For Native peoples, land is living and the relationship to land and the natural world is an ongoing relationship of creation. These justices saw that the road and harvest would destroy the Indian religious practices and that the government should have a compelling interest before going ahead with the project.

In the 1970s, the U.S. Forest Service upgraded roads on federal lands in northern California. Part of the project included the Chimney Rock area of the Six Rivers National Forest. The Hoopa Valley Indian Reservation adjoins the national forest. The Chimney Rock area was used by the Indians for religious ceremonies and was considered especially sacred. The 1977 Forest Service draft environmental impact statement discussed the detailed project plans. The Forest Service commissioned a study of cultural resources of the area, the Theodoratus Report (1979). This study supported a 1979 recommendation not to proceed with the road project because of the irreparable and serious damage to the sacred areas so central to the Hoopa belief systems.

In 1982, the Forest Service decided not to follow the report. The road would be built in Chimney Rock as far away as possible from specific ritual sites. Routes that would have avoided Chimney Rock were rejected because they would involve the acquisition of private land. In addition, a management plan was approved that allowed substantial cutting down of trees in Chimney Rock with a half-mile distance between protected sites and the harvest. Thus, specific areas were preserved while the nature of the entirety was altered.

The majority opinion, by holding that the government had not prohibited the free exercise of any religion, negated the need to apply the test. The government, as landowner, was simply managing its land for the benefit of all. To allow the diminution of the government's property rights was substantial, and the Forest Service was not required to accommodate the Natives' religious needs either constitutionally or statutorily by the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, which created no cause of action or enforceable rights according to the Court. In any event, the government had accommodated the Indian religious practices by the half-mile zone and the placement of the road.

The dissenting justices attempted to understand the differences between European-derived religious practices and American Indian religious practices. The former is church-based, and the government is an entity apart from the church. For many American





Indians, spirituality pervades everything. For them, the attempts to build the road and harvest the trees while providing some core area protections essentially destroyed the practice of their religion and cultural beliefs. Such action clearly fails to accord with the First Amendment.

Michael W. Simpson

*See also* American Indian Religious Freedom Act.

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## Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act

The 1980 Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act (MISCA) was the first major Native American land claim settlement of its kind in the twentieth century. It paved the way for similar federal settlements with eastern aboriginal nations such as the Pequots and Narragansetts. Following several court rulings in the 1970s, the Maine Wabanaki convinced the United States that they were entitled to compensation for illegal land acquisitions made by the states of Massachusetts and Maine. In exchange for giving up their claims to nearly two-thirds of the state of Maine, the Wabanakis, principally the Penobscots and Passamaquoddies, received a settlement of \$81 million, federal recognition, the right to purchase at least 300,000 acres of land at fair market value, and limited immunity from state laws. Although MISCA was an impressive legal success, in the twenty-five years since its enactment, many Wabanakis feel the settlement poses some serious obstacles to their aboriginal sovereignty, economic growth, and environmental health.

The Maine settlement was flawed because it did not equally include all of the Maine Indians, namely

the Maliseets and Micmacs. The Houlton band of Maliseets obtained federal recognition and \$900,000 for land trust acquisition, but they remained subject to Maine's regulatory laws whereas the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots were exempt. The Aroostook band of Micmacs were not named at all in MISCA. Eleven years later, the Micmacs negotiated a separate settlement with the United States, gaining federal recognition and \$900,000 to purchase lands. Because they neither signed nor were mentioned in MISCA, they argue that the Act does not apply to them, a situation that makes them unique among the Maine Wabanakis.

The central problem with MISCA, however, is that it explicitly equated the regulatory rights of sovereign Indian nations with those of state municipalities. The Wabanakis argue that Maine has refused to acknowledge their aboriginal claim to national sovereignty, which exists *in addition* to the municipality provisions of the settlement (Chavaree, 1998). The state, in turn, argues that the Indians are trying to claim a form of sovereignty that was explicitly extinguished by mutual agreement in 1980. As of 2005, the courts have steadily upheld the state's municipality arguments—such as denying the Wabanakis' request to build casinos under federal law—a situation that has embittered many of them.

The U.S. government was brought to the bargaining table with the Wabanakis because the Indians were able to prove in federal court in 1975 that the 12.5 million acres of Wabanaki land acquired by Maine and Massachusetts violated the terms of the 1790 Intercourse Act (see Brodheur, 1985). These Intercourse laws, modified several times in the early 1800s, stated that land purchases from Indian governments had to be attended by a U.S. commissioner and ratified by Congress. The Wabanaki sales usually met neither requirement. President Jimmy Carter appointed a task force to settle the Wabanaki claim out of court in late 1977. By March of 1980, a tentative agreement was reached, and at that stage it was endorsed by a vote of the participating Wabanakis. The governor and the legislature of Maine passed the Maine Implementing Act in April. The Maine agreement was then ratified by the U.S. legislature with some significant additions to federal law and then signed by President Carter in early October 1980.

MISCA involved state law, finances, and land. First of all, it revised the laws that are applicable to Natives and Native land in Maine, with the state basically withdrawing from legal supervision of the





*President Jimmy Carter signs the 1980 Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act, using an eagle feather from the Penobscot Nation as Maine state officials look on. (Steve Cartwright/Wabanaki Alliance)*

Indians (the Maine Implementing Act). Aware that disagreements were bound to occur under the new system, the Implementing Act established a nine-member advisory body called the Maine Indian Tribal-State Commission (MITSC). MITSC is equally composed by appointees from the state and the Wabanakis, with their chair chosen by the appointees. MITSC is charged to review the effectiveness of the Implementing Act, to make recommendations on land acquisition, to draft fishing rules, to conduct wildlife studies, and to review petitions by tribes for extensions to the reservations. As the commission admits in its report, *At Loggerheads*, MITSC has had some success negotiating fish and wildlife disputes, reviewing land trust issues, and educating people about Wabanaki lifeways, but it is grossly underfunded and lacks the authority to broker the sovereignty disputes that have arisen over the last twenty-five years.

MICSA's second achievement was financial, but it was largely directed toward the restoration of

Native land holdings. The Act established a \$27 million trust to be shared equally between the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots, tax-free and with interest paid quarterly. It also set aside \$54.4 million to buy 300,000 acres to add to Passamaquoddy, Penobscot, and Maliseet territory. These new land acquisitions would be held in trust for the Wabanakis by the United States and would be subject to oversight by the Secretary of the Interior. Although the Houlton Maliseets got \$900,000 of this money for land trust acquisition, they did not get independent municipality status in their relationships with the state of Maine, nor did they get a trust fund.

The settlement was a great financial victory for the majority of the Wabanakis, but it also provided enormous benefits to the state of Maine. The federal government paid the \$81 million settlement's cost. Maine paid nothing, and the state cleared title to all of its lands. The Implementing Act states that all Indian land claims were henceforth extinguished in





Maine. (The state argues that even Aroostook Micmac claims were extinguished by the Act, a claim the Micmacs currently dispute.) Maine was thus able to dismantle its Department of Indian Affairs, divesting itself entirely 150 years of supervision of some of the poorest Native populations in the country. The U.S. government would henceforth provide subsidies and care for the Wabanakis. (Again, until 1991, the Aroostook Micmacs were treated as if they did not exist.)

The greatest benefit of MICSA for the state, however, was that, even though Maine shed the *responsibility* for the management of Indian affairs in Maine, it retained extensive *regulatory authority* over the territory of the Passamaquoddies, Penobscots, and Maliseets.

The sections of the Maine Implementing Act that define this authority (30 M.R.S.A. 6204–6) appear to restrict the sovereign powers of the Indians to jurisdiction over “internal tribal matters.” Except as otherwise provided in the Act, the Passamaquoddies and Penobscots have “the rights, privileges, powers and immunities of a *municipality*, including the power to enact ordinances, and collect taxes; be subject to all the duties, obligations, liabilities, and *limitations of a municipality*; and be subject to the laws of the State, except that ‘internal tribal matters’ are not subject to regulation by the State” (MITSC, 1997, 11).

According to the state’s interpretation of this provision, the Native nations are thus at liberty to manage their own government and legal system for minor infractions. Like city governments, however, they are otherwise regulated by the state on almost any issue of consequence. Wabanaki leaders currently argue that an *exclusive* focus on the municipality provisions of the Maine Implementing Act disregards their simultaneous aboriginal rights as sovereign peoples that existed long before the arrival of European settlers. In May 2002, Wabanaki leaders were put in the embarrassing position of surrendering their documents on environmental pollution under the state’s Freedom of Access Act, because the Maine Supreme court ruled that the Wabanaki nations were just like city governments in such situations.

An even more significant problem relating to the Maine Implementing Act, however, occurred at the federal level. The federal government was conscious that Maine’s foremost concern during the 1980 settlement was to maintain authority over trade and government within the bounds of the state.

Thus, the federal act that *ratified* the Maine Implementing Act included provisions that reaffirmed the Wabanakis’ former status as “state” Indians. Sections of the 1980 Maine Settlement Act (25 U.S.C. 1725 and 1735) state that federal laws and regulations that confer special status to Indians and that also preempt the jurisdiction of the state are *inapplicable* in Maine. Also, any federal law enacted after October 10, 1980, for the benefit of Indians that would affect or preempt the laws of the State of Maine “shall not apply within the State of Maine, unless [it] is specifically made applicable within the State” (MITSC, 1997, 13). As a result, the Wabanakis have been unable to take advantage of many of the recent federal court rulings allowing gambling casinos on Indian land.

The paradox of the federal 1980 Settlement Act is that the Wabanakis lost elements of their federal recognition. The U.S. government ratified the Maine Implementing Act *and* henceforth excluded the Wabanakis from some types of federal legislation expressly designed to have national effect. In the two decades since the 1980 settlement, federal legislation pertaining to casinos and pollution have made the Wabanakis painfully aware of the importance of maintaining regulatory authority over their own lands.

Granville Ganter

*See also* Trade and Intercourse Acts.

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## Meriam Report

The Meriam Report (1928), published as “The Problem of Indian Administration,” was a government-funded report that underscored the failure of the U.S. policy of the forced assimilation of American Indians into American society. It was undertaken after a decade of growing concern about the direction of U.S. Indian policy. Events in the 1920s demonstrated the persistence of themes and concerns that had characterized white-Indian relations over the previous half century. Not only had the goals of the late nineteenth-century assimilation policy, including the division of tribal lands into individual holdings, not been achieved, but pressure from whites for more of the Indian land base continued. The study underlying the report was initiated in 1926 by Hubert Work, Secretary of the Interior, who named Lewis Meriam as the leader of a committee of ten that would examine the nation’s Indian policy. Meriam’s analysis broke with the pattern of earlier studies by analyzing statistical indicators of individual well-being, rather than asking for the opinions of those who had designed or administered existing national policies. By underscoring the vast disparities in the quality of life between Indians and society at large, the Meriam report indicted existing national policies and opened the door to new approaches that culminated in the creation of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934.

Widespread dissatisfaction with the outcomes of Indian policy underscored the need for the study. The 1920s witnessed the continuing efforts to dispossess Native Americans of their resource base even as reform groups raised criticisms of existing policies. The most noted of the land grabs at that time was embodied in the Bursum Bill of 1922, designed to create a system for validating land titles on Pueblo holdings that would have given preference to the claims of individual white squatters over longstanding Pueblo tribal rights based on treaties. Reform groups coalesced in the successful effort to defeat this measure and remained vocal. John Collier created the American Indian Defense Association in 1923 as part of his opposition to the Bursum Bill. The Indian Rights Association was revitalized in the same period. In 1924 Congress extended citizenship to all Indians who had not yet acquired it (even though some Indians didn’t want it). Some reformist Indian voices emerged in the Society of American Indians and the National Council of American Indians. Although not well financed, long lasting, or

organically connected to the particular needs and perspectives of tribal organizations, these groups did offer coherent, compelling general criticisms of government policies.

The changing national mood from Anglo conformity toward cultural pluralism added to the willingness to reconsider forced assimilation. For example, missionaries’ concern over the rising criticism of existing policies led to a sweeping study of socioeconomic aspects of Indian life as well as a defense of the efforts of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The study, published as *Red Man in the United States*, was written by G.E.E. Lindquist for the Institute for Social and Religious Research in 1923.

Interior Secretary Hubert Work made two separate attempts to gain independent perspectives on living conditions among Indians. The first was embodied in the Advisory Council on Indian Affairs, also known as the Committee of 100, in 1923. Composed of people from outside the government, the group reflected growing national differences on policy rather than developing ideas of how to address these differences. Secretary Work tried again in 1927 when he contracted with the Institute of Government Research and appointed Lewis Meriam to head a committee to scrutinize Indian and national Indian policy.

The selection of Lewis Meriam to direct the study ensured that the work would be carried out in the spirit of pre-World War I progressivism, with its emphasis on efficient administrative actions as the key to successful reform. Meriam brought an array of research experiences to the study of Indian policy as well as a reputation as a disinterested social scientist who would not allow personal policy preferences to intrude on his objectivity. In addition to the nonpartisan Institute for Government Research (which later became the Brookings Institution), he had worked for the U.S. Census Office and the Children’s Bureau. His previous work included job classification with the civil service and the creation of wage systems in government bureaucracies.

The people selected to work with Meriam reflected the range of issues as well as the operating assumptions that defined the work of the committee. Areas of expertise represented on the committee included economic conditions (Edward Everett Dale, University of Oklahoma), education (W. Carson Ryan, Jr., Swarthmore College), extant records (Fayette Mackenzie, Juniata College), family life and women (Mary Marks, Ohio State University), farming (William Spillman, Bureau of Agricultural Eco-





nomics), health (Herbert Edwards, National Tuberculosis Association), Indian relocation to cities (Emma Duke, American Health Association), and legal issues (Ray Brown, University of Wisconsin). Yale-educated Henry Roe Cloud (Winnebago) served as general advisor and liaison for visits to Indian communities.

The reliance on social scientific expertise (rather than prior experience as an administrator of Indian policies) or on expertise on Indian issues underscored the desire of the committee to reach objective findings that would inform government policy. The work of the committee included extensive field visitation. The committee's staff visited all but fifteen areas under the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, conducted over 500 home visits, and met with a wide range of groups on reservations, including many Indian-only sessions. Anthropologists were not included, in the belief that they were not value-neutral on issues of Indian life.

The summary of findings, presented as Chapter One, indicted the impact of past policies without assigning responsibility for the deplorable conditions. The report stated: "An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white civilization" (Meriam, 1928, 3). Policies intended to promote the individualization and assimilation of Indian people had failed. Debate about Indian economic or social "progress" from earlier eras was avoided because the report made comparisons with indicators of well-being in white society of the mid-1920s. This tactic undercut arguments used by some to claim that Indians were better off than they had ever been in the past. The committee's decision to examine the lives of Indians who had migrated to cities produced data demonstrating that social and economic difficulties were pervasive among Indians rather than confined to those who continued to reside on reservations. Statistics underscored the high incidence of disease, the alarming extent of infant mortality, the prevalence of extreme poverty, the absence of economic development, the disorganization of family life, and the failure of existing approaches to education. At each juncture, the report showed that the conditions were worse than most citizens could imagine and would be intolerable if experienced by white citizens.

The Meriam Report was premised on the desirability of assimilating American Indians into society at large. It called for the Indian Service to be con-

verted to an organization devoted to education for the social and economic advancement of Indian people in order to prepare them for fuller participation in general society or, absent that development, to be readied to live in parallel with white society. An underlying assumption of the report was that an improved Indian quality of life and a fuller participation in the national economy would reduce the degree of prejudice expressed toward Indians by white society. General recommendations included more respect for Indian people and the recognition that Indian rights extended beyond treaty provisions to embrace the full range of rights enjoyed by the general citizenry. Specific actions included the creation of a planning and development program that would make use of experts in areas such as agricultural economics, endemic diseases among Indians, marketing, and vocational guidance. These new workers would keep accurate records, maintain better relations with Indians, receive adequate salaries, be provided with better housing, and receive good retirement and health benefits. For the members of the Meriam Commission, the combination of professional expertise and social science methodology would yield an effective assimilation program.

Despite the Meriam Report's support for a more intelligent implementation of modified assimilation policies, symbolically the report marked the end of assimilation as a policy and stimulated the debate over the future direction of Indian policy. The report amplified growing criticisms of the Bureau of Indian Affairs from those who wanted more rapid assimilation and those who sought to restore traditional Indian culture to the extent possible. Proponents of radical assimilation saw the BIA as retarding assimilation by serving as a crutch that made Indians reluctant to "stand on their own" within American society. On the other side, a group of reformers led by John Collier sought to restore tribal sovereignty and traditional Native values to the extent possible and practicable. They believed that the BIA was destroying Indian ways. This debate was won by the Collier forces in the early years of Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administration with the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934. Although Lewis Meriam tried for a time to work with Collier on the promotion of IRA goals, he ultimately broke with the volatile reformer and moved into the ranks of conservative Republicans who favored assimilation.

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*See also* Collier, John; Indian Reorganization Act.





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## Métis Nation Accord

In 1992, Canada, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario, and the Métis nation of Canada, represented by the Métis National Council (MNC) and provincial Métis representative bodies, signed the Métis Nation Accord. The Accord set out provisions requiring all signatories to negotiate the implementation of aboriginal self-government. Unfortunately for the Métis, the Accord was directly tied to the success of the Charlottetown Accord (1992), which called for comprehensive changes of Canada's Constitution. These changes were designed in part to enable the First Nations political participation and representation in Canada, as well as formal recognition of the right to aboriginal self-government. It also represented a commitment on Canada's part to address the appropriate roles and responsibilities of governments as they relate to the Métis. The Charlottetown Accord was rejected in referendum by the Canadian people in 1992.

The Métis nation evolved during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from the miscegenation of French and Scottish fur traders with Cree, Ojibwa, Saukteaux, and Assiniboine women. The Métis developed as a unique people, distinct from Native people and Europeans. Today an estimated 200,000 Métis live in Canada, accounting for more than 20 percent of the aboriginal population living in Métis communities and urban centers. The Métis have long claimed national status and a unique culture, a distinct language, a unique economy, and enduring

philosophies, but Canadian officials historically refused to accept this position. However, in 1982, the Canadian Constitution was amended to recognize the Métis as one of the country's groups of aboriginal peoples (along with Native Americans and the Inuit). By the end of the 1980s it appeared as though federal officials were willing to consider the social, political, and economic issues of the Métis.

The Métis Nation Accord represented a significant first step in relationship building between the federal government and the Métis nation. With the proposed constitutional changes in mind, the Métis National Council and its governing members initiated consultations with the Métis nation in September 1991. These discussions led to various MNC submissions to the federal constitutional processes through the spring of 1992. Central to the Métis strategy was forcing the federal government to assume its responsibility for the Métis's social and political betterment. The federal government responded by agreeing that the Charlottetown Accord would be amended to explicitly include the Métis. Resulting from this successful lobby, the Métis Nation Accord was established as a modern-day treaty between the federal government, all provinces west of Ontario, and the Métis nation.

The Métis Nation Accord was an impressive political accommodation that would have resolved many of Métis's legal questions and outstanding claims, including:

- Agreement on a definition of Métis.
- The establishment of tripartite self-government negotiations among the federal government, the Métis governments, and the respective provincial governments, as well as a commitment of financial resources for the negotiations.
- A commitment on the part of government to negotiate a land and resource base for Métis.
- A commitment on the part of government to undertake an enumeration of the Métis and establish a central registry.
- A commitment on the part of government to devolve programs and services to the Métis, provide transfer payments to the Métis government to support these programs and services, and to preserve existing funding and services already provided to the Métis.
- Provisions for the protection of the Alberta Métis settlements.





*President of the Métis Nation of Ontario, Tony Belcourt (right), Steve Powley (center), and their lawyer Jean Teillet (left) celebrate their hunting rights victory in the Supreme Court of Canada in Ottawa, September 19, 2000. (Chris Wattie/Reuters/Corbis)*

Following the failure of the Charlottetown Accord, none of the Accord signatories expressed a willingness to engage in multilateral discussions, leaving the Métis with few choices in their fight to see their aboriginal rights recognized. They may pursue recognition of these rights in the Canadian courts, or they can remain on the political periphery as provincial and federal officials engage in jurisdictional wrangling. Litigation proved successful, and in 2004, after more than a decade in the courts, the Métis were recognized by Supreme Court of Canada as possessing aboriginal rights. The case resulted from a Métis father and son, Steve and Roddy Powley, being charged in 1993 with hunting moose without a license and unlawful possession of moose meat, contrary to Ontario's *Game and Fish Act*. The Métis nation of Ontario determined to use this case to establish the existence of the Métis hunting rights. In 1998, a two-week trial resulted in the trial judge's determining

that the Métis community at Sault Ste. Marie had an existing aboriginal right to hunt, a decision that was upheld by the Supreme Court of Canada.

The Métis Nation Accord was a progressive policy of accommodation that would have committed provincial and federal governments to negotiate: self-government agreements, lands and resources, the transfer of the portion of aboriginal programs and services available to Métis, as well as cost sharing agreements relating to Métis institutions, programs, and services. For now, the Métis will have to endure the complexities of Canadian Indian bureaucracy.

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*See also* Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.

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## National Indian Gaming Commission

An independent federal agency created by the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (IGRA) in 1988, the National Indian Gaming Commission (NIGC) regulates Indian gaming nationally. The commission consists of a chairman and two commissioners charged with assuring that Indian gaming is free from organized crime, primarily benefits American Indian communities, and offers fair games. The commission may conduct investigations, impose civil fines, close gaming facilities, review and approve gaming ordinances written by tribal councils, and do background checks and audits. The commission has headquarters in Washington, D.C., and regional offices in Portland, Sacramento, Phoenix, Tulsa, and St. Paul. The president chooses the chairman of the commission with the consent of Congress, and the Secretary of the Interior appoints the other two commissioners. Two members of federally recognized Indian communities must serve on the commission, and the NIGC must include members of both political parties. No commissioner can be affiliated with a gaming facility, and commissioners serve for three years. Fees assessed on revenue from Indian gaming operations fund the commission.

Congressman Morris Udall of Arizona began the Congressional effort to establish guidelines for the regulation of Indian gaming in 1983. By 1986, Udall had introduced H.R. 1920, which included provisions for the NIGC. The House passed Udall's bill, but it died in the Senate. The next year, Senator

Daniel Inouye of Hawai'i, the new chairman of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, introduced S. 555, which passed and became the IGRA. This legislation created the NIGC and defined its role in Indian gaming. The IGRA established three classes of Indian gaming. Class I games consisted of traditional social gambling for small prizes; Class II games included bingo, pull tabs, punch boards, tip jars, instant bingo, and nonbanked card games, and the law classified all other games Class III. The IGRA gave the NIGC a regulatory role in both Class II and III gaming and allowed tribal governments sole jurisdiction over Class I games.

Critics of the NIGC contend that it lacks the necessary power to regulate Indian gaming effectively and has failed to uncover any cases of major corruption in the industry. These criticisms have reached a popular audience through articles in popular publications such as *Time*. However, gaming communities insist that NIGC oversight is sufficient, noting the Minimum Internal Control Standards (MICS) for Indian gaming operations issued in 1999. These standards require Indian casinos to follow very specific guidelines in all facets of their operations. The NIGC even requires detailed plans for the spending of gaming profits, annual audits, and internal standard reports. Additionally, the National Indian Gaming Association (NIGA) maintains that Indian gaming is more highly regulated than other gaming operations because Class III operations are subject to regulations on the tribal, state, and federal levels.

The NIGC has used its authority on a number of occasions, shutting down gaming facilities for various reasons. In 2003, the NIGC shut down the Sac and Fox tribe's Meskwaki Casino in Iowa for six months until a formally recognized tribal council took control of casino profits, and in 2000 the commission closed the facility owned by the Kiowa tribe of Oklahoma for over five years for violations of the IGRA.

Gaming communities also have challenged the extent of NIGC authority through the courts. For example, in 1990, the Cabazon band of Mission Indians filed a suit against the NIGC protesting their designation of electronic facsimile games as Class III, and the courts upheld the commission's definitions in 1994. In 2001, the Colorado River Indian Tribes challenged the commission's right to audit their Blue Water Casino for MICS. In 2005, the district court in Washington, D.C., decided that the IGRA did not grant the NIGC this power. Despite this decision, the





commission will continue to check for compliance with the MICS as part of their responsibility to both Indian gaming facilities and the public.

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*See also* Economic Development; Gambling.

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## Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

For centuries, the skeletal remains of American Indians were removed from their burial sites, studied, catalogued, and relegated to the bins of museums and science labs. NAGPRA addresses the right of the dead to an undisturbed resting place among their own people. It also addresses the right of the living to ensure that their ancestors and their ancestral sacred items are interred with the respect they are due (Morris Udall, 1990).

Since 1906, the United States has taken management authority over the cultural and scientific resources under its jurisdiction. The 1906 Antiquities Act (16 U.S.C. §§431–433) and later the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA, 16 U.S.C. §§470aa-mm, 1979) established permitting authority for scientific data recovery on federal and Indian lands. The items removed from the ground, mostly



*Skeletal remains at an Indian burial ground in South Bowers Beach, Delaware. Congress passed the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act to achieve two main objectives: the protection of sacred objects like human remains from excavation and the return of such objects housed in federal museums to the appropriate Native American groups. (Kevin Fleming/Corbis)*





Native American human remains and burial items, were to remain under government control and thus were stored largely in government and university repositories. Attempts by tribes to reclaim the remains of their ancestors and tribal property were unsuccessful (Echo-Hawk, 1986). When the Onondaga nation went to court in 1899 to retrieve the Wampum Belts held by the New York State Museum, they found that courts did not acknowledge the nation as having enforceable property rights (*Onondaga Nation v. Thacher*, 61 N.Y.S. 1027 [N.Y. App. Div. 1899]).

At the end of the twentieth century, largely due to pressure brought to bear by Indian activists, and despite opposition by various conservative scholars, the American public and the U.S. government began to recognize the culture of American Indians as meriting respect and protection on a formalized basis. Congress passed the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (AIRFA, 42 U.S.C. §1996, 1994) on August 11, 1978, and the president issued the Sacred Sites Executive Order (E.O. No. 13,007, 61 Fed. Reg. 26771, May 24, 1996), supporting the rights of Native Americans to practice traditional ceremonies. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA, 16 U.S.C. §§470a et. seq., 1992) was amended to recognize traditional cultural places meriting listing on the National Register of Historic Places and established Tribal Historic Preservation Officers who could replace state authority on tribal lands. Legislation specifically to address the cultural property rights of Native Americans is the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA, 25 U.S.C. §§3001–3013, 1990).

After compromises reached on the language and scope of the law by the archaeological, museum, and tribal communities, the NAGPRA legislation received unanimous support in Congress. NAGPRA is a law with four attributes. It comprises property law, Indian law, human rights law, and an administrative process.

### NAGPRA as Property Law

NAGPRA enfranchises tribes and Native Americans in the common law of property and Fifth Amendment property rights. The law recognizes that, although human remains are not property and cannot be owned under the common law, descendants have the obligation and right to direct the disposition of their ancestors (Bowman, 1989). Funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patri-

mony removed from tribes and Native American individuals without their permission, that are held in the control of federal agencies and museums that receive federal funds, must be returned to claimants under NAGPRA. If the museum has a lawful chain of ownership and transfer for the item, it may assert the right of possession. Under NAGPRA no taking shall occur.

Protected items in NAGPRA are the human remains of Native Americans and Native Hawaiians and cultural items. Cultural items include funerary objects (items placed with or intended for burials); sacred objects (ceremonial items needed by traditional Native American religious leaders for the practice of traditional religion by present-day adherents); and cultural patrimony (the inalienable items owned by the group that have ongoing historical, traditional, or cultural importance and were considered as such at the time the object was separated from the group).

The parties eligible to make a repatriation claim for NAGPRA-protected items held in the collections of federal agencies or museums are lineal descendants of named individuals with their associated funerary items. Also eligible are federally recognized tribes or Native Hawaiian organizations having a shared group identity with the cultural item when there is no claim of a lineal descendent for human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. When newly exhumed burials and NAGPRA-protected items are located on federal or Indian land, the priority of claimants is as follows: lineal descendants; then tribal landowners on their tribal land regardless of cultural relationship; culturally affiliated federally recognized tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations on federal land; then federally recognized tribes or Native Hawaiian organizations that are the aboriginal occupants of the area regardless of cultural affiliation, unless another group with standing has a stronger claim of relationship.

### NAGPRA as Indian Law

NAGPRA acknowledges the unique relationship between the federal government and tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations (25 U.S.C. §3010). As such, the law requires consultation with federally recognized tribes and with Native Hawaiian organizations on a government-to-government basis at each stage of the process. The NAGPRA process, further described in a following section, resolves years





of past land management authority that did not account for the property interests of Native Americans. That NAGPRA is contained within Title 25 of the United States Code, the Indian law section, rather than other options such as Title 16, where cultural property is addressed, reflects the decision of Congress to imbue that law with the generally applicable tenets of Indian law. One such Indian law provision applicable in the NAGPRA process is the absence of a time bar for claims brought to establish title of Indians to human remains of their descendants and to cultural property. (See *County of Oneida v. Oneida Indian Nation*, 470 U.S. 226 [1985].)

### NAGPRA as Human Rights Law

NAGPRA does not provide Native Americans with any greater rights than would otherwise be afforded to those seeking to make claims recognized under the common law and to seek relief from a “taking” under the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution. As such, NAGPRA may be seen as “equal protection” law. Enfranchising Native Americans with property rights due but not historically respected is the essence of human rights law.

### NAGPRA as Administrative Process

The NAGPRA process establishes separate means to approach “repatriation” of Native American and Native Hawaiian human remains and cultural items separated from the land and held in museum and federal agency collections, from the immediate determination of “ownership” upon the discovery of human remains and cultural items excavated on federal or Indian lands after the date of the law, November 16, 1990.

#### Repatriation

Federal agencies and institutions that receive federal funds and have possession of or control over Native American cultural items must summarize their Native American and Native Hawaiian collections and enter into consultations to determine whether federally recognized tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations wish to make claims for the repatriation of items to which they are culturally affiliated. As to human remains and associated funerary objects, the consultation is intended to aid the museums and federal agencies in compiling an itemized inventory, containing decisions on cultural affilia-

tion, such that lineal descendants and culturally affiliated tribes can make claims for repatriation.

Inventories are sent to the National Park Service (NPS), National NAGPRA Program. Summaries are sent directly to all interested tribes as they trigger consultation. Notices of Inventory Completion are published in the *Federal Register*, as are decisions by the museum or federal agency as to the cultural affiliation of the human remains and associated funerary objects. Based on those decisions, lineal descendants and culturally affiliated tribes can claim the remains and/or items. When tribes or Native Hawaiian organizations come to repatriation agreements with museums or federal agencies as to cultural items in the summary, the museum or agency prepares a Notice of Intent to Repatriate that is sent to NPS for publication in the *Federal Register*. If there are no competing claims in response to either type of notice in thirty days, on the thirty-first day repatriation—that is transfer of control—can occur. As a practical matter, the claimant group and the museum or federal agency begin consultation on the manner of transfer once they have come to an initial agreement.

Those human remains and funerary objects for which no cultural affiliation determination can be reasonably made are listed in the inventory as culturally unidentifiable. To assist tribes, museums, and federal agencies in making further cultural affiliation determinations, NPS maintains a public access database of culturally unidentifiable Native American human remains and funerary objects in the inventories. Future regulations will direct the eventual disposition of culturally unidentifiable human remains. Until then, guidance may be obtained from the Review Committee.

NAGPRA does not require that science be undertaken to make a cultural affiliation determination, but it does not prohibit science undertaken in consultation with the interested parties. It does allow a museum or federal agency with NAGPRA-protected items in the collection to receive permission from the Secretary of the Interior to retain items until the end of a study that is of major benefit to the United States.

Disputes over repatriation factual issues may be referred to the Review Committee for an advisory opinion. This is not a predicate to court action but provides a means to have the facts examined by an expert neutral panel. Disputes can arise when tribes make competing claims and when the decision of the land manager or museum as to which tribe has the preponderance of evidence in its favor is questioned,





or a dispute can arise between a tribe and a museum or federal agency if the claimant disagrees with a decision on cultural affiliation or repatriation. A tribe or Native Hawaiian organization making an initial claim must show (1) they have standing to make a claim, (2) the item is a NAGPRA-protected item, and (3) there is a relationship of shared group identity between the claimant and the item. A museum may then overcome the claim of a tribe if the museum can carry the burden to prove that they have the right of possession (that, under the common law of property, they hold title that began with permission of the initial owner to alienate the item).

### **Ownership**

NAGPRA requires consultation with tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations prior to the removal of human remains or cultural objects from federal or tribal land, including Hawaiian Homes Commission land. When there is an agreement in place prior to the discovery of a NAGPRA-protected item, the event is called an "intentional excavation." The disposition of newly discovered items follows the agreement. When no agreement is in place, the event is called an "inadvertent discovery," and all work must cease for thirty days while consultation occurs to reach an agreement on disposition. Thus, advance planning is more effective than stopping a project to do remedial decision making. Native American human remains and associated funerary objects that are not claimed remain in federal control pending future regulations on disposition.

### **Illegal Trafficking in Native American Human Remains and Cultural Items**

NAGPRA makes it a crime to traffic in Native American human remains and cultural items (18 U.S.C. §1170). It is illegal to sell, purchase, use for profit, or transport for sale or profit the human remains of a Native American, taken from any location, of any age, unless the actor has the right of possession. Under the common law this means that only the descendent with authority to put the remains into the marketplace may lawfully do so. The same is true of Native American cultural items. Violation of NAGPRA can be committed either by removing the item from federal or Indian lands, including the lands of a Native Hawaiian organization, or by trafficking in items from museum or federal agency collections that are subject to the repatriation provisions. For instance, a museum that holds back a NAGPRA-protected item from the NAGPRA process

so that it may be offered for sale at an auction commits an act of trafficking. The first offense is a misdemeanor and the second offense is a felony. The new federal sentencing guidelines heighten the penalties but require a value calculation to determine the severity of the penalty.

### **Conclusion**

NAGPRA has not caused all Native American and Native Hawaiian cultural items to be stripped from the collections of museums. Rather, the institutional knowledge about tribal culture has been enriched through the process of consultation. Post-NAGPRA collection protocols typically involve respectful treatment of the dead. Native Americans and tribes are regularly (although not always) regarded as necessary participants in consultation in the determination of rights to items in collections and as potential owners of human remains and cultural items that may be discovered on the landscape. It is also worth noting that many non-Native museums have profited handsomely from these laws, having received generous subsidies to conduct their inventories. In any case, the process is ongoing and the progress profound.

Sherry Hutt

*See also* Mound Cultures of North America; Native American Museums; Wampum.

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## **North West Company**

Following Britain's conquest of Canada, French traders from Montreal were supplanted in the fur trade by independent Scotsmen. Many of these new





Scottish merchants allied themselves with the French already in the country but also competed against one another. Under the leadership of Simon McTavish and the brothers Benjamin and Joseph Frobisher, a few of the leading Montreal merchants united in 1779, forming a new power in the fur trade that in 1783 became officially known as the North West Company. This new company suffered much internal strife, yet it competed successfully with and was the chief rival of the Hudson's Bay Company from 1779 to 1821.

The company was headquartered on Vaudreuil Street in Montreal. Stockholders were the Montreal trading companies and the "wintering partners," the men who did the actual trading for furs with the Native Americans. The company also employed French-Canadian voyageurs familiar with the Indian trade. The Northwesters, as men of the company were called, tended to be more active and aggressive agents in expanding the Indian trade than their Hudson's Bay Company rivals. From their main supply depot at the Grand Portage, which linked Lake Superior and Montreal to the system of lakes and rivers and interior trading posts of the *pays d'en haut* (most of Ontario, the area west of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes and beyond to the Canadian prairies), Northwest Company men extended the Indian trade into new lands between the Hudson's Bay territories and Louisiana as well as westward. During the late 1700s the Grand Portage became a summer rendezvous site for Indian families, French voyageurs, Scottish clerks, *pays d'en haut* wintering partners, and Montreal and London agents.

The more intrepid character of the North West Company was embodied in one of the company's partners, Alexander Mackenzie, who began a series of explorations of the Northwest, which carried him to the Arctic (1789) and Pacific (1792–1793) Oceans. Another Northwester, geographer David Thompson, extended trade westward to the Missouri River and the Mandan Indians, and later to the Columbia River.

The bold enterprise of the North West Company stirred the older Hudson's Bay Company into action. Competition intensified between the two British companies as both suffered from a depressed fur market in Europe caused by the Napoleonic Wars and the overharvesting of animals. Rivalry escalated to bloodshed as the Hudson's Bay Company took bold steps to harass the North West Company. In 1811, a large tract of land in the Red River Valley was

granted to Lord Selkirk (a major Hudson's Bay Company shareholder) for settlement. The colony's location would essentially cut off the North West Company from lands farther to the west and divide the territory to the east. In 1814, restrictions on the pemmican trade were enacted, which also alienated the Métis population who were the producers of pemmican, as well as occupants of the Red River area. The struggle reached a bloody pitch when war between the two companies peaked at the Battle of Seven Oaks (1816), resulting in Lord Selkirk's arresting several North West Company proprietors and seizing company property. With fears of a failing company and pressure from the British government to stop hostilities and ensure imperial stability, North West Company shareholders agreed to merge with their hated rival. In July of 1821, an agreement was signed with the Hudson's Bay Company, whereby it absorbed the North West Company.

The greater portion of labor for the trade came from the tribes who traded the pelts, hides, and pemmican to North West Company agents for manufactured goods. To strengthen trade connections, the North West Company (more than the Hudson's Bay Company with its stricter ideals of race and class) encouraged adopting Indian ceremonies and customs, the strongest connection being marriage *à la façon du pays* (after the custom of the country). The North West Company appreciated the advantage that marriages of its men to Indian women brought and allowed all ranks to marry. These unions strengthened trade relations and created reciprocal social and economic bonds for Indians that drew traders into tribal kinship circles. The result of such unions accelerated changes in many quarters of the Indian world including their economic, social, ceremonial, demographic, and political worlds as well as inter- and intratribal power. Perhaps the greatest evidence of change these unions created were mixed-blood offspring.

In its four decades of existence, the North West Company altered significantly the dimensions of the Indian trade, imperial claims to the West, and the lives of numerous western tribes.

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See also Fur Trade, Hudson's Bay Company.

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## Northwest Ordinance (1787)

Composed by the Confederation Congress (1787–1789) in the same year as the Constitution, the Northwest Ordinance is a multifaceted document. Ostensibly it is a design by the Congress for regional development of a territory it presumed it had acquired through its apparent success in negotiating the terms of independence in 1783. However, its character as a statement of republican ideals in a framework for the territorial governance (of non-Natives by choice and of Natives and slaves by force) renders it a catalogue of reference for a slate of issues relevant to contemporary cultural and political themes. Slavery, state's rights, religious freedom, habeus corpus, universal schooling, the financial ethics of politicians, and, not least, Indian relations are all addressed, if imperfectly and highly selectively, by the terms or context of the Northwest Ordinance. Truly, the audacity of the wide-ranging affairs brought together by the Congress under this document lies in its aim to provide development objectives for an extensive territory it had yet to bring under physical control and in its character as a precursor to the Bill of Rights. It was composed concurrently with the federal Constitution, which famously mentions Indians only as economically defined exceptions to the establishment of the new citizenry ("Indians not taxed" [*Article I, Section 2*, for example]) and elsewhere as simply trade concerns. As a result, many scholars of Indian affairs look to the Ordinance as an immediate predecessor to glean clues about the intentions of the Congress toward American Indians. In that context, the Ordinance is most recognized and referenced by its (cynical) statement of the apparent position of the Congress toward Indian Nations, articulated in the Third Article, which consists, significantly, of an exegesis primarily concerned with morality:

Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall from time to time be

made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them (Continental Congress, 1904–1937, 31: 340–341).

Among the earliest of formal statements of general intent toward Indian nations as a whole, the document, while not a treaty, is consistently utilized as a point of reference, with the "utmost good faith" and "without their consent" clauses suggesting the obligation of the federal government to act as the trustee of American Indian lands, an obligation that it would later codify and then proceed more or less to ignore. To limit the interpretation of the Ordinance to these assumptions would miss many critical aspects of the legislation and an understanding of its creators' strategic interests. Within the same year, preparations were made to make expedient use of the option reserved in the latter clause, "in just and lawful wars." The campaign against the tribes of the Northwest Territory began in earnest in 1788 with the assignment of Arthur St. Clair to the region as governor.

With the apparent inconsistencies between the document's stated intentions and the state of affairs in the region it aimed to administer, the Northwest Ordinance can be best understood through analysis of economic policy at the time of its writing and of the key figures shaping Indian policy. The Ordinance continued the Federalist-driven vision of a monopoly on Indian affairs, to the exclusion of the states, begun with the 1785 passage of the Indian Policy Act and continued with the 1786 Ordinance for the Regulation and Management of Indian Affairs; but this earlier legislation that attempted to bring Indian affairs under centralized oversight was not effective (Prucha, 1995, 47). Items such as the requirement for trading licenses to be issued only by Congress were all but ignored on the frontier.

Despite the ongoing state of war, many scholars believe that the Congress did intend to deal more peaceably with Indian nations than in the past, was aware of the standing of its actions in international law, and did hope to control and contain the settlement of the frontier, as opposed to allowing the wholesale overrunning of Indian lands (the "wrongs done to them" mentioned in the Ordinance) (Deloria and Wilkins, 1999, 17). However, assumptions must be seen as strategic: Congress had become convinced that it was far more efficient to treat Indians in a manner that recognized their autonomy and thereby maintained peace, but that exchanged the peace, as





well as terms of trade, for their lands through purchase agreements made exclusively with the central government. The most significant obstacle to this strategy was, of course, the states themselves (through their anti-Federalist delegates), who generally wished to deal with Indians in a manner profitable for their own interests or that of their foremost citizens, until such conflicts arose that needed military backing. This was particularly the case in states such as Georgia, North Carolina, and New York, where representatives had already begun negotiating terms of trade with the Iroquois tribes without authorization from Congress.

The strategy to resolve this situation was a combined effort of military officials such as Secretary of War Henry Knox and, of course, George Washington, who knew only too well how expensive Indian wars were, and of the many economic thinkers among the Congress; the postrevolutionary government was deeply in debt and was, above all, concerned with securing financial stability. To that end, Congress—moving toward the centralization of power it articulated in the Constitutional Convention—saw that the control of Indian trade and of the wealth contained in title to Indian-controlled lands was essential to the new nation's financial future. Proposals to sell lands in the Ohio country were already before the Congress (Prucha, 1995, 45). This explains the immediacy with which the Congress secured the Northwest Territory militarily, as well as its treating with Indians, as General Knox had been persuasive in asserting, not as conquered peoples, but relatively liberally and on terms that would encourage them to deal only with the Congress (Horsman, 1967, 41).

Thus, with respect to Indian relations, the Ordinance is significant as a template for Indian relations and treaty making as it would be conducted into the 1800s. Indeed, the conflicts in the Northwest would be resolved at the Treaty of Greenville in 1795, in which, like the treaties of Fort Harmar (1789) and Canandaigua (1794) before it, “in consideration of the peace now established,” the terms of agreement between apparently equal parties would become increasingly standardized, to more clearly define Indian rights and to negotiate the transfer of very specific tracts of land, treaty by treaty, from individual tribes, always with the proviso that if they “shall be disposed to sell” additional lands in the future they will deal only with agents of the United States.

This is the context for a much less referenced Ordinance passage, a statement of its objective to

“lay out the parts of the district in which the Indian titles shall have been extinguished.”

The Northwest Ordinance's evaluation by historians has been mixed. Many recognize it as the crowning achievement of the Confederation period, while others see it as a crowning act of hypocrisy. Apologists generally note its forethought for the future of the republic through its procedural provisions for the organization and incorporation of new states, and its pre-Bill of Rights narrative, with less attention to the source for such vision. It is important to note that recent scholarship has shown that an additional dimension of the document, with respect to American Indian history, is that its authors, like those of the Constitution, were familiar with existing forms of Indian governance that preserved individual liberties and that, in cases such as the Iroquois Confederacy, provided protocols for the incorporation of new member nations (Grinde and Johansen, 1991, 194). Their apparent ability to be influenced by Native thought and governance, and yet provide so calculatingly for their dispossession, gives critical evidence of the complex character of the founding generation. Further complicating this scenario is the clear conflict of interest of some members of Congress who were involved in regional planning legislation, yet who also held vested interest in the outcomes (for instance, Hauptman, 1995). The Ordinance would be ratified under the constitutional government in 1789; only its trade provisions would require further articulation in the Trade and Intercourse Acts.

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See also Assimilation; Canandaigua (Pickering) Treaty; Fur Trade; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Trade and Intercourse Acts; Treaty Diplomacy, with Summary of Selected Treaties; Trust, Doctrine of.

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## Nunavut Land Claims Agreement

In 1993, the Inuit people of the central and eastern Arctic, the Canadian government, and the government of the North West Territories signed the largest aboriginal land claim in Canadian history. Following two decades of negotiations, the agreement covered 1.2 million square miles of territory and had the federal government recognize Inuit title to more than 220,000 square miles of land in the eastern Arctic. On 22,000 square miles of these

lands, the Inuit were assigned mineral rights, and the agreement established land use regulations and control over the resources (Dahl, Hicks, and Jull, 2000, 58). The Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) was brought into effect in June 1993, with the passing of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act. The agreement contains forty-one articles that, in addition to providing land title to the Inuits of Nunavut, provide clear rules of ownership, rights, and obligations concerning Nunavut's land, water, and resources. In return for ceding certain territories, the Inuits also received \$1.14 billion in compensation and an additional \$13 million in the form of a Training Trust Fund to ensure that the Inuits have access to sufficient funding to assist in meeting their responsibilities under the claim (Légaré, 2003, 119). The NLCA also provided for the Inuits becoming full participants in a number of comanagement entities that are responsible for territorial resource management.

On April 1, 1999, Nunavut became the first territory to join the federation of Canada since Newfoundland in 1949. Representing the culmination of



Canadian Governor General Romeo LeBlanc (center) looks on as the flag of Nunavut is unveiled at the official ceremony to inaugurate Nunavut in Iqaluit, Nunavut, on April 1, 1999. (Tom Hanson/AFP/Getty Images)





nearly twenty-five years of negotiations between the federal government and the Inuits, Nunavut became Canada's third territory. The Inuit land claim was born of their long-standing territorial occupation. Yet despite Inuit territorial claims, by the 1940s, Canadian occupation of the north had become the norm. Threatened by U.S. troops stationed in the eastern Arctic and potential American sovereignty claims, Ottawa mobilized the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), situating officers across the Canadian arctic in an effort to enhance Canadian sovereignty. This also accounted for the introduction of federal Indian policy and programming to the north. Promoting its long-standing civilization policy, the Canadian government facilitated program delivery by promoting the settlement of what federal officials at the time considered to be a nomadic people into small, easily accessible communities.

Reacting to the steady infiltration of non-Native people from the south and the imposition of Canadian programs, an organization called the Indian and Eskimo Association (IEA) was created in the mid-1960s to conduct research on the rights of indigenous peoples in Canada and to initiate a fight for territorial land claims. The goal was to augment Inuit social, economic, and political influence by wresting control over decision-making powers from the federal government. Following two IEA meetings in late 1970 and early 1971, the Inuits formed the Inuit Tapirisat Corporation (ITC). ITC delegates had many concerns, which were reflected in the significant organizational mandate. Founded to secure Inuit land title and establish resource management protocols with the Canadian government and other outside institutions, ITC began to lobby for the creation of Nunavut. Inuit leaders anticipated that Nunavut's formation would resolve their outstanding land claims in the region. In addition to fighting for aboriginal rights, ITC was to work with government officials to limit large-scale development, such as oil exploration, and to promote small scale and local development, such as northern tourism. It was also concerned with developing the proper devices to permit Inuit participation in policy formulation, the creation of programs and research for dealing with rights to territory and resources, all the while seeking protection and maintenance of traditional land use and harvesting practices.

The process that led to the establishment of Nunavut began in 1973. During this period the concept of aboriginal title was becoming a significant



*Members of the Arctic Rangers raise the first Nunavut flag in Iqaluit, Nunavut, on April 1, 1999. (AP/Wide World Photos)*

legal and political issue in Canada. That year the Supreme Court of Canada, in *Calder v. Attorney-General of British Columbia*, recognized pre-existing aboriginal rights, even those not exclusively outlined in the Royal Proclamation of 1763. This confirmed that a separate system of aboriginal rights did in fact exist, albeit a structure relegated to a lesser position in Western society. In this instance, aboriginal title arises from the long-term use and continuous occupancy of the land by aboriginal peoples prior to the arrival of European and British colonial powers to North America. The *Calder* decision was the first in Canada to use the terms "aboriginal rights" and "land claim." The message to Canadian officials who had previously ignored the concept of aboriginal title was clear: They needed to create a more flexible policy concerning the definition, classification, and recognition of aboriginal rights.





Such a policy would entail the extinguishment of aboriginal title held by Native groups who, until then, had never signed a treaty as indicated by the Royal Proclamation of 1763, which dictated that a public meeting be held and community agreement reached prior to Indian land being sold to the Crown. The Inuits were concerned with this strategy, having never signed a treaty with Canada. However, in 1974, the Canadian government implemented a new comprehensive land claims policy, which was described as a process in which the claimant group will receive defined rights, compensation, and other benefits in exchange for relinquishing rights relating to the title claimed over all or part of the land in question. The federal government then provided funding to, among others, the ITC to determine the land areas they wanted ownership rights over. ITC utilized the final report prepared as a working paper in the preparation of Nunavut land claim proposal. This was developed in part by a team of researchers, led by anthropologist Milton Freeman, who initiated an extensive land use and occupancy project that defined the boundaries of Inuit land use in Ketikmeot, Keewatin, and Baffin. These demarcations would eventually be adopted in 1979 as the Nunavut borders.

ITC worked diligently on their claim and, in 1976, submitted their grievance to the federal government. The ITC land claim proposed the creation of a new territory and representative government, an unprecedented request at the time. The Inuit goal was to resolve the land claim, which called for the Beaufort Sea and Yukon North Slope areas used by the Inuvialuit to be included in the Nunavut Territory, while simultaneously promoting Inuit political development. The proposal was later withdrawn due to its complexity and because the Inuits at the community level were upset that non-Inuit lawyers in Ottawa and Toronto drafted the proposal, eschewing an advocacy approach necessitating community-based guidance. The move toward a final land claim resulted in Inuit factionalism, which manifested itself when the Inuvialuit split from ITC to negotiate a separate land claim agreement. Nevertheless, that year the Federal Electoral Boundaries Commission recommended dividing the Northwest Territories into two federal electoral districts: Nunatsiaq and the Western Arctic.

The Inuits made clear that they intended to maintain their land base and that they would not consider any amount of compensation for sale of their territory. Further, the Inuits had no intention of

remaining a part of the North West Territories (NWT). Rather, their territory was to remain under Inuit control. They would, however, accept in the new territory a “public government” as opposed to “aboriginal self-government.” According to this model, all citizens could vote, run for office, and in general, participate in public affairs. All people, irrespective of aboriginal status, would fall under the government’s jurisdiction. The NWT legislature expressed its dissatisfaction with the Inuit proposal, insisting that division of the NWT into two smaller territories was undesirable. The federal government considered these concerns. However, it was clear that both Inuit and Canadian officials favored the establishment of a separate Inuit territory, arguing that the Inuits would remain a minority in the NWT under the current structure and that the sheer size of the territory would make territorial program delivery increasingly difficult. The Inuits notified the federal government in 1980 that no final land claim agreement would be finalized that did not involve the creation of a separate and uniquely Inuit territory, to which the federal government conceded.

The North West Territories (NWT) Inuit Land Claims Commission (ILCC) was formed in 1977 to focus exclusively on land claims negotiations. That year, the ILCC submitted its claims proposal to Ottawa following an extended consultation process with northern Inuit communities. In September 1977, “Speaking for the First Citizens of the Canadian Arctic” was presented, which was a necessarily less complex version of the ITC’s previous proposal. The land claim component was well received; however, the negotiations came to an abrupt halt following the federal government’s rejection of the Inuit request to resolve the issue of their future political development prior to moving on to land claims. This delay proved fatal for the ILCC, which disbanded in 1979, only to be replaced by the Nunavut Land Claims Project (NLCP). Inuit leaders agreed that year to participate in the NWT election, which was an historic first. A majority of Inuit members were elected to the NWT Legislative Assembly, and participating in the territorial political process warmed Inuit leaders to the prospect of pursuing their land claims on the basis of aboriginal rights. The NWT Legislative Assembly then established a Special Committee on Unity to determine how residents felt about the proposed territorial division. The final report indicated that residents favored the split, and, based on these findings, legislators voted in favor of division, sixteen to one.





In 1979, the federal electoral boundaries commission's recommendation to divide the NWT into two areas was executed, and the new eastern district (Nunatsiak) roughly corresponded with the Inuits' proposed Nunavut territory. The ITC was following closely the evolution of the claims process, and, at their 1979 organizational meeting, drafted "Political Development in Nunavut," a proposal that incorporated the best aspects of all previous proposals. This document stated four objectives: (1) ownership rights over portions of land rich in nonrenewable resources; (2) decision-making power over the management of land and resources within the settlement area; (3) financial indemnity and royalties from resources developed in the area; and (4) a commitment from Ottawa to negotiate self-government once a land claim was signed. Once again, the ITC reaffirmed that land claims resolutions must also be accompanied by the division of the NWT to permit for the creation of Nunavut and Inuit governance. ITC established a fifteen-year policy attainment schedule. The following year, ITC delegates voted unanimously to pass a resolution, officially calling for the establishment of the Nunavut territory, and in March 1981 the NWT Legislative Assembly ordered a plebiscite to be called to settle the issue of division.

The federal government had previously been reluctant to consent to Inuit demands calling for the creation of a territory prior to resolving outstanding land claims. Officials did, however, accept the legitimacy of a plebiscite. John Munro, the Minister of Indian Affairs, announced that the Canadian government would abide by the plebiscite's results and the NWT Legislative Assembly's decisions, as based on the population's desires. Ottawa did set three preconditions to division. First, settlement of Inuit land claims must occur prior to the proposed division. Second, a boundary separating the east and west of the territories would have to be approved by the NWT residents. And, third, an accord would need to be reached defining the basic structural arrangements of the government of the Nunavut Territory.

Prior to the plebiscite, the Inuits received a vote of confidence concerning their land claims. In 1982, following the patriation of Canada's Constitution from Britain, included in the new Constitution Act, 1982 was Section 35(3). This clause protected land claims, "that now exist by way of land claims agreements or may be so acquired." This suggested that, upon the finalization of the land claims process, the

accompanying agreement would become a constitutionally protected pact. Then, in April 1982, a plebiscite was held to determine support for the proposed division of the NWT into two independent territories. Despite low voter turnout, the majority of the NWT population (56 percent) favored the idea of division. In the eastern Arctic, where the Inuit population was highest, the percentage in favor of division hovered around 80 percent. Anticipating the establishment of an Inuit territory, a boundary settlement was pursued, albeit unsuccessfully.

The resolution of the NWT issue pleased Inuit delegates; they were now required to negotiate their territorial boundaries. A plebiscite held in April 1982, indicated that the majority of NWT population (56 percent) favored the idea of division into two new political territories. Anticipating the establishment of an Inuit territory, a boundary settlement was pursued in the late 1980s, albeit unsuccessfully negotiated. In April 1990, a former NWT commissioner was appointed to act as mediator in the boundary dispute, followed by one year of negotiations. In April 1991, the Inuit and Dene representatives recommended the proposed compromise border and, in a plebiscite held May 4, 1992, the majority (54 percent) of NWT residents approved the proposal.

Following the 1982 plebiscite, work began on a structured proposal intended to assist in the creation of a new government to be known as the Nunavut Territory. The Constitutional Alliance of the Northwest Territories (CA) was formed in 1982. Following dissemination of the plebiscite results, the CA created two forums intended to provide for debate and planning: the Nunavut Constitutional Forum (NCF) was established for the eastern arctic and the Western Constitutional Forum (WCF) for the western arctic. Anticipating significant revenues resulting from mineral extraction, the Tunngavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN) was established to succeed the ITC in 1982 and was now responsible to pursue land claims negotiations on behalf of the Inuits of Nunavut. Within one year of replacing the TFN, the NCI had drafted a comprehensive working proposal, entitled "Building Nunavut." A revised and expanded edition followed two years later.

The negotiations yielded early successes, and agreements were reached concerning the Inuits' role in wildlife management, on offshore rights, and on a resource management system that involved Inuit decision-making powers. Perhaps the most difficult component of the negotiations concerned the creation of a territorial boundary that everyone could





agree on. There were overlapping areas in the central part of the territory where both the Inuits, who lived primarily in the eastern Arctic, and the Dene-Métis, who occupied the western Arctic, claimed traditional rights. In 1985, a tentative agreement was reached by the NCF and WCF that collapsed when the Dene-Métis refused to ratify it. Finally, John Parker, former NWT commissioner, was appointed to decide on a boundary in 1991. His proposed line was also disputed but later adopted in a territory-wide plebiscite. Even with a boundary in place, other questions remained. From the beginning, the Inuits were clear in their desire to see Nunavut and its government incorporated directly into the claims agreement. Federal officials were also clear in expressing their opinion that the land claims process was an inappropriate forum by which to create a public government that was meant to serve all people, including a non-Native minority. A compromise was reached that resulted in a caveat placed in the claim that would provide for the creation of the new territory without actually making division part of the claim.

A decade-long negotiations process took place, during which time myriad subagreements were reached and the creation of Nunavut became ever more a reality. Then, in 1985, the Coolican Task Force Report was released, leading to a revised federal land claims policy. The new policy recognized aboriginal decision-making powers for joint management boards, resource-sharing revenue, and inclusion of off shore areas. The Inuits were pleased, as were the various Inuit organizations involved in the negotiations. That same year, the final report of the Royal Commission on the Economic Union and Development Prospects for Canada was released, recommending that the creation of a new territory in the Eastern Arctic would make Canada's north "more governable." The commissioners also believed that a new territory would better accommodate different rates of political and constitutional development occurring. In the wake of a new land claims policy and the Royal Commission, the Inuit negotiators strengthened their resolve and refused to accept any federal offer that did not result in the creation of a separate Inuit territory. The federal government realized that this was a sticking point and made the decision to pursue the final land claim with the promise that a new Inuit territory would be established. This agreement was formalized in the Nunavut Political Accord, signed in April 1990 by the Canadian government, the NWT government,

and the Inuit negotiating body, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN).

Although not directly involved in the Nunavut proposal, the Inuits from Inuvialuit who chose to break away from the Nunavut process in 1976 to settle their land claims did at times influence negotiations. Intense pressure from impending economic development initiatives led the Inuvialuit to settle the first comprehensive land claim settlement in the NWT with the government of Canada. Working together, Canada, the Dene, the Métis, and the Inuvialuit established the Iqaluit Agreement, which assigned the Inuvialuit surface ownership rights to 60,000 square miles of land as well as certain subsurface rights to another 8,000 square miles of land. The agreement afforded the Inuvialuit special harvesting rights, environmental protection, their participation in a number of comanagement regimes, federal support for economic development initiatives, and the establishment of a social development fund. Financial compensation in the amount of \$45 million was paid to the Inuvialuit in annual installments until 1997. The final land claim notwithstanding, the Inuvialuit had to be consulted as the Nunavut process moved forward. This was followed by a proposal that the proposed boundary of Nunavut based on the Inuit land claim settlement area and the Dene/Métis and Inuvialuit claim settlement areas form the western territory. The Dene nation and Métis Association of the NWT did not reach an agreement with the TFN concerning the precise boundary of their respective claims areas; hence the Parker boundary.

Following years of negotiations, an agreement in principle was reached in 1990, and a single-line boundary between the claims settlement areas of the Dene/Métis and the Inuits was accepted in the 1992 plebiscite. The Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT), the TFN, and the Canadian government adopted the boundary for division in the Nunavut Political Accord. In December 1991, negotiations were finalized and the final agreement committed Canada, the GNWT, and TFN to negotiate a political accord to deal with powers, principles of financing, and timing for the establishment of a distinct Nunavut government. The Inuit referendum was held November 3–5, 1992, with 69 percent voting in favor of the proposed land claims agreement. The agreement was also successfully passed through Parliament, received Royal Assent, and, on July 9, 1993, an order-in-council was prepared, realizing the agreement. Federal, territorial, and Inuit representa-





tives signed the land claim agreement on May 25, 1993, which enabled the transfer of more than \$1.1 billion to the Inuits.

The land claim was ratified and enacted by the Canadian Parliament in two pieces of legislation: the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act, ratifying the settlement, and the Nunavut Act, establishing Nunavut as a territory as well as enabling its government. In the six months following the Nunavut Act, the recently created Nunavut Implementation Commission worked with the federal government and various Inuit organizations to develop recommendations about the proposed locations of Nunavut's capital, the administrative structures of government, and the operating procedures for the Nunavut Legislative Assembly. Operating at an annual cost of \$3 million, the commission ran until 1999. The Commission's final hundred-page report was divided into fourteen sections and made 104 recommendations concerning the political structures of the government of Nunavut.

The land claim settlement is the largest land claim in Canadian history. The 1993 agreement gives the Inuit territorial ownership to 220,000 square miles of land, mineral rights to about one-tenth of the area, and a financial settlement of \$1 billion to be paid out over fourteen years. As part of the deal, the Inuits agreed to abandon their claims to all other northern lands. Under the Nunavut Act, the territory of Nunavut is designated as a 1.2-million-square-mile parcel of land that is separate from the NWT. Nunavut has the same territorial powers and responsibilities as the NWT; however, because the Inuits make up 85 percent of the population, Native interests dominate territorial governance (Légaré, 2003, 119).

Some of the more outstanding features of the agreement include:

- Title to approximately 220,000 square miles of land, of which about 22,000 square miles include mineral rights.
- Equal representation of Inuit within government on a new set of wildlife management, resource management, and environmental boards.
- The right to harvest wildlife on lands and waters throughout the Nunavut settlement area.
- Capital transfer payments of \$1.148 billion, payable to the Inuits over fourteen years.
- A \$13 million Training Trust Fund.

- A share of federal government royalties for Nunavut Inuits from oil, gas, and mineral development on Crown lands.
- Where Inuits own surface title to the land, the right to negotiate with industry for economic and social benefits with nonrenewable resource development.
- The right of first refusal on sport and commercial development of renewable resources in the Nunavut Settlement Area.
- The creation of three federally funded national parks.
- The inclusion of a political accord that provides for the establishment of the new Territory of Nunavut and through this a form of self-government for the Nunavut Inuit.

In 1995, Iqaluit was chosen over Rankin Inlet as Nunavut's capital city, and during the next four years, federal and territorial officials worked toward establishing Nunavut's government. Recognizing that the process would take some time, the federal government appointed Jack Anawak to serve as interim Commissioner of Nunavut responsible for establishing a functional government for Nunavut's official entry into Confederation. In 1998, amendments to the Nunavut Act were adopted by Parliament and received Royal Assent and, on February 15, Nunavut residents went to the polls to elect nineteen members to the new Legislative Assembly. On April 1, 1999, Nunavut and its new government were constituted, followed by the unveiling of the Nunavut flag and coat of arms. Once Nunavut's residents elect the Members of the Legislative Assembly (MLAs), the latter hold a secret ballot to elect a speaker of the assembly to oversee operations. The MLAs also elect by secret ballot the premier of Nunavut, as well as the executive (cabinet). Nunavut's government has ten departments, each headed by a minister. MLAs lacking ministerial portfolios form the opposition. Territorial elections are held every five years by popular vote, and one member of parliament (MP) and one senator represent Nunavut federally.

The federal government, according to a five-year formula financing agreement, funds Nunavut operations. The remainder of the budgeted operations is funded through taxation and the sale of goods and services. The inaugural allocation for the 1999–2000 governmental budget was \$620 million, of which \$580 million was allocated to cover the costs of programs and services.





The government of Nunavut conducts the majority of its business in Inuktitut, the language of the Inuit. Nunavut's other official languages are English and French. The government of Nunavut is decentralized, and the nearly 700 headquarters staffers are divided among Iqaluit, the capital of Nunavut, and ten other communities. Iqaluit is home to the ministerial, policy and planning, financial administration, and personnel-related functions of the government of Nunavut's other departments. Decentralizing was anticipated to provide Nunavut's three regions equal decision-making authority and to extend new jobs to as many areas as possible.

The more than \$1.1 billion dollars in compensation money will pass from the federal government to the people of Nunavut over fourteen years, ending in 2007. This money is managed by the NTI (replacing the TFN), a highly centralized organization comprised of a General Assembly consisting of forty-eight delegates held annually, a ten-member Board of Directors that meets quarterly, and an Executive Committee that meets monthly. The General Assembly approves the annual budget, can increase or restrict spending, and can modify its programs and services, the latter of which must be approved by two-thirds of the delegates. The Board of Directors meets to review and evaluate the Executive Committee's decisions. Six of the ten board members come from Regional Inuit Associations, which gives significant weight to regional interests within the board. The Executive Committee is the most powerful cog in the machine. The Inuit beneficiaries elect the four-member committee that meets monthly to implement the decisions approved by the General assembly, while supervising the NTI's day-to-day operations (Légaré, 2003, 120–123).

The NLCA extends to various components of Nunavut's political economy, which includes its role in organizing territorial capital. The NLCA provides for representative hiring of Inuits within government, it outlines preferential procurement policies by the federal and territorial governments for Inuit firms, it specifies an Inuit Impact and Benefit Agreement be performed prior to implementing major development projects, and it affords greater Inuit control over natural resources and the right to harvest. Nunavut is a public government that provides the Inuit with political influence, because they constitute approximately 85 percent of the territorial population. The government of Nunavut incorporates Inuit values and beliefs into a public government model.

Yale D. Belanger

*See also* Canada, Indian policies of; Land; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples; Tunkavik Federation, Nunavut.

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## Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe

*Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe* was a landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision that eroded the legal standing of tribal governments' sovereignty. The far-reaching effects of the verdict's precedent are still being clarified today. Justice William Rehnquist authored the decision, a six-to-two split, arguing that tribal governments have no jurisdiction over non-Indians who commit crimes on their lands.

The two crimes instigating the litigation both occurred in the 7,276-acre Suquamish Port Madison Reservation across Puget Sound west of Seattle. The annual celebration of Chief Seattle Days on the reservation had become a popular event for non-Indians. The Suquamish petitioned state, county, and federal law enforcement officers for assistance in dealing with the thousands of visitors who attended. They were told to create their own enforcement using their own resources (Wilkins, 1997, 190).

On August 19, 1973, during the Chief Seattle Days celebration, Mark David Oliphant assaulted





a member of the tribal police. He then resisted arrest and was summarily detained. Oliphant sought a writ of habeas corpus in the U.S. District Court for the Western District of Washington, maintaining that the authorities of the Suquamish Port Madison Reservation were not qualified authorities of the U.S. government and his civil rights had been violated. Oliphant lost the case. The case was appealed, as *Oliphant v. Schlie*, to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, which also ruled against Oliphant. The lawyers for the tribe were quite surprised when, in 1978, the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case.

On August 12, 1974, the second petitioner in *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe*, Daniel B. Belgarde, was charged with a high-speed highway chase that ended when he lost control of his vehicle and collided with a tribal police vehicle. He was detained, posted bail, and was allowed to leave. Nearly a week later, proceedings began against him for violating the tribal code and damaging tribal property. The tribal court proceedings were postponed pending a final decision of jurisdiction in *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe*.

The Supreme Court ruled against the Suquamish. A majority of the judges used the legal justification that improper execution of habeas corpus was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment. They stated that habeas corpus was improperly executed because the Suquamish tribal authorities lacked the specific written jurisdiction to detain non-Indians. Other rationales for lack of jurisdiction cited by Justice Rehnquist were that nineteenth-century congressional acts reflected a belief that tribes did not have "jurisdiction absent a congressional statute or treaty provision to that effect" (435 U.S. 191).

Rehnquist's reading of the Treaty of Point Elliot between the United States and Suquamish found no treaty language to guarantee the right to try non-Indians who commit crimes on treaty lands. Justice Rehnquist justified his decision for limited tribal sovereignty by citing a case in which the Choctaw nation requested from Congress the prerogative to punish non-Indians who entered their territory and committed crimes. Because the Choctaw treaty language concretely delineated this right, Rehnquist argued that by default most tribes were understood to lack this power (Wildenthal, 2003, 74–75).

Justice Thurgood Marshall, joined by Chief Justice Warren E. Burger, dissented from the majority opinion. Their rationale was that, without concrete

treaty language specifically denying it, the right to keep the peace is "a *sine qua non* [essential quality] of the sovereignty that the Suquamish originally possessed" (435 U.S. 191, 213). This was the same rationale for the federal district court's ruling against Oliphant, which Justice Marshall cited in his written dissent.

Suquamish tribal lawyers were mystified by the legal logic of decision. One of these lawyers explained their opinion by quipping, "petitioner [Oliphant] takes the novel position that since his race differs from that of the government controlling the land on which he committed his offense, he is immune from prosecution by that government" (Wilkins, 1997, 194).

The ramifications of this decision reshaped the status of tribal governments' jurisdiction on reservations, as well as interpretations of Chief Justice John Marshall's famous reference to "domestic dependent nations" in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (30 US 1 [1831]). The larger legal issue at contention in *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe* was the precise legal parameters of a "domestic dependent nation" and the extent of its sovereignty. The Suquamish Port Madison Reservation had a population of only roughly 100 tribal members at the time of the decision. The small size of the reservation and the lack of many legal precedents in its history perhaps made this case an odd choice for the Supreme Court to review as indicative of the larger legal issue at stake. Several experts in law and tribal sovereignty agree that *Oliphant* was a poor case for asserting a tribal government's right to try criminals who commit crimes on their lands. The outcome of the case might have been different if it had involved a larger reservation with greater lands and population and a greater history of case law precedent, such as the Navajo Nation (Wildenthal, 2003, 77).

In 1973, the Suquamish tribal government established a Law and Order Code. The Code, which covered a spectrum of offenses from theft to rape, extended the Suquamish tribal government's criminal jurisdiction over Indians and non-Indians alike. The Suquamish Law and Order Code was held to be invalid for non-Indians because it provided similar but not identical protections to those guaranteed under the Constitution.

Yet, Rehnquist was adamant in his decision that he was arbitrating a case that protects encroachment on U.S. citizens' rights. The equal, if complex, U.S. citizenship of every American Indian appears absent from his legal logic.





Many advocates of tribal sovereignty were struck with disbelief by the decisions of *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe* (1978) and *Duro v. Reina* (1990). Historically, the Supreme Court had shown a strong tendency to uphold the regulatory authority of tribal governments. The legal jurisdiction of such things as economic matters, land use, zoning, the environment, and family law had been consistently ruled as the domain of tribal governments (Wildenthal, 2003, 85).

The 1960s and the 1970s were times of great political activism as well as legal upheaval in Native–federal relations. Events such as the 1969 occupation of Alcatraz, and the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee were coupled with unprecedented legal victories and rights secured from the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of U.S. government. These legal victories and new rights created resentment in certain circles of government. David Wilkins suggests that the *Oliphant* decision can be seen as a backlash among disaffected non-Indians against these legal victories secured in the previous decades (Wilkins, 1997, 186). This resentment is discernable in the comments by the vice chair of a congressional review commission on American Indian policy, a representative from the state of Washington, Lloyd Meeds. ““American Indian tribes are not a third set of governments in the American Federal system. They are not sovereign. The Congress of the United States has permitted them to be self-governing entities but not entities which would govern others. . . . [E]ven if *Oliphant* is upheld by the United States Supreme Court, the Congress must still decide whether Indian power over non-Indians is wise” (U.S. Congress, 1977, 587).

Two later decisions impacted by *Oliphant* also merit discussion. In *Duro v. Reina* (495 U.S. 676 [1990]), the U.S. Supreme Court considered whether tribal government jurisdiction was applicable to an American Indian who committed a crime on a reservation where the defendant was not a member. Justice Anthony M. Kennedy authored the decision, which found that tribal governments do not have the right to prosecute a nonmember Indian. Yet he upheld that tribal governments could eject whomever they chose from their lands. In *Means v. Chinle District Court* (1999) the well-known Indian activist Russell Means was prosecuted by the Navajo Nation for a crime he committed on their reservation. Means held that, under federal precedents *Oliphant* and *Duro*, he could not be prosecuted by a tribal government. Yet despite these precedents and

because the Navajo Nation’s Supreme Court took a broad interpretation of the Navajo–United States Treaty of 1868, Means’s case was rejected. Navajo Chief Justice Robert Yazzie ruled that the language of this treaty and Means’s in-law relationship to the Navajo Nation allowed him to reject the precedent of *Oliphant* and *Duro* in this decision. Whether this represents groundwork for a potential reexamination of *Oliphant* at a later date remains to be seen.

Samuel Morgan

*See also* Occupation of Alcatraz Island; *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Plenary Power

Its name derived from the Latin term *plenus*, meaning “full,” plenary power is the full, complete, and unlimited power of Congress as granted under the Constitution. In practical terms, this power allows Congress to pass laws, levy taxes, wage wars, and hold in custody offenders of U.S. law. Although plenary power was intimated and exercised through earlier court cases, the Supreme Court first used the term in *Gibbons v. Ogden*, where the power of Congress to regulate interstate and foreign commerce was upheld (Wilkins and Lomawaima, 2001, 102). Many scholars view the exercise of such expansive federal power against the right of every citizen for equal protection under the law as the central tension of the U.S. government.

Legal scholar Nicholas Johnson argues that, while the “majoritarian perspective” typically





views the “shifting boundary between rights and powers” as “unproblematic or even attractive” (i.e., as a sign of a reflective, organic democracy), the fluidity of this boundary is viewed differently from the minority perspective. He notes that critical race theorists have long critiqued this majoritarian perspective as a barrier to racial reform arguing, “the dilemma and danger for minorities is that plenary power tethered merely by majoritarian preferences and necessities leave minorities simply to gamble on the direction of future swings in the mood of the majority” (Johnson, 1996, 1556). Johnson’s cogent critique of the implications of both fettered and unfettered plenary power for “minorities” seems particularly relevant to the impact of plenary power on American Indians.

While the exercise of plenary power in Indian affairs introduces the same rights–power paradox found in “minority affairs” discussed by Johnson (1996), there is an important difference: The pre- and extraconstitutional status of tribes places them outside the constitutionally defined “rights” discourse as it applies to states and enfranchised individuals (Wilkins, 1994, 355). As Wilkins notes, “the Bill of Rights . . . does not protect tribes or their members from congressional actions aimed at reducing tribal sovereignty, political rights, or aboriginal Indian lands” (1994, 354). Rather, the paradox for Indian tribes emerges through the tension between plenary power and sovereignty. American Indians exist in the precarious space between the congressional claim of an absolute and unlimited plenary power and treaty-defined rights to sovereignty that are greater than those of states but less than those of external nations. This tension is understood and theorized in American Indian law and policy as the concept of “irreconcilability” introduced by Ball (1987) in the seminal article, “Constitution, Court, Indian Tribes.” He writes:

[W]e claim that the Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be the supreme law of the land. But we also claim to recognize the sovereignty of Native American Nations, the original occupants of the land. These claims—one to jurisdictional monopoly, the other to jurisdictional multiplicity—are irreconcilable (Ball, 1987, 3).

Though they recognize the significance of this tension, Wilkins and Lomawaima (2001) maintain that this so-called irreconcilability remains only

when one presumes an unlimited and absolute definition of plenary power, begging the question: What is the actual extent of congressional power over Indian tribes?

Deloria and Lytle (1983) identify two sources of congressional power over Indian affairs: (1) Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution, which stipulates that Congress shall have the power to “regulate commerce with foreign nations . . . states . . . and *with the Indian tribes*,” [emphasis added], and (2) the “guardianship theory,” first suggested by Justice John Marshall in the landmark cases of *Johnson v. McIntosh* and *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, and subsequently conscripted into law by Justice Miller in *United States v. Kagama*. Deloria and Lytle contend, “taken together, these sources of power provide Congress with an almost omnipotent control over Indians” (1983, 40).

In contradistinction to this position, Wilkins and Lomawaima (2001) maintain that nothing in the Constitution provides for congressional power over tribes. They argue that the commerce clause empowers Congress only to regulate *in relation with* tribes, not over them. Also, instead of the “guardianship theory” cited by Deloria and Lytle, Wilkins and Lomawaima cite the treaty clause (Article 2, Section 2, cl. 2) as the most relevant source of congressional power. They maintain that, even though there is no explicit mention of tribes in the treaty clause, an implicit right operates since treaties “were the principal mechanism that linked tribes and the federal government,” a right that also distinguishes tribes from states (Wilkins and Lomawaima, 2001, 103). In addition to differences regarding the appropriate sources and scope of congressional power, Wilkins (1994) notes that there is considerable disagreement among scholars over whether plenary power is a necessary power that protects tribes or a patently antidemocratic practice that represents an abuse of power.

To investigate the matter further, Wilkins reviewed 107 federal court cases involving plenary power between 1886 and 1914—the period in American history when plenary power was exercised in the “most virulent and unabashed form” (Wilkins 1994, 350). Through this comprehensive study, Wilkins found three major categories of interpretation and practice regarding plenary power: (1) absolute, (2) exclusive, and, (3) preemptive. *Exclusive plenary power* refers to the exclusive legislative power of Congress to engage in treaty making with tribes or to recognize particular rights that Indians have





been deprived because of their extraconstitutional standing (Wilkins, 1994, 354, 355). *Absolute plenary power* refers to the exercise of power not limited by other textual constitutional provisions or other congressional objectives. *Preemptive power* is the congressional exercise of power that may preempt or supersede state law.

The era of plenary power examined by Wilkins commenced in 1886 with the Supreme Court's decision in *United States v. Kagama*. In this case, the defendant challenged the constitutionality of the Seven Major Crimes Act (23 Stat., 362, 385 [1885]), which authorized federal jurisdiction over "major crimes" (e.g., murder, rape, arson) in Indian Country. Despite the complete lack of constitutional authority, the Court ruled against Kagama, confirming federal jurisdiction over major crimes in Indian Country. The decision read:

[T]hese Indians are within the geographical limits of the United States. The soil and people within these limits are under the political control of the Government of the United States, or of the States of the Union . . . What authority the State governments may have to enact criminal laws for the Indians will be presently considered. But the power to organize territorial governments, and make laws for their inhabitants, arises not so much from . . . [the Commerce clause but] . . . from the ownership of the country in which the Territories are, and the right of exclusive sovereignty which must exist in the National Government, and can be found nowhere else (*United States v. Kagama*, 1885).

Wilkins and Lomawaima (2001) delineate several errors inherent in this analysis. Most notably, they cite the irrational logic exemplified by the Court's use of extraconstitutional and/or extralegal constructs (i.e., Doctrine of Discovery, wardship, and dependency) while completely disregarding the extraconstitutional status of Indian tribes, who, as internal sovereigns, were neither governed nor protected by the constitution.

The inauspicious introduction of absolute plenary power is offset by the last case of the era—*Perrin v. United States*—which intimates an end to such unlimited and abuses of power. The case involved the sale of liquor on lands ceded to South Dakota by the Yankton Sioux by a treaty in 1894. Pursuant to this agreement, the chiefs forbid the sale

of any liquor on ceded lands. After the cession, the U.S. government challenged the tribes' authority to enforce the terms of this agreement. In a change of tide, the Court upheld this initial provision, finding that plenary power should "not go beyond what is reasonably essential for [the protection of tribes], and that, to be effective, its exercise must not be purely arbitrary but founded on some reasonable basis." Deloria and Lytle explain the decision as follows:

[The Court held that] the presence of Indians, with a peculiar status and a negotiated consideration for the cession of their lands, imposed a unique federal servitude on these lands so that, even though they were not wholly within the jurisdiction of South Dakota insofar as location, private title, and political independence from the federal government, they nevertheless were federal lands for the purposes described and would remain so until an affirmative congressional enactment released them from this servitude (1983, 73, 74).

Wilkins (1994) notes, however, that, while Perrin represents a victory of sorts, the Court still deferred to Congress to determine what counts as an "arbitrary" and/or "reasonable" basis for decision making.

*Kagama* and *Perrin* demarcate the beginning and end of an era when plenary power was interpreted in as many different ways as there were court cases. In the final analysis, the majority of scholars view both the preemptive and exclusive exercise of plenary power as authorized under the Constitution but criticize the absolute interpretations of plenary power as "fundamentally wrong" and in "violation of the treaty and trust relationship between the United States and Indian tribes" (Wilkins and Lomawaima, 2001, 115). Consequently, Wilkins and Lomawaima call for the U.S. government to honor the Constitution and treaty relationships and "resolve to use plenary power only in its exclusive and preemptive senses and explicitly . . . reject and renounce the unlimited/absolute definition as a violation of the democratic principles of enumerated powers, limited government, consent of the governed and the rule of law" (Wilkins and Lomawaima, 2001, 116).

Sandy Grande

See also *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*; *United States v. Kagama*.





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## Praying Villages of Massachusetts

Beginning in 1651, the Massachusetts Bay colony embarked on a mission to "civilize" and Christianize the Native peoples of New England. They attempted to accomplish this through the establishment of what came to be known as praying villages or praying towns. Many historians believe that these early settlements set the precedent for the reservation system, which came into prominence nearly 200 years later.

From the time it received its charter in 1629, one of the primary goals of the Massachusetts Bay Company was to spread Christianity and English culture. Indeed, the colony's original seal featured an Indian and the motto, "Come Over and Help Us." In the colony's formative years, however, there was little missionary activity. The Puritan settlers were more interested in simply subsisting and carving out a viable colony. Furthermore, they had first to consolidate their power and establish military dominance in the region, which was more or less accomplished after the Pequot War of 1637 and the submission of the Massachusett Indians in the mid-1640s.

In 1646, John Eliot began a rigorous campaign of proselytizing to the tribes of New England, including the Massachusett, Nipmuck, Pawtucket, and the Pennacook Confederacy. The success of this initial foray was limited, leading Eliot and the colony's

leadership to believe that the Indians first had to be immersed in English culture before they could be converted. To accomplish this, they established proto-reservations, or praying villages, where the Native people could be isolated and taught European customs. The first such village was Natick, which was soon followed by numerous others. By the outbreak of King Philip's War in 1675, there were fourteen such missions.

The Massachusetts Bay government set land aside for the praying villages and maintained control over them. Each reservation was laid out in an orderly manner, with English-style structures and streets spread across the village. The Native inhabitants also followed European subsistence patterns, tilling the surrounding fields and tending to livestock. In terms of government, the villages' adult male populations elected their own local leaders and drafted legislation. All laws and ordinances passed by the villagers, however, were subject to the approval of a superintendent who was appointed by the Massachusetts Bay General Court.

A staunch assimilationist, John Eliot insisted that the villages' inhabitants throw off their Indian culture. Native dress and religion, tribalism, polygamy, and powwows were strictly prohibited, while the European conception of private property was hammered home. A system of punishments and incentives was enacted: Those who transgressed or violated the villages' codes were fined; those who exhibited "good" behavior and made progress in adopting white ways were rewarded. This crash course in "civilization" was followed by a relentless effort to Christianize the Indians. Eliot worked with Indian converts to translate the Bible into Algonquian. He also wrote *The Indian Primer* and other texts outlining the cornerstones of Puritanical theology.

The success of the praying villages was limited. Most New England Indians shunned the missions and opted to keep their distance from the intruding non-Native world. The minority who did join the villages were from the most weakened tribes, such as the Massachusetts and Nipmucks. Their world had been decimated by disease and the English conquest of their lands. For these "praying Indians," the adoption of European culture seemed to be the only alternative. Nevertheless, despite the best efforts of Eliot and others, they remained caught between Puritan society and their former tribes, never fully accepted by either.

When King Philip's War broke out in 1675, many of the Indians in the praying villages sided with the





Wampanoag sachem, Metacom (King Philip), and his pan-Indian alliance. Others remained neutral or even fought alongside the colonists. Regardless of where they stood in the conflict, all New England Indians lost out once the war came to an end in 1676. Most of those who survived the bloody ordeal were pushed out of their traditional lands and summarily shipped off to isolated reservations or the West Indies. The colony's General Court eliminated all but three praying villages. The villages that remained were overrun and eventually absorbed by land-hungry whites in a few years. By the turn of the century, Eliot's initial experiment of assimilation and Christianization was just a fading memory.

Bradley Shreve

See also Assimilation; Metacom and King Philip's War.

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## Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe v. Morton

The case of *Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe v. Morton* brought to the courts' attention the fact that not all cases regarding Indian water policy necessarily involved water for agriculture. Early in the twentieth century, the Winters doctrine had set out the principle that Indian tribes had a reserved right to enough water to fulfill the purpose of their reservation, but that purpose had been almost exclusively defined by subsequent court decisions and Bureau of Indian Affairs policy as irrigated agriculture. Irrigation also was foremost in the minds of officials of the Bureau of Reclamation as they sought to develop the West's water resources for the benefit of non-Indian farmers.

In 1902, passage of the Reclamation Act, sponsored by Congressman Francis Newlands of Nevada, began the modern age of western water development. The first project funded by the new apparatus, devised by and named after Newlands

himself, was the first case in the new century in which Indians had to deal with a massive loss of water rights due to non-Indian water development (Wilkinson, 1992). The construction of the Newlands Reclamation Project in California's Central Valley, the first large-scale attempt by the federal government to subsidize irrigated agriculture in the West, involved diverting much of the area's water, including that of Pyramid Lake in Nevada, which is sacred to the Pyramid Lake Paiutes. Pyramid Lake, completely within the tribe's reservation boundaries and the source of their livelihood by fishing, became a shadow of its former self. The Newlands Project also entailed an immense construction on the Truckee River near Fallon, Nevada. The original proposal intended to divert the waters of the Carson River to feed the project, but, when those waters proved insufficient, reclamation officials turned their eyes toward the Truckee.

The construction of Derby Dam, about thirty-five miles upstream from Pyramid Lake, reduced the river's flow by half, which both lowered the level of the lake by about seventy feet and permitted the buildup of silt. This led to an insufficient flow to prevent the salination of the lake, a factor in the death of the Lahontan cutthroat trout, the primary source of livelihood for the area's Paiutes. Consideration of the lake and its associated wetlands as resources in their own right, apart from agriculture, was not something the courts or the Department of the Interior were prepared to accept. By the late 1960s, the Secretary of the Interior issued regulations regarding how much water could be diverted from Pyramid Lake, but by that time the fishery and wetlands were so seriously damaged that it would take a complete change in course to restore the tribe's asset.

In the case of *Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe v. Morton*, a federal district court ruled that the allocation of water by the Interior Department violated the government's trust responsibility toward the Indians (Fixico, 1988). The court cited the trust responsibility of the federal government as requiring it to protect Pyramid Lake for the use of the tribe. The case pointed out the often contradictory nature of government policy in the area of water rights. While one federal agency within the Department of the Interior, the Bureau of Reclamation, was developing non-Indian water resources with no attention to Indian needs, the Bureau of Indian Affairs was ineffectively "advocating" for those Indian needs. In the end, it took the cooperation of environmentalist





groups, reacting in response to the highly toxic materials leached out as a by-product of Newlands irrigation, to get the diversions from the Truckee River reduced. Unfortunately, this has had the unfortunate side effect of concentrating the leached toxins in the water that remained.

After fourteen years of negotiations, the California–Nevada Interstate Water Compact was signed in 1968 to allocate waters in Lake Tahoe and the Truckee, Carson, and Walker River basins. The agreement served the interests of local water user groups in Nevada and California but infringed, once again, on the water rights of the Pyramid Lake Paiutes. Eventually, the compact of 1968 was amended. The California and Nevada state legislatures approved the new version in 1971, but Congress refused to ratify it (Haller, 1989). It was not until 1990 that parties in the region were able to reach agreement on the Truckee–Carson–Pyramid Lake Water Rights Settlement, which ensured enough water flow into Pyramid Lake to resurrect the damaged wetlands, which are so integral to the Pyramid Lake Paiute identity and lifeways.

Steven L. Danver

See also Water Rights; *Winters v. United States*.

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## Radiation Exposure Compensation Act

The Radiation Exposure Compensation Act (RECA), passed by Congress in 1990, provides payments to people who contracted certain cancers and other serious diseases as a result of their exposure to radiation released during aboveground nuclear weapons tests or as the result of their exposure to radiation during employment in underground uranium mines in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico,

Utah, or Wyoming between 1947 and 1971. Many of the Native Americans, mostly Navajos, applying for aid have had their requests denied because of difficulties with the strict rules for aid.

The dangers of radiation were not well understood by the public during the early years of the Cold War, although uranium was discovered to be radioactive in 1896. Uranium is a naturally occurring, silvery-white metallic element that is needed to create nuclear fission. Exposure to radiation from uranium can occur in various ways. The breakdown of uranium products creates radon progeny. These can attach to dust particles and, if workers inhale the dust, the particles lodge in their lungs, where they release intense doses of radiation.

People working with uranium need protective clothing to shield their bodies from radiation damage that causes cancer and kidney damage. Additionally, exposure to various agents in the mining community, such as silica and other dusts, can cause nonmalignant respiratory diseases such as pulmonary fibrosis, cor pulmonale related to fibrosis, silicosis, and pneumoconiosis. Until the 1970s, miners typically wore only short-sleeved T-shirts, denim pants, and helmets. In that decade, mine managers started taking some precautions against radiation exposure.

RECA designated responsibility for establishing regulations for the submission and payment of claims to the Attorney General. In May 1992, the Department of Justice began accepting claims and making payments. Navajo workers formed about a fourth of the workforce in the uranium mines and mills of western Colorado and New Mexico, eastern Utah, and Arizona. However, they have not received a fourth of RECA benefits.

A substantial number of Navajos do not have a strong command of English, preventing them from understanding the RECA law and applying for benefits. Additionally, RECA regulations have been criticized for being unnecessarily stringent and unreasonably burdensome. Workers were required to provide proof that they were exposed to specified minimum levels of radiation, set at 200 Working Level Months. There is no scientific evidence that workers who were exposed to less than 200 months of radiation are safe from radiation-related ailments.

Uranium workers experience lung cancer at a rate that is twenty-eight times the normal rate. Despite this, the first version of RECA excluded lung cancer patients if they smoked more than one pack





of cigarette products per year. Even Navajos who used tobacco for ceremonial purposes thus were banned from receiving compensation. The government also required documentation of marital status for wives of miners to get benefits but only accepted state-issued marriage certificates. Many Navajos do not have such documents, preventing widows of uranium miners from collecting benefits. Compounding the anger of the uranium workers and their relatives, the federal government did not sufficiently fund RECA. A “downwinder” (a person exposed to radiation during aboveground nuclear tests) was designated to receive \$50,000, an on-site participant in testing was awarded \$75,000, and a uranium miner received \$100,000. However, the federal government issued IOUs and partial payments instead of full cash payments to those who qualified for aid.

To lobby the government for assistance, the Navajos have formed a number of organizations, including Diné Citizens Against Ruining Our Environment, the Eastern Navajo Agency Uranium Workers, the Northern Arizona Navajo Downwinders, the Utah Navajo Downwinders, and the Navajo Nation Dependents of Uranium Workers. Women and children who lived in uranium camps with their miner husbands and fathers were also exposed to radiation. Many of the wives have developed cancers and respiratory problems. The children also suffer from a high rate of birth defects. In response to Navajo complaints, the federal government amended RECA in 2000 to add new claimant categories, provide additional compensable illnesses, lower the radiation exposure threshold, and remove lifestyle restrictions.

Caryn E. Neumann

*See also* Mining and Contemporary Environmental Problems; Uranium Mining.

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## Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples

In the wake of the Oka crisis of 1990, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (Progressive Conservative) established the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) in August 1991. What began as a dispute over the expansion of a municipal golf course onto sacred lands between the town of Oka and the Kahnésatake Mohawk Reserve resulted in a seventy-nine-day, \$500-million standoff between the Mohawks, the Quebec Provincial Police, and the Canadian Armed Forces. Concerned that similar events could erupt in other parts of Canada, the prime minister approached former Chief Justice of the Supreme Court Brian Dickson to prepare a report to determine whether a royal commission on aboriginal affairs should be established to investigate the issues. While praising aboriginal leaders for their forthright interface with federal officials in their efforts to solve the myriad problems plaguing aboriginal communities, Dickson’s final report indicated that most aboriginal people were frustrated and disappointed with their treatment at the hands of provincial and federal authorities. Dickson recommended creating a royal commission to deal specifically with aboriginal issues as a central component of the national agenda. Although the commission began with high hopes, time has revealed that it has failed to live up to its potential.

Dickson further recommended that the established commission of inquiry investigate the evolution of the relationship among aboriginal peoples (Indian, Inuit, and Métis), the Canadian government, and Canadian society as a whole, to examine any and all issues that it deemed relevant to any, or all, aboriginal peoples in Canada. It was expected also to propose specific solutions, rooted in domestic and international experience, to resolve the existing problems confronting aboriginal peoples. Following the establishment of the RCAP, commissioners and federal officials determined that the realities of aboriginal life also needed to be understood by all Canadians prior to the formulation of effective solutions and that, until this education process took place, the renewal of the relationship among the “partners in Confederation” would be overly complicated. In their attempts to establish an effective mandate, the commissioners sought guidance from, and met with, members of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), the Native Council of Canada (NCC), the Métis National Council (MNC),





the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), the National Association of Friendship Centres, and the Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC).

The RCAP commissioners included as co-chairs the Honorable Rene Dussault, Justice of the Quebec Court of Appeal, and Georges Erasmus, former grand chief of the Assembly of First Nations. Filling out the commission were Paul Chartrand, Métis lawyer and academic; the Honorable Bertha Wilson, the first woman appointee to the Supreme Court of Canada; Mary Sillett, founding member and former president of Pauktuutit, the Inuit Women's Association; Viola Robinson, former president of the Native Council of Canada; and Peter Meekison, academic and former deputy minister of Federal and Intergovernmental Affairs for the government of Alberta.

The RCAP was concerned with demythologizing an array of preconceived notions about aboriginal people in order to build a new relationship that would aid in the development of aboriginal self-government. This would help aboriginal people to regain control of the direction of their everyday lives. Commissioners traveled throughout Canada during the public consultation phase of the process. Gaining access to people was important. Commissioners especially wanted the RCAP to be easily accessible to those people wishing to participate from remote areas of Canada. As a result, four aboriginal languages were used, and a special telephone line was also established to help secure these opinions. In all, the RCAP met 100 times, had 178 days of hearings, recorded 76,000 pages of transcripts, generated 356 research studies, and published four special reports and two commentaries on self-government. It cost close to \$60 million. The final report was a six-volume set consisting of 3,536 pages dealing with myriad issues as diverse as justice, land claims, relocation of the Inuit, and health, to name a few (Belanger and Newhouse, 2004, 165).

The RCAP's recommendations were guided by five key principles commissioners were certain could enable the rebuilding of aboriginal life in Canada: (1) Aboriginal nations have to be reconstituted; (2) a process must be established for the assumption of governing powers by aboriginal nations; (3) there must be a fundamental reallocation of lands and resources; (4) aboriginal people need education and crucial skills for governance and economic self-reliance; and (5) economic development (or lack thereof) must be addressed if the

existing rates of poverty and despondency of lives defined by unemployment and welfare are to change. The commissioners envisaged a new Canadian partnership based on mutual recognition, one in which aboriginal and nonaboriginal people would "acknowledge and relate to one another as equals, co-existing side by side and governing themselves according to their own laws and institutions."

As such, a sizable body of literature was devoted to the exigencies of aboriginal self-government that included twenty-five regional case studies, each focusing on a specific aboriginal nation. Some aboriginal academics and politicians saw the RCAP vision as a pooling of existing sovereignties requiring the formation of these varied groups into a unified entity in order to exercise their right to self-government. In all, those who made presentations to the RCAP considered self-government as one of the most important issues facing Native communities today. The RCAP insisted that Canadians take a proactive role by first sincerely acknowledging the injustices of the past. They also stressed the need to forge a profound and unambiguous commitment to establishing a new relationship for the future.

The RCAP was in the midst of its public consultation phase when, in 1993, the Jean Chrétien-led Liberal Party ousted the Progressive Conservative (PC) party from office. Even though PC leader Mulroney commissioned the RCAP, Chrétien and the Liberals chose to see the RCAP to its final report. Published in 1996, the RCAP forcefully argued that the right of aboriginal peoples to govern themselves is recognized in both international and domestic law. The principles of mutual recognition, mutual respect, sharing, and mutual responsibility helped define "a process that can provide the solutions to many of the difficulties afflicting relations among Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people . . . When taken in sequence, the four principles form a complete whole, each playing an equal role in developing a balanced societal relationship. Relations that embody these principles are, in the broadest sense of the word, partnerships."

In January 1998, the federal government issued its comprehensive policy response to the RCAP. Entitled *Gathering Strength: Canada's Aboriginal Action Plan*, the strategy set out a policy framework for future government action based on four objectives. Stressing the renewal of the aboriginal-Canadian relationship, the government followed





with an apology for the residential school debacle and the establishment of a \$350-million “healing fund” to address those abuses. *Gathering Strength* also promoted the preservation and promotion of aboriginal languages; the increased public understanding of aboriginal traditions and issues; the inclusion of aboriginal partners in policy and program design, development, and delivery; government willingness to explore how existing systems might be improved; and addressing the needs of urban aboriginal people more effectively. Some of the major recommendations included:

- Legislation, including a new Royal Proclamation stating Canada’s commitment to a new relationship and companion legislation setting out a treaty process and recognition of aboriginal nations and governments.
- Recognition of an aboriginal order of government, subject to the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, with authority over matters related to the good government and welfare of aboriginal peoples and their territories.
- Replacement of the federal Department of Indian Affairs with two departments, one to implement the new relationship with aboriginal nations and one to provide services for nonself-governing communities.
- Creation of an aboriginal parliament.
- Expansion of the aboriginal land and resource base.

Of the 470 recommendations contained in the RCAP’s final report, recommendations that were the most profound and comprehensive ever made by a royal commission concerning the structure and functioning of Canadian society, none have as yet been endorsed by the Liberals or operationalized by the Canadian government. To date, aboriginal leaders and academics regularly refer to the RCAP findings as innovative and progressive. Historically, several royal commissions have been struck to investigate Indian affairs in addition to numerous parliamentary committees. Nevertheless, one decade after its release, the RCAP report is in danger of becoming yet another missed opportunity to improve the relationship between the federal government and one of its “partners in Confederation.”

Yale D. Belanger

See also Language and Language Renewal.

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## Standing Bear v. Crook

The *Standing Bear vs. Crook* court case began with the last request of a dying son and ended with a groundbreaking legal decision. For the first time, Native Americans were considered human beings under U.S. law.

In 1877, the U.S. government told Chief Standing Bear (Machunazha) and his Poncas that they must move from their Nebraska reservation to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). The government sent several tribal leaders to examine their new land, promising the Ponca that they could return to Nebraska if they were dissatisfied. The chiefs rejected the land as being barren, full of rocks, and unsuitable for farming. However, they were told they had no choice; the tribe was moving.

Many Ponca died en route. By the end of 1878, only 430 of the 710 Poncas who had been sent to the Indian Territory were still alive; the rest had been lost to starvation and disease. One of the last to die was Standing Bear’s sixteen-year-old son. He asked that his body be buried with those of his ancestors. Standing Bear promised, and, in January 1879, he headed north with a small burial party. They traveled by hidden trails and reached the Omaha Indian Reservation before soldiers caught up with them.





Standing Bear, a Ponca chieftain, filed suit against U.S. policy which ultimately resulted in the United States legally recognizing Native Americans as human beings. (Library of Congress)

General George Crook was ordered to arrest and return the Ponca. When he saw them, Crook was saddened by their pitiable condition and impressed with their stoicism. He contacted the *Omaha Daily Herald's* assistant editor, Thomas Henry Tibbles, and enlisted his help. Crook believed his removal order was cruel but felt powerless to do anything about it himself. He encouraged Tibbles to use his newspaper to "... fight against those who are robbing these helpless people" (Brown, 1970, 340–341).

Tibbles was able to enlist the help of two prominent attorneys, A. J. Poppleton and J. L. Webster. Using the Fourteenth Amendment as the basis of their case, they persuaded Judge Elmer S. Dundy to grant an application for a writ of habeas corpus. Webster quoted from the amendment, which states that all *persons* born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the United States and cannot be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due

process of law. Webster inferred that the Indians must then be citizens since they were born "on our soil." "If they are not citizens," he said, "what are they? Are they wild animals, deer to be chased by every hound?" (*Omaha Herald*, 1879, 8).

The second day of the trial climaxed with Standing Bear's testimony: "You see me standing here. Where do you think I come from? From the water, the woods or where? God made me and he put me on my land. But, I was ordered to stand up and leave my land. . . ? When I got down there it seemed as if I was in a big fire. One-hundred and fifty-eight of my people were burned up; now I stand before you. I came away to save my wife and children and friends. I never want to go back there again. I want to go back to my old reservation to live there and be buried in the land of my fathers" (*Omaha Herald*, 1879, 8).

The trial ended with Judge Dundy declaring Standing Bear "a person under the law" and thus entitled to basic human rights (*Omaha Republican*, 1879, 1). When the news reached the Ponca still in Oklahoma, Standing Bear's brother, Big Snake, decided to test the law and headed north with thirty of his followers. However, Dundy had written the law to apply only in the case of Standing Bear, so orders were sent to arrest Big Snake. He was bayoneted and killed while resisting arrest.

The first attempt by Indians to fulfill the high hopes created by Judge Dundy's decision had ended in the tragic death of an innocent man. Standing Bear, who had started the entire process by his simple desire to return his dead son to the land of his birth, now had a brother to bury as well. It had only been a few months since newspapers across the country had called for citizenship rights for peaceful Indians, but it was not until 1924, forty-five years later, that those citizenship rights, which had seemed so attainable in the spring of 1879, would finally be given to the First Americans.

Hugh J. Reilly

See also Jackson, Helen Hunt; LaFlesche, Susette Tibbles.

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### ***Tee-Hit-Ton v. United States***

The United States purchased Alaska from Russia through the Treaty of 1867, but this treaty made no mention of the Natives or their land rights. The Tee-Hit-Ton band of the Tlingit Indians inhabited lands in Alaska that would later be established as the Tongass National Forest. In 1951, Congress sold timber from the Tongass National Forest to a private lumber company, and the Tee-Hit-Ton sued the United States for compensation under the Fifth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution. The Supreme Court decided against the Tee-Hit-Ton, affirming that, since Congress had never acknowledged their land rights, none existed.

The first Russian settlers of present-day Alaska arrived at Three Saints Bay in 1784. Tensions between these early settlers and Native peoples quickly arose over cultural differences, hunting and fishing rights, and land tenure. By the early nineteenth century, American traders were moving into Alaska to establish communities on lands occupied by indigenous groups such as the Eskimos, Aleuts, and Tlingits. Alaska is comprised of 365 million acres that contain a small percentage of inhabitable land but numerous natural resources. As these resources became known to non-Natives, white settlement increased, along with a growing call for statehood and the relentless usurpation of Native land. During the gold rush in 1898, for instance, non-Natives successfully filed claims for title to Native lands, causing severe Native displacement. Moreover, the diversion of streams and the disturbance of their natural environment caused Native people to lose access to and use of important natural resources. Slowly, Native rights developed into a legal issue.

In 1947, Congress passed a resolution instructing the Secretary of the Interior to contract for the

sale of timber from land in and near the Tongass National Forest, "notwithstanding any claim of possessory rights" (61 Stat. 920). The resolution mandated that the receipts from the timber sale be placed in a special Treasury account until the Native land rights issues were settled. On August 20, 1951, the Secretary of Agriculture contracted to a private company all marketable timber from a section in the forest. The Tee-Hit-Tons filed suit claiming aboriginal title to the land and a proprietary interest in the timber harvested and sold.

The primary issue in the *Tee-Hit-Ton* case was whether aboriginal land ownership conferred protection under the Fifth Amendment. A Court of Claims ruled that, while the Tee-Hit-Ton were an identifiable group of American Indians and possessed "original Indian title or Indian right of occupancy," their title had lost its legal standing since it was not explicitly mentioned in the Treaty of 1867. On these grounds, the Court of Claims dismissed the *Tee-Hit-Ton* case (128 Ct. Cl., at 92, 120F).

The Tee-Hit-Tons then appealed their case to the Supreme Court, which heard the appeal. Justice Reed delivered the final opinion denying the Tee-Hit-Ton claims. The Court made several important statements in this denial of Native land rights. The first was that Congress never recognized any permanent rights of Alaska Natives, a fact underscored by the 1947 timber sale. If Congress never affirmed the Tee-Hit-Tons' rights to occupy the forest section where the timber was cut, then it did not acknowledge Native title to this land. The Tee-Hit-Tons possessed aboriginal title only and did not qualify for compensation for the harvested timber. Congress's sale of the timber also implicitly denied Native possessory rights to timber on this land. An important second point was the Court's confirmation of the legal concept of the conqueror's sovereignty over, and ownership of, Native lands. Justice Reed wrote that "every American schoolboy knows that the savage tribes of this continent were deprived of their ancestral ranges by force and that, even when the Indians ceded millions of acres by treaty, it was not a sale but the conqueror's will that deprived them of their land" (348 U.S. 272 [1955] at 289–290). The Court supported this statement with previous land cases and quoted from *Johnson v. McIntosh* (8 Wheat. 543, p. 587) "that discovery gave an exclusive right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy, either by purchase or by conquest." The Supreme Court determined that Indian occupancy can be extinguished by Congress unilaterally and without recompense.





The Supreme Court heard the *Tee-Hit-Ton* case in the 1950s, at the zenith of the termination policy. Since *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock* (1903), the Court had supported congressional regulation of tribal domestic affairs but had allowed Native claims to be filed under the Fifth Amendment. The Court's decision was handed down prior to the admission of Alaska to statehood. When the Alaska Statehood Act passed on July 7, 1958, it formally repudiated any land rights held by Alaska Natives or those held in trust for them by the United States.

The *Tee-Hit-Ton* decision set a disturbing legal precedent for future cases that concerned property issues and Native sovereignty. The case implicitly permitted congressional confiscation of lands and resources, whether reservations were created by executive order or through treaty. Three years after the *Tee-Hit-Ton* decision, federal Indian law (414 U.S. 661, 670, 32–43, 583–645, 675–687, 1958) established some fundamental protections of Indian possessory and property rights with regard to aboriginal land title. These issues were significantly resolved according to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, which provided that 44 million acres of land and \$962 million be allocated for Alaska Natives, in exchange for the extinguishment of all indigenous claims. The land and monies were conveyed to Native peoples through regional and village corporations.

Susan Sánchez-Barnett

See also Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*; Russians, in the Arctic/Northwest; Termination.

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## Termination

The positive experiences of some American Indians during the post–World War II era living off the reservations, receiving a regular salary, and having control of personal finances led to a call by some of the more assimilated American Indian people, supported by much of the non-Indian population, to "free" the Native American from the reservation sys-

tem. Accordingly, such a move would "free" the federal government from its trust responsibility to American Indian peoples.

Conservative members of Congress, unhappy with the reforms enacted during the Indian New Deal, worked to have them rescinded even before Roosevelt left office. The members wanted to redefine Indian policy and terminate federal relations with some tribes. Their sentiments reflected the national mood of intolerance toward cultural diversity, as well as a desire to trim the federal bureaucracy created by the Roosevelt administration. They saw withdrawing services to Native Americans as one way to cut federal spending.

Some in Congress determined that it was in the best interest of Native Americans to phase out tribal governments and any guardian responsibilities of the federal government. Thus Congress would remove its protection from Native lands and encourage business leaders to help Native Americans develop their own resources. These same congresspersons maintained that Indians would assimilate faster into the population if they owned their lands outright and were allowed to trade freely. This approach would also open the way for states to tax Indian lands so that Native Americans could help pay for public services (Trafzer, 2000, 389).

The Indian Claims Commission Act of 1946, which was part of the termination movement, turned out to be beneficial for the Native Americans. Under the provisions of this Act, Native Americans were allowed to file claims against the federal government for lands that had been illegally seized. Even though Native Americans could receive monetary compensation, no amount of money could make up for the upheaval and disruption to their way of life. Through the seizure of sacred lands and traditional hunting areas, the deeply held and sacred values of the tribes were disrupted and their usual means of support destroyed. However, compensation did provide Native Americans with funds that enabled them to get their economies moving, at least to some degree.

With conservatism growing strongly in the government and society, John Collier's successors, Commissioners of Indian Affairs William Brophy and John Nichols, were not able to withstand the pressure to roll back change. Conservative congresspersons and Dillon S. Myer, chosen by President Harry S. Truman in 1950 to head the Bureau of Indian Affairs, favored termination. They were able to push through their agenda.





During World War II, Myer had been the director of the War Relocation Authority, which had forcibly removed Japanese Americans from their homes into internment camps. Myer had also been responsible for managing the rural relocation of thousands of people. Throughout the war, Myer maintained the position that Japanese Americans and cultural groups should be assimilated into the dominant society, thereby reducing racial conflicts.

It is not surprising that, when Myer became commissioner, he would act to have Native Americans assimilated into U.S. society. Toward this end, he launched a major counterrevolution against John Collier's policies. Myer believed that a Native American culture was nonexistent and that it was wrong for the government to encourage Native languages, arts, literature, and governments. He had little interest in cultural preservation programs and little concern for cultural pluralism, and he ordered an end to these programs.

Myer played down the role of Indian Day Schools, especially those that were on or near the reservations. He perceived that these schools made too many accommodations to the culture and the customs of the Native American tribes. Myer wanted boarding schools to be enlarged so that more children could be taken from the reservations and their parents. He wanted students to be taught the regular class subjects so that their assimilation would be hastened.

After the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower as president in 1952, Myer realized he would have no place in the new administration. He then offered his services to Glenn Emmons, the new commissioner for Indian affairs. In this capacity he helped draft a document for Congress endorsing termination. Through Myer's work and influence, the Bureau of Indian Affairs had already advocated termination as the "new" national Indian policy by the time that Emmons took over the position of commissioner of Indian affairs in 1953. It is of interest that neither Myer nor Emmons considered it necessary or appropriate to seek Native American advice in formulating the new policy.

Termination was a policy designed by politicians to achieve the withdrawal of federal services and funds that had been promised in treaties, laws, and agreements. Assimilationists were in the ascendancy again, and Congress passed legislation to desegregate Indian communities from mainstream American culture (Fixico, 1991). The administrators implemented the policy quickly before Native Amer-

icans had time to respond to the new threat. It would appear that Emmons had his own agenda in supporting termination. He was a former banker from New Mexico, a state with a large Native American population. Many business interests in the state were eager to reopen reservation lands. Emmons and Senator Arthur V. Watkins of Utah, chair of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, championed termination as a way of abolishing the tax-exempt status of tribes. Conservative congresspersons chaired the committees on Indian affairs in both houses. They spent time and energy to move a resolution quickly through Congress. On August 1, 1953, Congress unanimously passed House Concurrent Resolution 108.

The thrust of the resolution was that Indians would be subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as other Americans. The resolution abolished the status of Native peoples as wards and listed tribes in various states that were prepared to have federal services ended. Although House Concurrent Resolution 108 was not in itself law, it had the full support of Emmons and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and it marked the beginning of an official congressional termination policy.

The Federally Impacted Areas Aid Act (20 U.S.C. 236), passed by Congress in 1951, was the second act—the first being the Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934—designed to aid Native American education in public schools. The Impacted Aid Act assisted school districts that had a reduced tax base because of federally owned land, that is, it provided monies to schools responsible for educating children from armed service bases so that the local schools would not have to sustain an unfair burden. It also provided monies for the education of Native Americans. With this increased funding, local schools now saw the Native American student as fiscally desirable.

In spite of the Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934 and the Impacted Aid Act, it was evident that the federal government would continue to play a primary role in the funding of Native education. The federal-Indian trust relationship, the statutes passed by Congress to maintain that relationship, and the federal funding required to execute the responsibilities in Native education ensured that the federal government would continue to be involved. For their part, the Native communities were concerned with the degree of control that the federal government exerted through the maintenance of its responsibilities (AIPRC, 1976, 167–170).





In the early days of the Impacted Aid Act and its amendments, the states officially were required to make a choice between the Johnson O'Malley or Impact Aid. The Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934 provided supplemental funds to support education programs for Indian students attending public school and for the culturally related and supplementary academic needs of Indian children attending public schools. The Impacted Aid Act was amended in 1958 to allow state school systems to collect both through the Impact Aid Act for the basic support of schools and through the Johnson O'Malley Act for the support of the special education needs of Indian students.

Debate in the federal government resulted in the passage of six termination bills in 1953. In the course of only two weeks, both houses of Congress passed Public Law 280. The president signed the law, but he noted that Congress had not included a provision asking for Native consent to the law. The law placed Indian lands in Minnesota, Wisconsin, California, Nebraska, and Oregon under criminal and civil jurisdiction of the states. The law also invited other states to assume jurisdiction over Indian lands (Trafzer, 2000, 390–392). As a result, states were to assume responsibility for the education of Native American children.

In 1954, Congress passed the Klamath Termination Act. As a result, in 1958 approximately 77 percent of the Klamaths voted to terminate and receive a one-time per-capita payment of \$43,000. The 23 percent who voted to retain their Klamath status in 1973 voted to withdraw from the tribe and receive a payment of \$173,000. Even though Klamaths had terminated their sovereign relationship with the federal government, they were still identified as Indians. The termination did not work out. The Klamath tribe found that it did not have the infrastructure to function successfully in the changed economic conditions. In 1975 the Klamaths readopted their tribal status, and in 1978 Congress recognized the Klamaths and restored their status (Trafzer, 2000, 393–395).

In 1961, the Menominee tribe of Wisconsin was selected by the federal government for release from its governmental ties under the Termination Act. This termination was a disaster for the tribe. As a result of misunderstanding the terms of the Act, members of the tribe failed to invest the money they received or plan for a future without regular subsidy from the government. The tribe quickly used its cash reserves and was left without resources to satisfy

basic needs and continue education services. When the Menominee did not receive money regularly, as was the custom, poverty and then diseases ravaged the tribe. As conditions worsened, the tribe sold much of its prime lands along the rivers and surrounding areas and left itself without resources (Trafzer, 2000, 394).

In all, about seventy tribes were part of the termination era policies. The Menominees of Wisconsin had previously experienced quite a high level of economic development. Termination brought disaster to the economy and health of the tribe. They experienced the effects of tuberculosis as well as a rapidly increasing infant mortality. When the Menominees experienced threats to their power and self-determination, they formed the group Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Shareholders (DRUMS) to reverse the effects of termination. President Richard M. Nixon signed the Menominee Restoration Act December 22, 1973 (87 Stat730, 25 U.S.C. 903 et seq.), restoring most of the reservation to the tribe and recognized them as a tribe. Thus began the end of termination.

Another outcome of the Termination Act was the relocation of many other tribes to urban areas. This relocation also proved disastrous, as many Native Americans had great difficulty adjusting to their new surroundings. When they did not adjust to life in the city, they returned to their lands only to find that they were greatly reduced in size. Tribes had been forced to sell large tracts of land, as they needed money for survival. It did not take too long for the government and the tribes to recognize that the termination program, as it was passed and implemented, was a failure (Reyhner and Eder, 1994, 52).

Besides amounting to a failure, the policies of the termination era were in conflict with the existing body of federal Indian law. In 1948, Felix S. Cohen, in the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, had consolidated this body of law, which had set the groundwork for interactions between the federal government and the Native Americans. Beginning with the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 108, termination was specified as federal policy for Indian tribes. From that point until the early 1970s, the drive for termination was maintained by the decentralization policy of the federal government, a desire to open up Indian lands, a desire for Native Americans to be assimilated, and a wish to cut back on social programs. In order not to emphasize the discrepancies between new legislation and previous





laws, the BIA simply revised Cohen's 1948 book, deleting or changing sections that were in contradiction with new legislation. The bureau included new opinions to support new policies. The final move was to issue a new edition of Cohen's book in 1972 without mention of any previous editions. This version was and continues to be a highly regarded legal reference (Kickingbird and Charleston, 1991, 16).

Jeanne Eder

*See also* Cohen, Felix; Indian Claims Commission; Indian Reorganization Act; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Relocation.

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## Trade and Intercourse Acts

The first Trade and Intercourse Act of July 22, 1790, was enacted "to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes." Indian historian Francis Paul Prucha writes of this legislation:

Continuing the pattern set in the Ordinance of 1786 and earlier colonial legislation, the law first of all provided for the licensing of traders and established penalties for trading without a license. Then it struck directly at the frontier difficulties. To prevent the steady erosion of the Indian Country by individuals who privately acquired lands from the Indians, it declared the purchase of lands from the Indians invalid unless made by a public treaty with the United States. To put a stop to the outrages committed against the Indians by whites who aggressively invaded the Indian Country, the act made provisions for the punishment of murder and

other crimes committed by whites against the Indians in the Indian Country.

One of the first laws of the new American nation to deal with Indian matters, the act reads:

Section 1. Be it enacted . . . That no person shall be permitted to carry on any trade or intercourse with the Indian tribes, without a license for that purpose under the hand and seal of the superintendent of the [War] department, or of such other person as the President of the United States shall appoint for that purpose; which superintendent, or other person so appointed, shall, on application, issue such license to any proper person, who shall enter into bond with one or more sureties, approved of by the superintendent, or person issuing such license, or by the President of the United States, in the penal sum of one thousand dollars, payable to the President of the United States for the time being, for the use of the United States, conditioned for the true and faithful observance of such rules, regulations and restriction, as now are, or hereafter shall be made for the government of trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes. The said superintendents, and persons by them licensed as aforesaid, shall be governed in all things touching the said trade and intercourse, by such rules and regulations as the President shall prescribe. And no other person shall be permitted to carry on any trade or intercourse with the Indians without such license as aforesaid. No license shall be granted for a longer term than two years. Provided nevertheless, That the President may make such order respecting the tribes surrounded in their settlements by the citizens of the United States, as to secure an intercourse without license, if he may deem it proper.

Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That the superintendent, or person issuing such license, shall have full power and authority to recall all such license as he may have issued, if the person so licensed shall transgress any of the regulations or restrictions provided for the government of trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and shall put in suit such bonds as he may have taken, immediately on the breach of any condition in said bond: Provided always, That if it shall appear on trial, that the





person from whom such license shall have been recalled, has not offended against any of the provisions of this act, or the regulations prescribed for the trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, he shall be entitled to receive a new license.

Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That every person who shall attempt to trade with the Indian tribes, or be found in the Indian country with such merchandise in his possession as are usually vended to the Indians, without a license first had and obtained, as in this act prescribed, and being thereof convicted in any court proper to try the same, shall forfeit all the merchandise so offered for sale to the Indian tribes, or so found in the Indian country, which forfeiture shall be one half to the benefit of the person prosecuting, and the other half to the benefit of the United States.

Sec. 4. And be it enacted and declared, That no sale of lands made by any Indians, or any nation or tribe of Indians within the United States, shall be valid to any person or persons, or to any state, whether having the right of pre-emption to such lands or not, unless the same shall be made and duly executed at some public treaty, held under the authority of the United States.

Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That if any citizen or inhabitant of the United States, or of either of the territorial districts of the United States, shall go into any town, settlement or territory belonging to any nation or tribe of Indians, and shall there commit any crime upon, or trespass against, the person or property of any peaceable and friendly Indian or Indians, which, if committed within the jurisdiction of any state, or within the jurisdiction of either of the said districts, against a citizen or white inhabitant thereof, would be punishable by the laws of such state or district, such offender or offenders shall be subject to the same punishment, and shall be proceeded against in the same manner as if the offence had been committed within the jurisdiction of the state or district to which he or they may belong, against a citizen or white inhabitant thereof.

Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, That for any of the crimes or offences aforesaid, the like proceedings shall be had for apprehending,

imprisoning or bailing the offender, as the case may be, and for recognizing the witnesses for their appearance to testify in the case, and where the offender shall be committed, or the witnesses shall be in a district other than that in which the offence is to be tried, for the removal of the offender and the witnesses or either of them, as the case may be, to the district in which the trial is to be had, as by the act to establish the judicial courts of the United States, are directed for any crimes or offences against the United States.

Sec. 7. And be it further enacted, That this act shall be in force for the term of two years, and from thence to the end of the next session of Congress, and no longer.

The second Trade and Intercourse Act, enacted on March 1, 1793, was designed to improve on the Trade and Intercourse act decreed three years earlier. The law was established in reaction to a report from President George Washington, who told Congress that the original act was not working and needed to be strengthened. As historian Francis Paul Prucha explains:

The [1793] law was a considerably stronger and more inclusive piece of legislation than its predecessor of 1790. The seven sections of the earlier law were expanded to fifteen. Part of the increase came from the new sections authorizing the president to give goods and money to the tribes to “promote civilization . . . and to secure the continuance of their friendship,” and from a long section that aimed to stop horse stealing, but the bulk of the augmentation came from the detailed provision enacted to stop criminal attacks of whites against the Indians and irregular acquisition of their lands. This act, too, was a temporary one, having the same limitations as the first trade and intercourse act.

Thomas Jefferson, in his annual message in 1801, called for a permanent renewal of the several trade and intercourse acts that had been enacted in the previous congresses. Historian Francis Paul Prucha writes, “Accordingly, on March 30, 1802, a new trade and intercourse act became law. It was for the most part merely a restatement of the laws of 1796 and 1799, but by now the period of trial was over. The act of 1802 was no longer a temporary





measure; it was to remain in force, with occasional additions, as the basic law governing Indian relations until it was replaced by a new codification of Indian policy in 1834.”

Enacted on June 30, 1834, the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1834 was the last of several such federal acts to “regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes, and to preserve peace on the frontiers.” Running for thirty sections, the most important portion of the Act, Section 1, reads:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That all that part of the United States west of the Mississippi, and not within the states of Missouri and Louisiana, or the territory of Arkansas, and, also, that part of the United States east of the Mississippi river, and not within any state[,] to which the Indian title has not been extinguished, for the purposes of this act, be taken and deemed to be the Indian country.

Note: The bracketed comma was added by the Supreme Court in the case of *Bates v. Clark* to clarify the legislation’s meaning.

John L. Williams

See also Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Trade.

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## Tribal Courts

Judicial systems are operated by Indian nations through laws and procedures enacted by the tribe. Like federal and state courts, tribal courts play a pivotal role in the functioning of the communities they serve and regularly adjudicate a wide variety of cases. Tribal courts, however, are not courts of general jurisdiction and maintain a limited authority to hear disputes. This is especially true for criminal cases, but often applies to civil and other disputes as well.

Although the passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 was an impetus for the creation of formal tribal courts, their development predates the

Act. In *Ex Parte Crow Dog* (1883), a Lakota Sioux killed a fellow tribal member and was brought to justice by the tribe. There was no formal Lakota court system at this time and a traditional methodology was employed to bring about a resolution to the dispute. The federal government was displeased with the tribal resolution, so it prosecuted the defendant for murder and he was sentenced to death. The U.S. Supreme Court overturned the conviction because it found that the tribe, through a prior treaty, had a reserved the right to carry out its own justice.

Following *Ex Parte Crow Dog*, Congress moved quickly to pass the Major Crimes Act, which granted the federal government jurisdiction over Indians who commit certain felonies while in Indian Country. Passage of the Major Crimes Act undermined tribal sovereignty because it denied tribes the power to administer justice within their own borders. Around this same time, the Department of the Interior set up Courts of Indian Offenses, which are commonly referred to as CFR courts (Code of Federal Regulations). CFR courts were run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs superintendents and handled less serious criminal actions not covered by the Major Crimes Act. In addition to this, CFR courts were often used to advance the federal government’s assimilationist goals and did not necessarily operate in a manner that was consistent with advancing tribal interests.

During 1934, Congress passed the Indian Reorganization Act, giving Native tribes and nations limited self-governing rights, among other things. With such rights, Indian nations often adopted constitutions and created systems of government that were similar to those of the United States. Accordingly, many tribes formed court systems to adjudicate disputes occurring within their respective nations. Funding for tribal courts comes from the federal government, private sources, and the Indian nations. Native tribes and nations that have not adopted court systems rely on federal courts, CFR courts, and sometimes state justice systems for their judicial needs. To date, more than 200 Indian nations and Alaska Native villages have established court systems.

Unlike state courts, reservation courts have limited authority over cases that arise within their nations. Although at one time it was presumed to be an inherent power, tribal courts presently have no general criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians and can impose only limited fines and prison terms of





less than one year on Indians committing crimes in Indian country. Because of this, tribes often must rely on the federal government and on state governments in some instances to prosecute crimes occurring in Indian Country. A scarcity of resources and frequently a lack of interest by federal and state authorities to prosecute crimes in Indian Country are quite common. As a result, many offenses in Indian Country go unpunished.

Although the U.S. Constitution does not apply to tribal court actions, the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 guarantees many of the same protections found in the Bill of Rights. Therefore, defendants' rights in tribal courts are often similar to those found in the state and federal systems.

Tribal courts have a much more expansive authority to hear civil claims and routinely adjudicate such issues as domestic relations matters, tort cases, tribal tax issues, regulatory proceedings, and contractual disputes. In some instances, the tribal court has exclusive jurisdiction over a particular matter. One such area is divorce hearings. In divorce proceedings, the tribal court is often the only court that can adjudicate the matter if both parties are Indian and are domiciled in the respective Indian nation. In other cases, the state or federal courts and a given tribe may have concurrent jurisdiction, or the state or federal courts cannot hear a case unless the tribal remedies have been exhausted.

Even though tribal civil jurisdiction is noticeably broader than its criminal authority, it too has limitations. For example, tribal courts cannot hear probate cases involving assets held in trust by the United States. These types of hearings are conducted by administrative law judges in the Department of the Interior. Also, through acts of Congress and Supreme Court decisions, tribal civil jurisdiction has been severely diminished in other areas over the past few decades. This is particularly evident when one of the parties in a lawsuit is non-Indian.

The U.S. Constitution requires each state to enforce or give full faith and credit to the judgments of other states. With the exception of a few statutorily defined areas, full faith and credit does not apply to the tribes. As a result, tribes and states are not required to enforce each other's judgments. It is common, however, for states and tribes to regularly give full effect to each other's judgments. This is known as comity.

In some states, tribal criminal judicial authority has been significantly diminished, if not nullified, via Public Law 280. Public Law 280, which was

enacted in 1953 by the federal government, gave six states exclusive jurisdiction over reservations within their boundaries. In these states, the Major Crimes Act is not applicable because the state has full authority to enforce their criminal laws. It should be noted that some tribes located in Public Law 280 states have retained some of their judicial authority and have managed to create tribal courts to enforce certain laws. Although Public Law 280 is applicable to civil jurisdiction as well, tribal courts can have concurrent jurisdiction in such matters if they choose to.

Tribal court systems range in both structure and size. For example, tribal courts may or may not operate independently of tribal councils. Some tribes have created a judicial branch that is separate from its other branches of government, while in other instances the tribal council retains authority over the judicial arm. There are also differences on how judicial positions are filled (appointment versus election) and what educational requirements are needed to become a tribal judge (law degree versus no formal legal education). Some tribes, like the Navajo, have an intricate judicial system, similar to that of a typical state judiciary, which addresses substantial numbers of cases per year. In contrast, other tribes have smaller systems that handle minimal numbers of cases in any given year.

Many Indian tribes have recently made traditional courts or peacemaker courts a vital part of their judicial systems. Through peacemaker courts, a tribe or Native nation attempts to settle disputes through traditional methods before it reaches the formal tribal courts. This approach resembles the growing trend among the Anglo system of adopting alternative dispute resolution as a viable alternative to the adversarial system.

Ryan Church

*See also* Indian Civil Rights Act (1968); Indian Reorganization Act.

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## Trust, Doctrine of

Since the nineteenth century, the U.S. government has considered itself to have a trust relationship with Native American nations within its borders. The trust relationship has been defined as a legal obligation of the United States to protect Native American lands and resources, as well as Indians' rights to self-government. In theory, this trust relationship is supposed to protect Indian interests; in practice, it has sometimes been a political and legal "cover" for the exploitation of land and resources, as well as of Indian people themselves. Trust has been exercised on a very pervasive, personal level under the related doctrine of wardship, by which the federal government, principally through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has exercised nearly total control over Native Americans' personal lives.

The doctrine of a fiduciary or trust relationship toward Native Americans is said to have grown out of various court decisions. The best-known of these is *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, in which Chief Justice John Marshall held that Indian nations stood in U.S. law as wards to their federal guardian. In theory, trust responsibilities generally fall into three areas: (1) protection of Indian trust property; (2) protection of the Indian right of self-government; (3) provision of social, medical, and educational services necessary for survival of individual members.

Legal scholar Frank Pommersheim has written that "it was in this soil of expansion and exploitation that federal Indian law developed and took root. This was a soil without constitutional loam. . . . The theory of the trust responsibility with the U.S. government as owner and trustee of Indian land, natural resources, and [trust] provider of many services is in direct conflict with any meaningful theory of tribal sovereignty" (Johansen, 1998, 345). In other words, as the courts talk a measured sense of sovereignty for reservation residents, the government walks a potent form of colonialism through the trust doctrine.

Equally rootless in the loam of the Constitution and equally inconsistent with any meaningful theory of Native American sovereignty is the plenary power of Congress over Indian affairs. Plenary

power, another assumption of control, largely evolved out of the Supreme Court's 1903 decision in *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*. For most of the rest of the twentieth century, U.S. courts held that Congress is the ultimate trustee and has virtually unlimited discretionary power in this relationship. The pervasive network of rules and regulations promulgated by Congress and administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs and other agencies for the "protection" of Indians has often had the effect of diminishing the day-to-day operation of Native American sovereignty by subjecting nearly every move made by individual Native Americans to federal government approval.

The nature of this "protection" usually has been defined by the government vis-à-vis its own interests, with minimal Native consultation. During the late 1870s, for example, the General Allotment (or Dawes) Act was advanced as a means to "protect" (i.e., "civilize") American Indians. This form of protection cost Indians two-thirds of their collective land base over the next half century.

For many years, the BIA and the Treasury Department operated as Indians' bankers through Individual Indian Monies accounts. Following a class action suit in the 1990s, these accounts were found to be permeated with negligence and fraud that has and will cost individual Native Americans many billions of dollars. In 1995, an audit of funds being held in trust for Indians by the BIA could not account for perhaps \$20 billion (the true figure remains elusive). The auditing firm, Arthur Andersen & Co., spent five years on its study and found trust accounts to be a total mess. Of the 2,000 accounts the BIA maintained at the time, 15 percent were missing paperwork, leaving little or no trace of the money in them. These 2,000 accounts represent only money held by Indian groups (such as BIA-recognized Native American governments), not the 300,000 individual accounts maintained by the BIA, of which a complete audit would be prohibitively expensive.

Occasionally, however, Native American governments have been able to use the trust relationship to their advantage. The Osages of Oklahoma, for example, faced in 1906 with allotment, accepted its provisions on condition that their nation retain collective control over copious oil and natural gas resources underlying their reservation, and they have retained control of these resources to this day.

Robert C. Coulter, executive director of the Indian Law Resource Center, and Steven B. Tullberg,





a senior staff attorney at the Center, argue that trust status, as practiced by the U.S. government, has often been less than trustworthy:

Advocates of the trust theory have forgotten or overlooked the fact that the federal government itself initiated the destructive policies of Indian removal, allotment, termination and other wholesale denials of Indian rights. Through these policies and a host of other federal acts, the federal government has confiscated massive areas of Indian lands for its own use and that of its non-Indian citizenry. One looks in vain through the historical record for actions by the Supreme Court to protect Indians from these confiscatory actions (Coulter and Tullberg, 1984, 188).

Legal scholar Felix S. Cohen reflected on the rather unusual status of Indian trusts in Anglo-American law:

In the white man's business world, a "trust" is likely to be a property of great value; the trustee is required to protect the trust property and to turn over all the profits of the enterprise to the beneficiaries of the trust. The trustee has no control over the beneficiaries' person. In the Indian's world, the same principles should apply; there is no legal basis for the common view that the Indian bureau may deal with Indian trust property as if it were the owner thereof, or use such power over lands to control Indian lives and thoughts. Unfortunately, administrators often find it convenient to forget their duties, which are lumped under the legal term "trusteeship," and to concentrate on their powers, which go by the name of guardianship" (Cohen and Cohen, 1960, 333).

During recent years, some Native American nations have benefited from tardy enforcement of another aspect of the trust doctrine, the Trade and Intercourse Acts (1790, et seq. 1 Stat. 137 [1790 Act]; 25 U.S. C.A. Sec. 177 [1793 Act]). In 1789, in one of his first acts as president of the United States, George Washington asked Secretary of War Henry Knox to prepare a report on the status of Indian affairs. Knox prepared a lengthy report on Native Americans' rights and the mechanisms for dealing with them under the new United States Constitution. His conclusions closely resembled Spanish and English

interpretations of the doctrine of discovery since the time of Francisco de Vitoria in the early sixteenth century. Knox found that the Indians had a right to their lands and that land could not be taken except by mutual consent (as in the signing of a treaty) or in a "just" war as defined by the European powers of the day. Knox determined that non-Indian squatters must be kept off Indian lands to keep the peace on the frontier.

Out of Knox's report came the first of several Trade and Intercourse Acts, passed by Congress between 1790 and 1834. The first Congress to convene under the Constitution passed the first such act in 1790 (25 U.S.C. para. 177). The act held that no sale of Indian lands was valid without the authority of the United States. This initial act was extended and amended several times (1793, 1796, 1802, 1817, 1822, and 1834). In addition to extending federal authority to land sales, many of the Trade and Intercourse Acts forbade European-American entry into Indian lands, regulated trade, and prohibited liquor sale on Indian land. The Trade and Intercourse Act of 1802 contained this clause providing for the prosecution of non-Indians who trespassed on Indian land:

SEC. 2. And be it further enacted, that if any citizen, or other person resident in, the United States . . . shall cross over, or go within the said boundary line, to hunt, or in any wise destroy the game; or shall drive, or otherwise convey any stock of horses or cattle to range on any lands allotted or secured by treaty with the United States, to any Indian tribe, he shall forfeit a sum not exceeding one hundred dollars, or be imprisoned not exceeding six months.

Some of the Trade and Intercourse Acts made depredations by non-Indians against Indians a federal crime in protected areas and pledged monetary compensation to injured Indians if they did not seek revenge. The Acts also set uniform standards for the punishment of crimes by non-Indians against Indians (and vice versa) and enunciated a goal of "civilization and education" for U.S. Indian policy. Trade with Indians also came under federal regulation in the Trade and Intercourse Acts.

In a legal sense, the Trade and Non-Intercourse Acts were a double-edged sword for Indian sovereignty. On one hand, they were passed to protect Indians from land fraud; on the other, they were an extension of federal law over Indian Country. The





later intercourse acts were drafted under the theory that “tribes should be considered foreign nations and that tribal lands protected by treaty, even though situated within the boundaries of a state, should be considered outside the limits of jurisdictions of states” (Act of June 30, 1834, 4 Stat. 729, 733).

Jurisdiction over trade and land sales concerning Indians had been an issue in the English colonies from the first settlements, but came into sharp focus at the Albany Congress of 1754, when Iroquois delegates led by Tiyanoga (Hendrick) advised Benjamin Franklin and other colonial delegates to develop a single system for trade, land dealings, and diplomacy. The individual colonies rejected the Albany Plan, but the idea that the federal government retains authority over the states for dealing with Indians was written into the Constitution and has been central to American Indian law in the United States for more than two centuries.

The Trade and Intercourse Act of 1817 (3 Stat. 383) attempted the first systematic regulation of criminal jurisdiction regarding both Indians and non-Indians in Indian Country. The Act held that anyone, Indian or not, who committed an offense in Indian Country would be subject to the same punishment as if the offense had occurred in the United States, except for offenses defined as domestic. This exception became an important influence on subsequent court decisions delimiting jurisdiction. This law became the source of opinions that defined the powers of Indian courts; generally, a non-Indian accused of a crime on Indian land has been held to be under the jurisdiction of the United States, while an Indian charged with an offense against another Indian is tried in a local (Native) court.

“Wardship,” in American Indian law and policy, refers to a special version of the trust relationship in which the government assumes near total control of individual Native Americans’ lives. This legal doctrine has been said to have been based on opinions by Chief Justice John Marshall (in *Worcester v. Georgia*) that Native Americans live in “dependent domestic nations” and are therefore wards of the federal government. The BIA was initially established to hold Indians’ land and resources “in trust.” Wardship status rationalized the establishment of Indian reservations and schools to assimilate Native Americans into mainstream U.S. culture.

In *Worcester v. Georgia*, Justice Marshall wrote that inhabitants of Native nations had assumed a relationship of “pupilage” (or wardship) in their

relations with the United States. Using this doctrine, which has no Constitutional basis, the executive branch of the U.S. government, principally through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has created a superstructure of policies and programs that have had a vast impact on individual Native Americans and their governments. Through the use of the plenary power of Congress, policies such as allotment divested much of the Indian estate between 1854 and 1934. The concept of wardship also lies behind the storage of thousands of Native skeletal remains and burial artifacts in many federal and state research institutions. The idea of Native sovereignty in modern times has been developed in large part in opposition to wardship doctrines. Indians reacted to a social control system that was so tight that in many cases (for example, if a will affected the status of allotted land) individual actions of Native American people were subject to approval by the Secretary of Interior.

A concept of wardship also has been used since the midnineteenth century to construct for American Indians a cradle-to-grave social control system that was described during the midtwentieth century by legal scholar Felix Cohen:

Under the reign of these magic words [“wardship” and “trust”] nothing Indian was safe. The Indian’s hair was cut, his dances forbidden, his oil lands, timber lands, and grazing lands were disposed of by Indian agents and Indian commissioners for whom the magic word “wardship” always made up for lack of statutory authority . . . (Johansen, 1997, 19).

While Chief Justice Marshall’s opinions have been used as a legal rationale for government policies that have treated American Indians as “wards,” “There is nothing,” according to Robert C. Coulter, executive director of the Indian Law Resource Center, “in the rulings of the Marshall Court [which] even remotely suggested that the United States could unilaterally impose a guardian–ward relationship on Indians, that it held trust title to Indian lands, or that, as trustee, it could dispose of lands without Indian consent” (Coulter and Tullberg, 1984, 367–368).

Wardship, as historically practiced by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, differs markedly from the legal status of non-Indian wards. Under most conditions, wardship is viewed as a temporary condition,





with established standards for cession. Civil guardianship and custody law must allow people who have been deprived of their civil rights means of regaining them in accordance with the due process clause (the Fourteenth Amendment) of the U.S. Constitution. As developed by the BIA, however, Indian wardship has no standard for cession and no ending date. An Indian is defined as a ward regardless of his or her accomplishments or other actions and as the object of a policy that may well have misinterpreted Justice Marshall's intent.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Individual Indian Monies; Plenary Power; Trade and Intercourse Acts; Wardship Doctrine; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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## Tungavik Federation, Nunavut

On April 1, 1999, Nunavut became Canada's third territory and the first to join the Confederation since 1949. After a quarter century of Inuit-Canada negotiations, the Inuit received title and the mineral rights

to a fixed parcel of land. Anticipating significant revenues resulting from mineral extraction, the Inuits created the Nunavut Tungavik Inc. (NTI) in April 1993, as a private corporation responsible for ensuring that the 212 sections contained in the forty articles of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement (NLCA) are properly implemented (Légaré, 2003, 119). The NTI also represents the interests of the 24,000 Inuit beneficiaries of the NLCA (Légaré, 2003, 117).

The NTI succeeded the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), which itself succeeded the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC) in 1982. That year, the TFN was incorporated to pursue land claims negotiations on behalf of the Inuits of Nunavut. In 1987, Canada, the Dene, the Métis, and the Inuvialuit established the Iqaluit Agreement, which proposed that the boundary of Nunavut be based on the Inuit land claim settlement area and that the Dene-Métis and Inuvialuit claim settlement areas form a western territory. However, the Dene nation and the Métis association of the NWT did not reach an agreement with the TFN concerning the precise boundary of their respective claims areas. As a result, the Iqaluit Agreement failed and the various federations were dissolved.

Despite this setback, negotiations over these issues continued, and in 1990 an agreement in principle was reached, and a single-line boundary between the claims settlement areas of the Dene-Métis and the Inuit was accepted in a May 1992 plebiscite. The government of the Northwest Territories, the TFN, and the Canadian government adopted the boundary for division in the Nunavut Political Accord. The final agreement committed Canada, the NWT, and the TFN to negotiate a political accord to deal with powers, principles of financing, and timing for the establishment of a distinct Nunavut government. Government and Inuit representatives signed the land claim agreement on May 25, 1993, which enabled the transfer of \$1.1 billion to the Inuit.

The NTI is a highly centralized organization comprised of a General Assembly consisting of forty-eight delegates that meets annually, a ten-member Board of Directors that meets quarterly, and an Executive Committee that meets monthly. The General Assembly approves the annual budget, has the authority to increase or restrict spending, and can modify its programs and services, the latter of which must be approved by two-thirds of the delegates. The Board of Directors meets to review and





evaluate the Executive Committee's decisions. Six of the ten board members come from regional Inuit associations, which gives significant weight to regional interests within the board. The four-member Executive Committee is the most powerful component. The committee, which is elected by the Inuit beneficiaries, meets monthly to implement the decisions approved by the General Assembly, while also supervising the NTI's day-to-day operations (Légaré, 2003, 120–123).

The NTI has a staff of fifty-five employees, 90 percent of whom are Inuits, and an annual budget exceeding \$21 million (Légaré, 2003, 123). Working closely (if not always amicably) with the government of Nunavut, the NTI oversees the Nunavut Elders Benefit Plan, established as a reward for elders sharing their knowledge during the initial stages of the research that led to the creation of the Nunavut Territory, and the Nunavut Hunter Support Program, developed to promote traditional wildlife harvesting activities and to reinforce social cohesiveness. The NTI also supervises the operations of the Public Co-Management Boards responsible for the management of renewable and nonrenewable resources; the Nunavut Social Development Council, which conducts research on Inuit cultural and social issues and advises Nunavut officials regarding the social impact of their policies; and the regional Inuit associations, in addition to the Inuit Heritage Trust and the Nunavut Trust. The former exists to manage all archaeological sites and to establish by-laws related to archeological permits (and to deliver them); the latter is responsible for managing and investing the \$1.1-billion land claims settlement.

Yale D. Belanger

*See also* Nunavut Land Claims Agreement.

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## United Nations, Indians and

The United Nations was formed in 1945, in San Francisco, when fifty nations came together to declare their commitment to the codification of international law for the purposes of promoting world peace and cooperation. Within the UN Charter's statements was the resolution to protect the equal rights and the self-determination of all peoples, as well as to bring an end to colonialism and to work with colonized peoples to develop self-determination. It was this clause that led American Indians to seek the redress of grievances through the United Nations.

The earliest attempt to petition an international body for recognition of Indian rights came in the 1920s when several members of the Iroquois Confederacy came together to appeal to the League of Nations, the predecessor of the United Nations, to recognize their right to sovereignty. After two years of exhaustive work, Deskaheah, the envoy's leader, realized he would not meet with success. International appeals were set aside until Vine Deloria, Jr. again raised the issue in *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties: An Indian Declaration of Independence*. Published in 1974, Deloria's book introduced a new generation of American Indians to the concept of international justice and nationhood.

This new sense of nationalism took definitive shape in 1974 at the first International Treaty Council (ITC) held in South Dakota on the Standing Rock Reservation. The ITC, originally headed by Russell Means and Jimmie Durham, was a branch of the American Indian Movement (AIM). At the council, numerous elders from various Indian groups came together to discuss the principles and process of activism and determine a future route to pursue recognition of their rights from the U.S. government. It was agreed that, to attract broader international attention, they would need to frame their demands as that of one sovereign nation to another; therefore





the group set about creating relationships with newly decolonized and independent countries. Such a legal context is well rooted in Native American history since treaties were often negotiated on similar terms. The ITC was granted the status of a non-governmental organization in the UN and in 1977, in Geneva, appeared before the NGO Conference on Discrimination Against Indian Populations. There they testified about the land theft and discriminatory practices of the U.S. government.

In 1980, two delegations were sent to meet with the UN Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, as well as to speak at the Fourth Russell Tribunal on the wrongs committed by the federal government against American Indians. It was hoped by the International Treaty Council, who had organized these delegations, that the United Nations would hear and respond to their plea for self-determination. In 1981, at the NGO Conference on Indigenous Peoples and the Land, the Working Group on Indigenous Populations was formed as a subpart of the UN Economic and Social Council. Its purpose was to review and assess the living conditions and treaty rights of Native peoples.

By 1983, however, American Indian access to the appeals process of the UN was being constantly parried by the United States' invocation of a clause in the UN Charter that defines colonized territories as those that are geographically separated from their invaders by thirty miles of ocean and by another section of the clause that guarantees territorial integrity to all states. Nevertheless, the fight continues as people from nations around the world continue to take an interest in human rights issues for Native peoples in the United States and elsewhere.

The UN Working Group on the Rights of Indigenous Populations produced the Draft Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in 1993, which became a framework for the desired relationship between nations. The Declaration called for the respect of basic human rights and cultural identity, as well as for the protection of indigenous land bases and natural resources, political rights, and, above all, Native self-determination. In addition, the United Nations has worked to incorporate the protection of Native rights into its program for environmental protection through the UN Conference on Environment and Development.

Vera Parham

See also Deskaheh.

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## United States v. Dann

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *United States v. Mary and Carrie Dann* is one event in a complex, ongoing land battle between the western Shoshone tribes and the federal government.

In the late 1600s, at the time of first contact between the western Shoshones and Europeans, the western Shoshones, a seasonally nomadic people, controlled over 60 million acres of land stretching from the Snake River in southern Idaho, through the Great Basin of Nevada, to Death Valley in California. The traditional lands of the western Shoshones are arid and rugged, consisting of many mountain ranges separated by deep, narrow valleys. Because most of the land is too dry and alkaline for farming, early European-American immigrants passed through the region and settled instead in the fertile valleys of California and Oregon.

The Shoshones were largely left alone to continue their traditional way of life until the 1840s. At that time, westward immigration, spurred in part by the discovery of gold in western Nevada's Comstock, caused a marked increase of European-American incursions into Shoshone territory. Construction of the first coast-to-coast railroad and telegraph networks caused further disruptions. Some Shoshone responded to these invasions by conducting "hostilities and depredations" on wagon trains, postal workers, and telegraph lines. The 1863 treaty between the United States and the western Shoshones, known as the Treaty of Ruby Valley, was designed to end these conflicts and ensure "the safety of all travellers passing peaceably" through western Shoshone territory in exchange for a \$5,000 annuity. Upon signing the treaty, the Shoshone were given \$5,000 worth of provisions and clothing; this was the only annuity the tribe ever received.





*The Dann family, members of the Western Shoshone tribe, stand on their land near Elko, Nevada, in 1980. Mary and Carrie Dann have been in a legal battle with the U.S. government for the past thirty years over grazing rights. (Ted Streshinsky/Corbis)*

Additional concessions contained in the treaty permit the establishment of U.S. military posts, as well as private mining, ranching and timber operations, within Shoshone territory. Even so, over the years, Shoshone territory remained sparsely populated. The small increase in European-American residents did not much disrupt the traditional lifestyle of the Shoshone, who, having turned from a subsistence lifestyle to cattle ranching, continued to occupy their traditional homeland, where they lived much as they always had. Today, although dense population centers have developed around Salt Lake City and Las Vegas, most of the Great Basin remains sparsely populated with an average population density of just one or two people per square mile.

Despite its small population, the commercial and military significance of the Great Basin has increased over time. The area is mineral rich; 64 percent of the gold extracted annually in the United States—almost 10 percent of the gold produced annually worldwide—is found there. In addition to

its mineral wealth, the isolation and emptiness of the Great Basin are a source of military value. Due to the region's low population density, clear air, and general absence of private land ownership, the U.S. government has located a number of military bases and weapons ranges, as well as the proposed Yucca Mountain nuclear waste repository, in the Great Basin.

The ongoing legal conflict between the U.S. government and the western Shoshones in general and Shoshone ranchers Carrie and Mary Dann, in particular, began with a case brought before the Indian Claims Commission (ICC) in 1951.

The Indian Claims Commission was established by Congress to settle the outstanding claims of Indian tribes. The Commission's goal was to extinguish tribal claims by paying tribes for land that had been taken without compensation. Attorneys representing the Te-Moak tribe brought the ICC case on behalf of all western Shoshones. The ICC case was a source of conflict from its inception, largely because





the Te-Moak tribe consists of just four of the more than fourteen bands that constitute the western Shoshone nation. Unrepresented bands argued that the Te-Moak attorneys did not have the authority to act on their behalf. Yet the ICC recognized the attorneys as representing the entire western Shoshone Tribe.

Although the attorneys (who under a contingent fee agreement were entitled to 10 percent of the tribe's recovery) told tribal members that the purpose of the ICC action was to reach an agreement for back annuity payments, some tribal elders feared that the action would result in a loss of tribal lands. Subsequent attempts by the Te-Moak to fire their attorneys and stay the proceedings were denied by the ICC. Attempts by other Shoshone individuals and bands to intervene in the action were also denied.

In 1966, the Te-Moak attorneys stipulated to July 1, 1872, as the valuation date for nearly 24 million acres of western Shoshone lands in the state of Nevada. By this stipulation, the attorneys and the government agreed that the western Shoshones had lost title to their aboriginal lands as of July 1, 1872, through gradual European-American encroachment and set the 1872 value of the land as appropriate compensation for its loss. The stipulation ignored the fact that in 1966 many western Shoshones were still in actual possession of their traditional land. In addition, the agreement contradicted the holding in *Johnson v. McIntosh* and the prohibition contained in the Non-Intercourse Acts against the transfer of tribally controlled land to non-Indians without prior government approval. The stipulation violated basic tenets of federal Indian law as well as the government's fiduciary duty to preserve and manage tribal resources.

In 1974, while the ICC case was still pending, the federal government brought a trespass action against the Dann sisters for grazing their livestock on federal land without a permit. This trespass action was the genesis of the U.S. Supreme Court case of *United States v. Dann*. The Danns, who had been grazing their cattle for thirty years on the land in question without a permit, responded that the western Shoshone tribe held aboriginal title to the land and, as tribal members, they were entitled to use the lands under tribal—not federal—law. The government argued that the issue of aboriginal title had already been decided by the ICC and so was not available to the Danns as a defense. The district court found in the government's favor.

The Danns appealed the case to the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals, which reversed, holding that the ICC decision could not have decided the question of extinguishment of aboriginal title. The court reasoned that it was not within the ICC's jurisdiction to extinguish title to land and, further, the ICC had not yet issued a final decision in the case. The Ninth Circuit then sent the case back to the federal district court in Nevada on remand.

While the remanded case was pending in district court, the ICC issued a decision awarding \$26 million to the western Shoshone tribe as compensation for loss of its aboriginal lands. According to the subsequent district court decision, the ICC award acted to extinguish the tribe's aboriginal title, thus barring the Danns' defense. The Danns again appealed to the Ninth Circuit, which once again reversed. The court held that since the tribe had not yet accepted payment of the award, the Danns could still raise the issue of extinguishment as a defense.

The government appealed this decision to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled against the Danns on the grounds that (1) Congress intended the decisions of the ICC to be final and (2) once the \$26 million ICC award was appropriated into a Treasury account for the benefit of the tribe, payment had occurred. This 1985 decision arguably effected a judicial extinguishment of the western Shoshones' aboriginal title.

After the ICC award, many western Shoshone feared that distribution of the money would extinguish any remaining claim they might have to their traditional lands. For this reason, the tribe refused to accept a payout of the money in the Treasury account. By 2004, interest had increased the prospective award to more than \$145 million, or roughly \$30,000 per eligible tribal member. As the amount of money in the fund grew, so did pressure from many Shoshone for a distribution. By the time President George W. Bush signed the Western Shoshone Distribution Act on July 7, 2004, the tribe was deeply divided over the issue. While the Danns and other "traditionals" refuse to accept their individual shares, many others believe that the money is at least some compensation for the lands the Tribe has lost.

Despite the Supreme Court ruling, the Danns have continued to graze their livestock on range-lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management (BLM). In response, the BLM has assessed \$3 million in grazing fees, penalties, and interest against the Danns. Since 1992, the agency has attempted to coerce the Danns' compliance with BLM regulations





through threats, court action, and occasional roundups. In 2002, forty federal agents with guns, ATVs, and helicopters rounded up about 230 of the sisters' cattle. The animals were auctioned off for \$60,000—much less than the cost of the roundup and auction—and many of the purchasers were Dann sympathizers who immediately returned the animals to the sisters.

In the years since the government's 1974 trespass action, the Danns' cause has been widely publicized and has received widespread international recognition and support. Having exhausted the remedies available to them in the U.S. courts, the Danns have taken their case to the tribunals of the Organization of American States and the United Nations, where they have received favorable decisions. Although these international decisions are not binding on the federal government, they put the United States in an embarrassing position by publicly censuring the government for its treatment of the western Shoshones. It remains to be seen what effect these decisions will have on U.S. Indian policy, the western Shoshones, and the Danns.

Amy Propps

See also Economic Development; Tribal Sovereignty; Uranium Mining.

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## United States v. Kagama

In *United States v. Kagama* [118 U.S. 375 (1886)], the U.S. Supreme Court enunciated a "superior position" of the federal government vis-à-vis Native nations (a doctrine that came to be known as plenary power) when it upheld the Major Crimes Act (1885). The court was upholding the federal trust responsibility against erosion by the states. The court said that "the people of the states . . . are often [the Indians'] deadliest enemies." This case was the first Supreme Court decision to directly address the legality of federal jurisdiction over both Indians and non-Indians in Indian Country.

A year after the Major Crimes Act was passed, attorneys for Kagama argued that it was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court ruled that the commerce clause of the Constitution did not authorize the Congress to regulate the internal affairs of Indian nations and their members. However, the court held that, since the states had no legal authority over Indians living on reservations, the role of sovereign must be played by the United States. Native American conceptions of sovereignty were omitted from this legal formulation.

The facts of the case concerned two Indians, Kagama and Mahawaha, who killed another Indian on the Hupa Reservation in California. They were arrested, tried, and convicted in federal court on grounds that the commerce clause of the Constitution gave the government jurisdiction on the Hupa reservation. The U.S. Supreme Court, following John Marshall's opinions in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832), held that Indian lands did not comprise foreign nations. "These Indian tribes are the wards of the nation," ruled the court. "They are communities dependent on the United States . . . From their very weaknesses and helplessness, so largely due to the course of dealing of the federal government with them and the treaties in which it has been promised, there arises the duty of protection, and with it the power." The court also held that "The Indians owe no allegiance to a state within which their reservation may be established, and the state gives them no protection."

Justice Samuel Miller, writing for the court majority, said that the government had always regarded Native nations as semisovereign entities, "not as states, not as nations, but as separate people, with power of regulating their internal relations and thus not brought into the laws of the Union or the States within whose limits they resided."

Kiowa attorney Kirke Kickingbird provided the following evaluation of Kagama's legal legacy:

The decision in Kagama and the line of cases which flowed from it led to an overly broad and often destructive exercise of federal power in Indian affairs. In these decisions, the courts have placed no legally enforceable standards or criteria on the trustee. Instead, they have designated Congressional power in Indian affairs as "plenary," or almost absolute (Kickingbird, 1983, 20).

Bruce E. Johansen





See also *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*; Plenary Power; Tribal Sovereignty; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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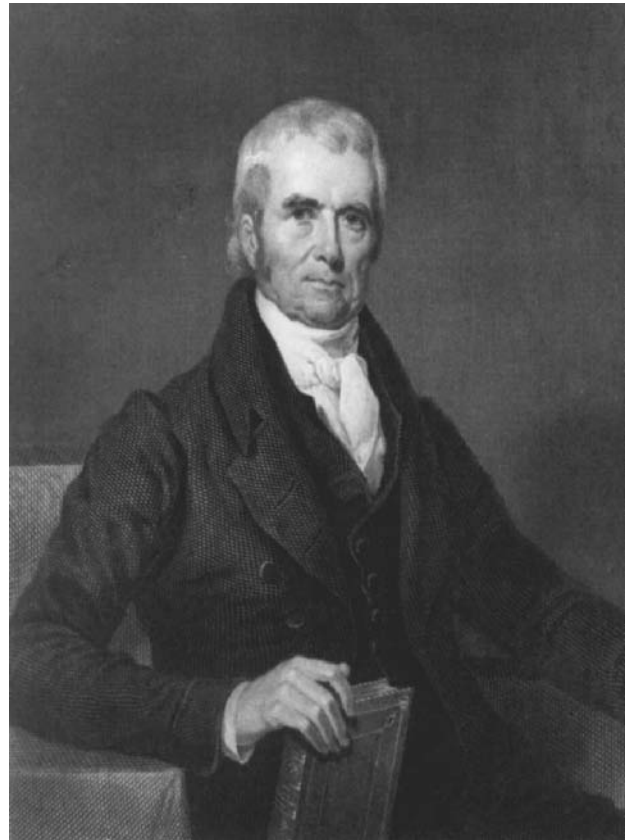
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## Wardship Doctrine

Wardship, in American Indian law and policy, is a legal doctrine, sometimes said to be based on opinions by U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall, that Native Americans live in “dependent domestic nations” and are therefore wards of the federal government. The Bureau of Indian Affairs was initially established to hold Indians’ land and resources “in trust.” Wardship status rationalized the establishment of Indian reservations and schools to assimilate Native Americans into mainstream U.S. culture. The concept of wardship also lay behind the storage of thousands of Native skeletal remains and burial artifacts in many federal and state research institutions. The idea of Native sovereignty in modern times has been developed in large part in opposition to wardship doctrines. Native Americans reacted to a social-control system that was so tight that in many cases (for example, if a will affected the status of allotted land) individual actions of Native American people were subject to approval by the Secretary of Interior.

The assertion of states’ rights over Native territory in the southeastern United States provided the legal grist for an 1832 Supreme Court decision written by Chief Justice John Marshall. In *Worcester v. Georgia*, Justice Marshall wrote that inhabitants of Native nations had assumed a relationship of “pupilage” in their relations with the United States. Using this doctrine, which has no constitutional basis, the executive branch of the U.S. government, principally through the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has created a superstructure of policies and programs that has had a vast impact on individual Native Americans and their governments. Through the use of the plenary power of Congress, such policies as allotment divested much of the Indian estate between 1854 and 1934.

A concept of wardship also has been used since the midnineteenth century to construct for American Indians a cradle-to-grave social control system that



*John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, created the Wardship policy for Native Americans. (Library of Congress)*

was described during the midtwentieth century by the legal scholar Felix Cohen:

Under the reign of these magic words [“wardship” and “trust”] nothing Indian was safe. The Indian’s hair was cut, his dances forbidden, his oil lands, timber lands, and grazing lands were disposed of by Indian agents and Indian commissioners for whom the magic word “wardship” always made up for lack of statutory authority . . .

While Chief Justice Marshall’s opinions have been used as a legal rationale for government policies that have treated American Indians as “wards,” in the opinion of Robert C. Coulter, executive director of the Indian Law Resource Center, “There is nothing in the rulings of the Marshall Court [which] even remotely suggested that the United States could unilaterally impose a guardian-ward relationship on Indians, that it held trust title to Indian lands, or that, as trustee, it could dispose of lands without Indian consent.”





Wardship as historically practiced by the Bureau of Indian Affairs differs markedly from the legal status of non-Native wards. Under most conditions, wardship is viewed as a temporary condition, with established standards for cession. Civil guardianship and custody law must allow people who have been deprived of their civil rights the means of regaining them in accordance with the due process clause of the U.S. Constitution. As developed by the BIA, however, Indian wardship has no standard for cession, and no ending date. An Indian is defined as a ward regardless of his or her accomplishments or other actions.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Individual Indian Monies; Trust, Doctrine of; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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## Winters v. United States

The most generous basis for Indian water rights is the Winters (or reserved rights) doctrine, established in 1908 by the Supreme Court in *Winters v. United States*. It is also the most important point of contention among non-Indian water claimants. The roots of the case lie in a series of treaties signed by Montana Indian tribes, including the 1851 Treaty of Fort Laramie and four later treaties in 1855, 1874, 1888, and 1896, in which the tribes ceded much of their ancestral lands to the U.S. government. The last two treaties fixed the borders of the Fort Belknap Reservation, with its northern boundary, according to the 1888 treaty, as the “middle of the main channel of Milk River.”

After the Indians began to settle on the new reservation, it became clear that government efforts to turn them into agriculturalists conflicted with their preference to raise livestock and maintain their cultural traditions. After 1888, non-Indian homesteaders began settling lands around the reservation and drawing off water for crop irrigation and stock watering. Reservation agents facilitated the opening of the reservation to non-Indian ownership and

leasing agreements so that, by 1920, non-Indians controlled over 58 percent of the reservation’s irrigated lands. In 1905, a severe drought stuck the region, and upstream irrigation left little water for both the reservation and other downstream users. When off-reservation ranchers blocked the flow of the Milk River onto the reservation, Agent William R. Logan began to work for the restoration of Indian water rights—to aid not the Indians but rather the growing non-Native population on the reservation (Massie, 1987). The federal government sued on behalf of the Fort Belknap tribes to protect their rights to Milk River water.

The case was filed to adjudicate the water rights of the tribes of the Fort Belknap Reservation and local, non-Indian-owned farms that were located along the northern border of the Fort Belknap Reservation. Both Indians and non-Indians needed the Milk, because it was the only reliable source of water in the region. Further, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) had promised to develop irrigation for the reservation from the river while non-Indian settlers had been promised a federal reclamation project to irrigate their lands from the Milk. The Indians claimed that, when they ceded aboriginal lands surrounding the reservation, they retained for themselves the rest of the reservation land and enough water to make it useful.

In 1908, the Supreme Court acknowledged the existence of Indian water rights for the first time. In an eight-to-one decision, the Court held in *Winters v. United States* that, when Indian reservations were established, the tribes and the United States implicitly reserved sufficient water, along with the land, to fulfill the purposes of the reservations (Hundley, 1982). The case is significant not only because its decision restored water to the tribes, but even more so for the reasoning that led to the decision. Justice Joseph McKenna, speaking for the majority, reasoned:

The lands ceded, were, it is true, also arid; and some argument may be urged, and is urged, that with their cession there was the cession of the waters, without which they would be valueless, and “civilized communities could not be established thereon.” And this, it is further contended, the Indians knew, and yet made no reservation of the waters. We realize that there is a conflict of implications, but that which makes for the retention of the waters is of greater force than that which makes for





their cession. The Indians had command of the lands and the waters—command of all their beneficial use, whether kept for hunting, “and grazing roving herds of stock,” or turned to agriculture and the arts of civilization. Did they give up all this? Did they reduce the area of their occupation and give up the waters which made it valuable or adequate? (*Winters v. United States*, 1908)

McKenna based his reasoning on the section of the 1888 agreement that said, “whereas the said Indians are desirous of disposing of so much [land] as they do not require, in order to obtain the means to enable them to become self-supporting, as a pastoral and agricultural people, and to educate their children in the paths of civilization.” Even though no treaty or written agreement between the Fort Belknap tribes and the government specified water rights for the tribe, rights to enough water to make the land productive were implied to fulfill provisions of the treaty. The treaty stated that reservation lands were set aside so that tribal people could become self-supporting through an agricultural existence. The court then drew the inference that land without water is useless for the purposes of farming and ranching. Therefore, when the federal government set up the reservations, they also, the theory went, reserved enough water for the Indians to turn the terrain into productive farmland.

As a result of *Winters*, Indian water rights are defined and governed, at least in theory, by a body of federal law that recognizes Indian tribes’ sovereignty over the water on their reservations. The Supreme Court held that tribal governments have jurisdiction over both tribal members and activities on the Indian reservations, and this ruling has affected the ways that Indians can use the water that flows through or adjacent to their reservations. However, by handing down a decision while not providing any way of reconciling it with the system of water allocation already in use throughout much of the West, the Court did more to provoke further conflicts over water between Indian and non-Indian populations than it did to settle them. *Winters* did nothing at all to determine either the scope of its application or the parameters for determining the amount of water Indian tribes could claim (Hundley, 1978). Almost from the time the decision was handed down and especially during the 1980s and 1990s, tribes have repeatedly been forced back to the courts in efforts to quantify their federal water

rights, even though such lawsuits have jeopardized the possible extent of those rights.

The main reason for the continued difficulty in securing water rights under *Winters* has been that the application of what came to be known as the *Winters* doctrine has constantly come up against prior appropriation, the prevailing method of allocating water claims in the western United States. When the doctrine of prior appropriation is taken to include Indian tribal use, the courts necessarily enter the picture to allocate the amounts that the tribe would have the rights to as determined by their use of the water source. Because so many Indian reservations were established before most other water uses began in the West, tribes often hold the oldest and thus most valuable water rights. Since many Indian groups have occupied their land since before non-Native settlement, they have strong, ancient priority claims to water for tribal uses. However, state water laws in the West often place a priority on the idea of beneficial use, which, more often than not, involves agriculture. Although many Southwestern tribes, such as the Pueblos, have a long agricultural tradition predating European contact, and others, such as the Jicarilla Apache, have a mixed subsistence tradition, the factors of modern reservation life do not always mean that the tribes will use water for agriculture. Since Indian tribes are theoretically not held to state laws regarding water use, conflicts have continually risen over which water rights allocation system is applicable to the adjudication of rivers that flow through both Indian and non-Indian lands. The *Winters* doctrine would seem to support the view that Indians have the right to sufficient water to irrigate reservation agricultural lands; yet the doctrine of prior appropriation supports the idea that, if the Indians did not historically irrigate their lands, non-Indian water claims would be substantiated. The courts then have to examine what water was reserved for use on the Indian reservations, how tribal water rights are quantified and used, and how these water rights are regulated and enforced. Because of the potential extent and great value of the water that could be claimed by Indian tribes under the *Winters* doctrine, especially in the American West, where water has become increasingly scarce, Indian water rights have constantly been under attack in the federal and state courts and in other political arenas as well.

As contradictory as the two dominant systems of allocation, *Winters* and prior appropriation, may





appear, the situation in practice has been both less contradictory and more confusing than the various federal decisions would indicate. This is in part because the Justice Department's official position in favor of prior appropriation in the West conflicts with its legal obligation to uphold the reserved rights or Winters doctrine (McCool, 1987a). The Winters doctrine theoretically makes prior appropriation irrelevant. In practice, however, federal irrigation and reclamation programs have rarely been undertaken in the interests of Indian peoples, even when they were constructed adjacent to Indian lands. The Bureau of Reclamation (BOR), dedicated to the doctrine of prior appropriation and the promotion of non-Indian irrigated agriculture in the West, exercised great power and acted decisively in the interests of their constituents when allocating the waters made useful by their construction projects. Legal scholar Donald Worster was correct when he noted that "neither the courts nor Congress managed to settle the issue" and that "white appropriators had an uneasy but clear edge: they were already in possession" (Worster, 1985). *Winters* might have given the tribes a theoretically large claim to the waters of the West, but battles over gaining access to those waters continue to occupy the tribes, the federal and state courts, the Department of the Interior (as both the promoter of non-Indian development through the BOR and as the defender of Indian rights through the BIA), and Congress.

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See also Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Tribal Sovereignty; Water Rights.

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## Worcester v. Georgia

In *Worcester v. Georgia* presented before the Supreme Court in 1832, Chief Justice John Marshall determined that the Cherokee nation, as a distinct community, was empowered to exercise sovereign control over its internal affairs within the limits of its territory. According to the ruling, the U.S. federal government was duty bound to protect the Cherokee Indians from Georgia's violation of their treaty rights and from the interference of the state in their internal issues.

During the 1820s, the Cherokees held land in Georgia, North Carolina, Alabama, and Tennessee. In 1823, at the core of the Cherokees' crusade against removal from the Southeast, Cherokee leaders addressed President James Monroe to "remind him that the Cherokee are not foreigners but original inhabitants of America, and that they inhabit and stand on the soil of their own territory" (Vogel, 1972, 106). Recognition of Cherokee sovereignty and land rights by the federal government represented their strongest defense against removal.

By adopting their own constitution in 1827, the Cherokees rejected Georgia's jurisdiction. The state responded in December 1828, with an act by which it unilaterally extended its laws over the Cherokee people and nullified Cherokee legislation from June 1, 1830, onward. In answer to what they considered an infringement of their sovereignty, John Ross and three Cherokee representatives addressed a memorial to Congress on February 27, 1829, by which they declared, "the Cherokee are not prepared to submit to Georgia's persecuting edict. They would therefore . . . appeal to the United States government for justice and protection" (Ross, 1829).

To prevent non-Indians from aiding the Cherokee in their resistance against removal, Georgia passed an act in December 1830, whereby "all white persons residing in the Cherokee nation on the first day of March next [1831] without a license or permit from his Excellency, the governor, . . . and who shall not have taken the oath herein after required shall be guilty of a high misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by confinement in the penitentiary at hard labor, for a term not less than





four years" (*History of the Presbyterian Church in the Cherokee Nation*, n.d., 84–85).

The missionaries who resided in the Cherokee nation were the primary targets of the Act. In 1825, Reverend Samuel Worcester started his service with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions to the Cherokees at the Brainerd mission in Tennessee. He was transferred to New Echota, the capital of the Cherokee nation, in November 1827. Despite the new legislation, Worcester did not leave the Cherokee nation and refused to take the oath of allegiance to the state of Georgia. As a consequence, on March 12, 1831, Reverends Worcester, Thompson, and Proctor were arrested and presented to Judge Augustin Clayton in the Court of Gwinnett County. Clayton released the missionaries because he believed they were under the protection of the United States as agents of the government. Samuel Worcester benefited more clearly than the others from this status as a postmaster in New Echota.

Upon the request of Governor George Gilmer of Georgia, Secretary of War John Eaton denied the missionaries the status of agents of the government (McLoughlin, 1984, 259–260). In a letter dated May 16, 1831, Gilmer informed Samuel Worcester of his dismissal as a postmaster. In July 1831, the Georgia Guard arrested eleven missionaries, and they were sentenced to hard labor on September 16, 1831. Unlike most of their colleagues who surrendered to the state's law by either moving out of Georgia or taking the oath of allegiance, Samuel Worcester and Elizur Butler stood firm in their original position until the case eventually reached the Supreme Court in January 1832.

Chief Justice John Marshall pointed out that the constitutional power to deal with the Indians resided with the federal government alone, thus affirming the United States' recognition of Native peoples' sovereignty. The treaties signed between the Cherokee nation and the U.S. government demonstrated the political autonomy of the Cherokee people. Consequently, Georgia had no authority to nullify Cherokee laws or to interfere in the regulation of the dealings between American citizens and the Cherokees within the Cherokee nation. As such, Georgia was not entitled to forbid or restrain by means of a license Samuel Worcester's and the other missionaries' presence in the Cherokee nation, since the Cherokees allowed the missionaries to reside in their territory.

On March 3, 1832, Chief Justice John Marshall concluded: "The Cherokee nation is a distinct com-



*Samuel A. Worcester was a missionary to the Cherokee nation and refused to leave in spite of government regulations. (Library of Congress)*

munity, occupying its own territory, with boundaries accurately described, in which the laws of Georgia have no force. . . . It is the opinion of this court that the judgment of the superior court of the county of Gwinnett, in the state of Georgia, condemning Samuel A. Worcester to hard labor, in the penitentiary of the state of Georgia, for four years, was pronounced by that court under color of a law which is void, as being repugnant to the constitution, treaties and laws of the United States, and ought, therefore, to be reversed and annulled" (Getches, 1998, 120–121).

Governor Lumpkin of Georgia did not enforce Marshall's judgment immediately. In his 1832 annual message, Lumpkin condemned the decision of the Supreme Court as "Federal usurpation . . . intending to prostrate the sovereignty of this State." In addition, the governor announced the continuation of his plan "to ensure a speedy settlement of the unoccupied lands in Cherokee Country" (Lumpkin, 1907, 104, 106). Samuel Worcester and Elizur Butler were finally released in January 1833, but Georgia continued with the implementation of removal. The Cherokees' forced removal from Georgia to the Indian





Territory in present-day Oklahoma was achieved from 1835 through 1838.

Although *Worcester v. Georgia* did not thwart Georgia's removal of the Cherokees, it has served as a cornerstone in the deliberations about Indian peoples' self-government from the 1830s to the present. Marshall's decision marked clearly the limits of the states' jurisdiction and the role of the federal government as a guardian of Indian sovereignty. The case is still cited to preserve Indian nations from unconstitutional intrusions of individual states in their internal affairs.

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*See also* *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Jackson, Andrew; Trail of Tears.

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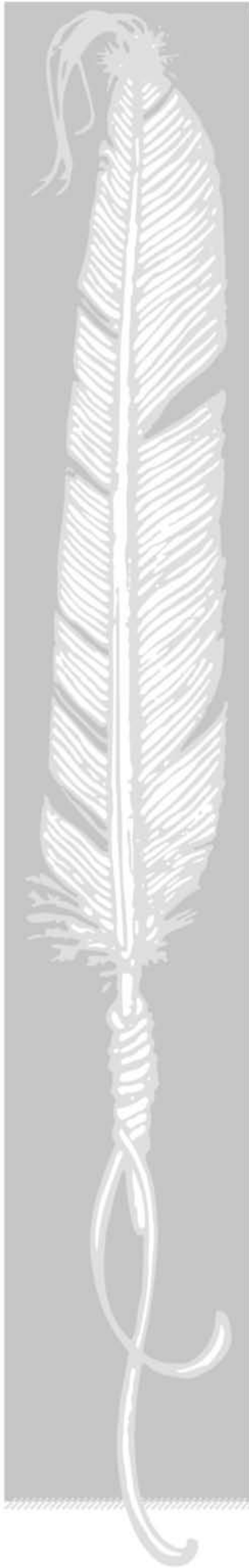
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# *People and Groups in American Indian History*



## **Aboriginal Peoples Television Network**

"History would have been told differently if our reporters had been there." Or so claims the aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), Canada's first and only aboriginal television network, established in 1999. The journey from concept to active broadcaster was, however, long and at times arduous.

In the late 1960s, aboriginal opposition to proposed changes to federal legislation aimed at terminating Canadian Indian special status manifested itself in the form of political organizations. In an attempt to keep aboriginal people nationwide informed of political events, several organizations established newsletters, many of which developed into larger monthly and weekly newspapers. An aboriginal print media industry slowly developed that eventually expanded to include small, community-based aboriginal-owned radio stations. During the early 1990s, however, significant cutbacks to federal funding nearly crippled the industry. While a number of publications survived, national statistics showed newspaper readership numbers to be waning while television viewers to be increasing significantly. Federal aboriginal officials soon began to promote the creation of a national aboriginal television network in an attempt to stabilize the national aboriginal communications program.

A small northern aboriginal television network, Television Northern Canada (TVNC), which began broadcasting northern and aboriginal programming from the Yukon to northern Labrador in 1991, was the catalyst that fueled the national aboriginal television network debate. A federal survey followed in 1998 that showed two-thirds of all Canadians supporting the idea of a national aboriginal television network, even if it meant displacing available services. Additional surveys demonstrated that Canadians were willing to pay an additional 15 percent for their monthly cable bill to receive an aboriginal television network. Canadian public support combined with strong lobbying by aboriginal communities, producers, and a variety of organizations led the





Canadian Radio-Television Telecommunications Commission (CRTC) to announce in February 1999 that the APTN would receive a national broadcast license.

The Aboriginal Peoples Television Network (APTN), Canada's first national aboriginal television network dedicated to Native programming, was launched on September 1, 1999. With programming for and about aboriginal people, APTN was developed to provide aboriginal producers, directors, actors, writers, and media professionals the opportunity to create innovative and relevant programming for national viewers reflecting Canada's diverse aboriginal cultures, both contemporary and historic. APTN offers a window into these worlds through a variety of programming, including dramas, entertainment specials, documentaries, news magazines, children's series, cooking shows, and education programs.

As APTN has grown, so has its audience. What was an upstart national television network with a limited market has evolved into an important entertainment, news, and educational choice delivered to more than 9 million households in Canada. Seventy percent of APTN programming originates in Canada, with more than half of the programs broadcast in English, 15 percent in French, and one-quarter in a variety of aboriginal languages including Inuktitut, Cree, Inuinaqtuun, Ojibway, Inuvialuktun, Mohawk, Dene, Gwich'in and Miqma'aq, Slavey, Dogrib, Chipewyan, and Tlingit. Nearly half of its programming is APTN-specific and cannot be seen on other networks. APTN airs 70 percent Canadian content with the remaining 30 percent of the schedule devoted to broadcasting indigenous programming from Australia, New Zealand, Central and South America, and the United States. Perhaps most notably, the majority of APTN programming originates with independent aboriginal producers from across the country and around the world, with the exception of news and live events. Network revenues are derived predominantly from subscriber fees and advertising proceeds. Employees of aboriginal descent comprise three-quarters of the APTN staff.

APTN has become more important than people realized following its inaugural 1999 broadcast. Recent data indicate that there are 500 aboriginal producers and broadcasters operating from a limited pool of money and that the communications system needs an influx of \$10 million (Belanger, Newhouse, and Fitzmaurice, 2005). Without this funding, most

of these broadcasters could be off the air in less than a year. With statistics showing that APTN viewing numbers have grown from weekly totals of 900,000 in 1999 to over 1,750,000 in 2003, APTN could become the main source of aboriginal news and entertainment in Canada in the near future.

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*See also* Canada, Indian Policies of; Language and Language Renewal.

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## **Akwesasne Freedom School**

The history of Native America would not be complete without mention of decades of forced assimilation through education in which speaking one's Native tongue was forbidden. Native students were often sent to boarding schools far from their homes, resulting in Native language decline and loss over a number of generations. However, across the nation, tribes have been making efforts at language revitalization and cultural reclamation, including the Mohawks of Akwasasne ("land where the partridge drums").

Beginning in 1979, an unprecedented effort to take control of their children's education began on the Akwasasne Mohawk Reservation with the establishment of the Akwasasne Freedom School (AFS). The Akwasasne Reservation, also known as the St. Regis Mohawk Indian Reservation, is located in northern New York and straddles the Canadian international border extending into Quebec and Ontario. The Mohawks are one of the five original members of the Haudenosaunee (People of the Longhouse) or Iroquois Confederacy, which also includes the Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca.





AFS was started in 1979 by a group of traditional Mohawk parents and community members who were concerned with the lack of cultural teaching and Mohawk language in public schools. AFS was dedicated to raising children in a traditional manner and to regaining what little remained of the Mohawk language. At its beginning, AFS held classes in makeshift classrooms during a two-year-long encampment. Conflict over tribal and state jurisdiction created division among the residents of Akwasasne, and families in the encampment decided not to send their children to public schools. Instead, they took responsibility for their children's education into their own hands. Parents, who had been forbidden to speak Mohawk in their own schooling, transformed themselves into teachers and carpenters building a grassroots community-based school.

Today, this pre-K through eight independent school is known for its language immersion program, conducting instruction in the Kanienkéha (Mohawk) language for grades pre-K through six. The school adopted a total immersion approach in 1985 in hopes of speeding up the process of developing language fluency. Students are placed in a transition program during seventh and eighth grades when English-dominant instruction prepares them to enter an off-reservation public high school. The school operates on a year-round, six-weeks-on/two-weeks-off basis and enrolls approximately sixty-five students. The schedule allows students to follow the natural seasonal cycle and helps ensure they are using the language on a year-round basis. Parents continue to play an integral role in the school's operation, sharing responsibilities from construction and cleaning to curriculum development.

The curriculum is based on the Ohén:ton Kariwahtékwen ("Words That Come Before All Else"), also known as the Thanksgiving Address, which pays respect to all living things. Students begin and end each day with its recitation while reading, writing, math, science, and history revolve around its teachings. Using art, song, and traditional stories, teachers instill values of respect, peace, and community. Community gardens and walks through nearby woods provide a natural environment for learning about traditional medicine plants and human relationships with the natural world. Students have the opportunity to attend traditional Longhouse ceremonies throughout the year as part of the curriculum. Originally a housing structure for extended families that went out of use in the nine-

teenth century, the Longhouse today refers to the traditional ceremonial place of the Haudenosaunee.

The school's goals are to ground students in their culture while teaching skills and knowledge necessary in the non-Native world. In 2002, AFS students were awarded the President's Environmental Youth Award for a wetland restoration project. Some alumni were awarded a place with the high school National Honor Society while others achieved valedictorian status. A sense of Mohawk identity, culture, and language provides a solid foundation for academic achievement.

AFS is independent of state and federal funding and relies primarily on support from the Akwasasne Mohawk Board of Education, private foundations, donations, and fund-raisers. An annual quilt auction is the largest fund-raising event for the school, and handmade donated quilts bring in thousands of dollars.

In 1986 toxic chemicals from a nearby industrial plant were found in the school wells. While bottled water helped the problem temporarily, a massive campaign to build a new school has been underway for the past several years. Partially completed, inadequate funding temporarily halted the project. However, AFS continues to work toward the goal of finishing its new building and toward supporting and encouraging Mohawk children to learn their roles and responsibilities as Haudenosaunees.

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*See also* Assimilation; Education; Identity; Language and Language Renewal.

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## **Akwasasne Notes**

Started during American Indian activism's modern reassertion in the late 1960s, *Akwasasne Notes* became one of the foremost Native-owned editorial voices for Native American rights in the United States and Canada. In a trade where advertising pays most of the bills, it carried nearly none. At a time when newspapers have come to resemble poor cousins of television, it rarely published in color, relying instead on pages dense with text. In a media world of megacorporations, *Akwasasne Notes* operated on a shoestring budget, rarely paying contributors or





editors and fiercely maintaining its editorial independence.

*Akwesasne Notes* was first begun as a compilation of news on topics of concern to Native Americans. In December 1968, the idea for such a journal was born around the kitchen table of Ernie (Kaientaronkwen) Benedict at Akwesasne. The first editor of the newspaper was Jerry Gambill, a non-Native Canadian, who was given the Mohawk name Rarihokwats. Gambill was employed as a community assistance worker in the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs when he first traveled to Akwesasne. He was fired from his government job in 1967 but remained at Akwesasne, living on Cornwall Island.

*Akwesasne Notes*'s coverage has included a reunion of Native peoples who took part in the occupation of Alcatraz Island, reports on a heated intellectual debate over whether the Iroquois Great Law helped inspire the U.S. Constitution, a report from indigenous peoples in Australia contributed by a Mohawk family who visited there, the latest plans for coal mining on the Hopi Reservation, and an account of negotiations between Nicaraguan Native peoples and the U.S. government. Other articles reported on the repression of Tibetan Natives by the Chinese government and the organization of U.S. chapters of the Green Party. *Akwesasne Notes* has also described Native American resistance to the destruction of Brazil's rain forests, detailed accounts of human rights violations in Guatemala, reported trade agreements between American Indian tribes and Third World nations, discussed a proposed world constitution, and editorially supported Greenpeace.

*Akwesasne Notes*'s circulation averaged about 10,000 copies per issue during the 1970s. Most subscribers received the paper by mail. The publication had a geographic reach that few newspapers could match, with copies being mailed to indigenous people and their supporters around the world.

As a voice of Akwesasne's traditional council of chiefs, the newspaper's content reflected its global approach to issues involving indigenous rights, but the focus of its coverage remained the Haudenosaunee ("People of the Longhouse"), the confederation of Indian nations that the French called the Iroquois and the English the Six Nations. To read *Notes*, one had to lay aside any notions of the noble savage, because its pages freely reported on internal dissension and occasional murder and fraud, providing graphic descriptions of the abysmal living conditions on many reservations.

On January 9, 1988, a firebomb razed the newspaper's offices during gambling-related violence at Akwesasne. Installed in a new office with donated equipment gathered from a worldwide network of supporters, *Akwesasne Notes* didn't miss a bimonthly issue after it sustained \$200,000 in uninsured losses from the midwinter fire. The fire gutted the Nation House that had been the newspaper's home for much of the previous two decades. In its first editorial after the fire (Spring 1988), the editors wrote: "Our offices were torched by those amongst us here at Akwesasne who oppose our reporting on the conflicts that are plaguing the Haudenosaunee [Iroquois] nations. . . . With the gambling, the cigarette smuggling, the violence . . . it is understandable why those criminal elements amongst us are opposed to a free press disseminating information about the illegal and immoral activities around us . . . They almost succeeded in putting us out of business . . . but we will survive" ("How It Is with Us," 1988, 2).

In 1991, following ongoing gambling-related turmoil at Akwesasne, the newspaper stopped publishing. It resumed in early 1995 in a glossy magazine format. For almost two years, the magazine provided a showcase for Native American issues and artwork. Unable to support the expenses of such a format, the publication reverted to a tabloid newspaper format in 1997, then again ceased publication. During almost three decades of publication, *Akwesasne Notes* incubated the talents of a number of notable Native American journalists and scholars, among them Jose Barreiro, editor of *Native Americas* magazine; John C. Mohawk, Seneca professor of Native American Studies at the State University of New York (Buffalo); and Doug George-Kanentiio, Mohawk activist and freelance writer.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Mohawk, John C.

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## Alaska Native Brotherhood

Twelve Alaskan Indian men who were former students of the Sitka Industrial Training School and the Carlisle Indian School formed the Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB) on November 5, 1912, in Juneau,





Alaska. Initially, membership was restricted to English-speaking, Christian Indians who pledged abstinence from alcohol. The ANB focused its energies on promoting Native solidarity, achieving U.S. citizenship, abolishing racial prejudice, and securing economic equality through the recognition of Indian land title and mineral rights, as well as the preservation of salmon stocks. The ANB promoted citizenship through good hygiene, punctuality, and regular school attendance, in addition to wearing Western dress, securing gainful and regular employment, using English as the primary language, and living in self-contained housing units apart from other Indians. The ANB embraced three central goals: (1) to force the recognition of the citizenship rights for the Natives of southeast Alaska; (2) to provide proper education for Native children; and (3) to abolish customs regarded by non-Natives as barbaric and uncivilized.

Comprised mainly of Tlingit and Haida men, the ANB was patterned after the non-Native fraternal organization known as the Arctic Brotherhood, a formal fishing union that strenuously lobbied the U.S. government for Alaskan congressional representation. Local ANB chapters called “camps” were located in various Native communities, guided by a central organizational and communications hub known as the Grand Camp that kept ANB delegates in regular contact and informed of political occurrences. Members held an annual convention of all the camps each November. Despite its nonsectarian approach, the ANB officers maintained a close relationship with the Presbyterian Sheldon Jackson school. By advocating the civilization and assimilation doctrine promoted by the federal government, the ANB’s leaders embraced a political philosophy that was antithetical to traditional Tlingit and Haida political culture. Nevertheless, by the mid-1920s, nearly every Native community in southeast Alaska had a local camp of either the ANB or the Alaska Native Sisterhood (established 1915). Further, the members of most Native communities openly cooperated with the Brotherhood and the Sisterhood.

The U.S. government during this period considered Native people to be wards of the state. This prompted ANB leaders to fight for citizenship and its attendant rights. As the ANB grew in popularity, its leaders became increasingly convinced of the organization’s influence over Alaskan politics. In 1921, ANB representative William Paul attempted to convince officials in Washington to prohibit fish traps from narrow bays and channels in Alaska.

Although Paul’s request was ignored, his appearance informed federal officials that the ANB was the political voice for Native Alaskans. The ANB continued lobbying federal officials to grant Indians full citizenship status, and, in 1924, the U.S. government acquiesced, subsequently passing the Indian Citizenship Act. Following the ANB’s attainment of Alaskan Indian enfranchisement, the Brotherhood attempted to extend its influence by subsequently working with both Native and non-Native labor leaders, eventually establishing itself as an influential labor union and bargaining agent. By the mid-1920s, the ANB represented Native Alaskans in both political and labor matters. Buoyed by support resulting from the distribution of the ANB journal, the *Alaska Fisherman* (established 1924), the ANB would remain an influential bargaining agent and labor force into the 1940s. Toward the end of the 1920s, ANB leaders denounced as discriminatory a recent announcement by the federal government that a single school system would be established for Native Americans. In 1929, William Paul successfully argued in court that Native parents had the right to send their children to the school of their choice. The attempt to dispose of separate Indian schools and to compel the federal government to recognize Native people as citizens was an ANB strategy designed to wrest from government control the direction of their lives. The ANB also announced its intention in 1929 to recover Tlingit land by joining forces with the Haidas to pursue a land claim settlement against the U.S. government. The ANB refined its political strategy at each of its subsequent five annual conventions, while persistently lobbying federal officials for change. The U.S. government eventually gave in and passed the Tlingit and Haida Jurisdictional Act of 15 June 1935, enabling the Tlingits and Haidas to initiate their land claim against the government and the U.S. Court of Claims.

By 1935, there were twenty-two camps with 2,200 members out of a total population of 6,000 Tlingit and Haida (Drucker, 1958). Significant community-based support notwithstanding, the Brotherhood was denied control of the land claims suit. Instead, the Department of the Interior supervised the creation of the Tlingit-Haida Central Council to pursue the land claim. For the first time in two decades, a proposed ANB strategy had failed. During this period, the ANB returned to the Tlingit heritage they had suppressed since the organization’s inception in 1912. Both the Tlingit language and the potlatch were reintegrated into the ANB philosophy.





The following year, the federal government extended the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) to Alaska (1936), enabling the formation of tribal governments at the village level. The ANB supported the IRA, a popular move that further strengthened its political resolve.

As the ANB grew in popularity, the Brotherhood became involved in issues beyond labor activism and its desire to ensure Native incorporation. In 1929, an ANB Grand Officer was refused access to the main level of a movie theater in Juneau. Informed that he would have to sit in the Native section of the balcony, he brought his complaint to the ANB. A similar event occurred a few years later when a group of Natives caused damage to an ice-cream parlor after being refused admission. The goal was to have their case heard publicly in court. Following these two high-profile events, the ANB aggressively lobbied the Alaska Territorial Legislature for change, and, in 1946, an antidiscrimination law was passed. Despite claiming these impressive political accomplishments, the ANB created the Tlingit-Haida Central Council (THCC) in the 1940s. The THCC was the legal organization established by the ANB to pursue the land claim, since anyone in Alaska could join the ANB. Despite the separate mandates (the ANB specialized in community activism, while the THCC took over more formal governmental duties), the two organizations continued to work together and share leadership at many levels.

The ANB continued in the wake of diminished political influence, and by the 1950s it could claim the financial stability that helped it remain free of political coercion. Financial success also meant that the ANB could spend \$50,000 to construct a new building at Hoonah in time for its 1952 convention. Organizational funding was largely generated through membership fees; each member contributed \$10 to join and paid an annual \$12 fee (Drucker, 1958). The Grand Camp directed half of this money to the Grand Treasurer. The money raised was used for a variety of other purposes, which included hiring a lawyer to defend a Native man convicted of violating fishing laws in the early 1950s.

The 1960s was a tumultuous period for Native people in Alaska and, in particular, the ANB. Having long been usurped by the Tlingit-Haida Central Council as the governing body of the Tlingit and Haida people, the land claim filed in the 1930s that the ANB had hoped to resolve was finalized in 1968 with an award to the Tlingits and Haidas of \$7.5 million. This opened the door for the Alaska Native

Claims Settlement Act (ANSCA) in 1971, which transferred approximately one-ninth of Alaska's land plus \$962.5 million in compensation to Native interests, thereby resolving all land claims previously brought against the state. Even though it was part of the original movement to support Alaska land claims and despite the fact that the ANB was one of the constituent organizations of the Alaska Federated Natives (AFN), it was largely shut out of these discussions. The ANB was further excluded from AFN operations following a reorganization in the mid-1970s. They nevertheless continued to hold annual meetings each November and delegates continued to pass resolutions that the Grand Camp took to state and federal officials. In October 2005, the ANB held its ninety-second annual convention, in Juneau.

As of 2005, the ANB was restructuring. Now visible online (ANB, n.d.), the organization Web site proudly lists ANB accomplishments, which include desegregation of Alaska schools, securing the Native franchise and relief for elderly Natives, supporting implementation of the IRA in Alaska, and bringing hospitals to Native people in Alaska. This is an impressive list to be sure, although most of these events occurred prior to the 1950s. The group is also refashioning its constitution, its manual of ceremonies, and its rules of order and official handbook. Criticism has been leveled at the ANB for becoming overly intricate, suggesting organizational inertia. Further, complaints persist that the ANB is slow to develop and circulate and to act on resolutions. Nevertheless, the ANB persists into the twenty-first century.

*Yale D. Belanger*

*See also* Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights.

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## All Indian Pueblo Council

The All Indian Pueblo Council (AIPC) is a representative, pantribal body composed of the governors of the nineteen New Mexico pueblos. As a consortium, the AIPC is empowered by and through each of the pueblo governors and tribal councils to act on behalf of all the member pueblos on matters that affect numerous member tribes, such as legal, economic, political, social, and environmental issues. The AIPC does not have governmental authority over the pueblos. Rather, each pueblo governs and usually advocates for itself in most matters, with the AIPC often coordinating pueblo efforts on issues concerning land rights, water rights, education, and religious and cultural issues.

Many Pueblo people assert that the roots of the AIPC extend back to the 1680 Pueblo Revolt, when leaders of many Pueblo groups met to organize resistance to the Spanish occupation, taxation, and religious repression. Although there is ample evidence from Pueblo leaders that a pantribal council met periodically throughout their history, the modern AIPC was formed in 1922 when numerous Pueblo leaders, along with Indian activist John Collier, called a meeting to formulate a strategy to deal with the threat posed by a bill sponsored by New Mexico senator Holm Bursum to Pueblo land and water rights, and, by extension, to their entire way of life. Successful in their efforts against the Bursum Bill, the group established a precedent for cooperative action to influence government policy that would continue to guide the AIPC.

Much of its early activity during the 1920s and 1930s was concerned with land rights, in particular learning how to deal with the federal government through Collier's tutelage (Collier served as Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the Roosevelt administration). Pueblo leaders learned how to organize and affect federal and state decisions that impacted both their tribal sovereignty and their land and water rights in the legislative, bureaucratic, and judicial realms. The AIPC was successful in advocating for the establishment of the Pueblo Lands Board to settle the countless claims arising from the pres-

ence of non-Indian squatters on lands promised to the Pueblos through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo's guarantees of the Spanish land grants.

However, local concerns were never far from the minds of the Pueblo leaders who actually made up the council. After World War II, AIPC members concentrated on improving the day-to-day existence of the Pueblo peoples. Much of this work had to do with spurring the Office of Indian Affairs both to take action on long-term issues and to deal effectively with ad hoc emergencies. Martin Vigil, the AIPC chairman for much of the postwar period, thought that the AIPC should be a forum for dealing with issues concerning the relationship between the Pueblos and the state and federal governments, particularly with regard to land and water rights.

In contrast with the American Indian Movement and other Red Power groups of the 1960s and 1970s, the AIPC kept its focus on issues of local importance, although many of these issues, such as water rights, had national implications. Education, which had always been important to the AIPC, also took on a new emphasis during these years. In its modern guise, the AIPC has concentrated more on issues of preserving Pueblo cultures through the operation of the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center and the Institute for Pueblo Indian Studies in Albuquerque, and on the operation of education and alcohol/addiction programs. However, it has served and continues to serve a vital role in protecting and even expanding the Pueblos' land base and water rights over much of the twentieth century. Its example shows that successful, coordinated action can be taken to protect tribal self-determination over land and water resources.

Steven L. Danver

See also Collier, John; Education; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Pan-Indianism; Pueblo Revolt.

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## American Indian Higher Education Consortium

The American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) was founded in 1972 by the presidents of the six oldest tribally controlled community colleges in America to lobby for American Indian Higher Education initiatives. Their mission was, and still is, to further the ability of Indian students to realize their academic potential and to foster Indian self-determination. AIHEC's Web page says that its mission:

... identifies four objectives: maintain commonly standards of quality in American Indian education; support the development of new tribally controlled colleges; promote and assist in the development of legislation to support American Indian higher education; and encourage greater participation by American Indians in the development of higher education policy ...

AIHEC now represents more than thirty colleges and universities in the United States and one in Canada. The consortium works to locate and maintain funding through the Tribally Controlled College or University Assistance Act and other government sources. Tribal colleges and universities do not usually qualify for state or local funds, due to their trust relationship with the federal government and their location on land held in trust (AIHEC, 2006, 1).

AIHEC was instrumental in securing legislation by executive order, No. 13021 issued by President Bill Clinton on October 19, 1996 and also signed by President George W. Bush on July 3, 2002 (No. 13270). These executive orders guarantee the support of various federal agencies and departments for tribal colleges. AIHEC and the presidents of the tribal colleges spent three years working to secure the initial executive order (Executive Orders 13021 and 13270, n.d., 1). In 1994, a research initiative was created by the AIHEC board of directors as a joint effort between the AIHEC and the American Indian College Fund. The initiative's goal is to conduct research and to create and maintain a database to track "Tribal college enrollment, budgets, curricula, facilities, services and student outcome" (Database, 1994, 1). Another aspect of the research initiative is to improve each college's research abilities. The AIHEC board of directors has identified this research initiative as being a top priority, second only to securing

and maintaining financial and legislative support for tribal colleges (Research Abilities, n.d.).

The AIHEC also acts as a clearinghouse for tribal colleges, government agencies, and the general public. AIHEC supports the *Tribal College Journal* (TCJ), providing the advisory board a voice, while granting editorial independence, "so it [is] not a typical in-house publication." After twelve years in publication, TCJ now prints more than 11,000 copies of its quarterly journal (TCJ, n.d.).

The American Indian Higher Education Consortium may be reached at:

AIHEC  
121 Oronoco Street, Alexandria, VA  
22314 (703) 838-0400

The *Tribal College Journal* can be reached at:

Tribal College Journal of American Indian  
Higher Education Consortium  
PO Box 720, Mancos, CO 81328  
(970) 533-9170

Daniel R. Gibbs

See also Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Education and Social Control; Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act; Education; Tribal Colleges.

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## American Indian Movement

The American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in 1968 by a group of Anishinabe that included Dennis Banks, Mary Jane Wilson, George Mitchell, and Pat Ballanger. Modeling itself after the Black Panther Party, AIM initially gained credibility





by forming street patrols to quell police violence routinely visited on the Indian community in Minneapolis. Over the next few years, service programs similar to those of the Panthers were established, including alternative schools, a multimedia news service, legal and health clinics, low-cost housing initiatives, and job-placement assistance.

In 1969 a group calling itself Indians of All Tribes (IAT) seized and occupied the abandoned federal prison on Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. Visiting Alcatraz in late 1969, Dennis Banks recruited a young Santee Sioux, John Trudell, who served as AIM's primary spokesperson from 1970 to 1979. Russell Means, a reservation-born, urban-raised Oglala Lakota, was also recruited. Means, a brilliant media strategist, conceived of and led the occupation of Mount Rushmore in the fall of 1970 and organized AIM's seizure of the *Mayflower* replica at Plymouth, Massachusetts, on Thanksgiving Day, 1971.

By 1971, AIM was focusing on land and treaty issues, with an increased emphasis on reservation life. The group rapidly gained credibility, dramatically increasing the size and diversity of its membership. By late 1972, by unofficial count, forty-three AIM chapters had been started in the United States and another half-dozen in Canada. AIM soon had solid alliances with the Crusade for Justice, a Denver-based Chicano organization headed by Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, the Los Angeles-based Brown Berets and Chicano Moratorium, Jesse Jackson's Operation Push in Chicago, the Puerto Rican Young Lords Party in New York, and the remnants of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California. Euro-American activists supported AIM through organizations such as Venceremos and Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), and Cherokee activist/artist Jimmie Durham organized a network of Native American Support Committees (NASCs) that spanned the continent. An international dimension was added by AIM's relationship with the All-African People's Revolutionary Party, headed by Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Turé).

For several years AIM pursued a strategy of forcing highly visible confrontations with federal, state, and local authorities. The 1971 takeover of unused military facilities at Fort Lawton, near Seattle, resulted in the construction of an American Indian cultural institution on the site, The Daybreak Star Center. Confrontations in Oklahoma and Minnesota led to the establishment of Native-controlled schools. In Denver, AIM actions produced improved health care for Native people.



*Members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) beat a drum in support of their cause during the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota. AIM's flag is displayed behind the group. (Corbis/Bettman-UPI)*

It was, however, in the small town of Gordon, Nebraska, just south of the Pine Ridge Reservation, that AIM consolidated its reputation among Native peoples. There, Raymond Yellow Thunder, a middle-aged Oglala, had been tortured and murdered by two local residents, Melvin and Leslie Hare, in January 1972. As was routine in those days, local authorities refused to respond and Yellow Thunder's family appealed to AIM. Russell Means led more than one thousand Indians and supporters into Gordon, announcing that AIM had come to put Gordon on the map, adding that if the Hares weren't charged with murder within seventy-two hours, they would come back to take it *off* the map. Shortly thereafter, the Hare brothers became the first whites in Nebraska history to be prosecuted, convicted, and imprisoned for killing an Indian.

As a result of this unprecedented victory, AIM gained the widespread respect of traditionalists,





who were beginning to view the movement as a modern warriors' society dedicated to defending the people. Hundreds of younger members were attracted by the movement's confrontational politics, which released them from a lifelong sense of disempowerment. Soon, displays of "Indianness" such as braids, ribbon shirts, and chokers joined bumper stickers reading "Indian and Proud" as standard fashion statements wherever Native people gathered. The shame of being born into oppression had been cast off in Indian country.

### Trail of Broken Treaties

The Trail of Broken Treaties ended with the most spectacular of AIM's confrontations, in which the Bureau of Indian Affairs' Washington, D.C. headquarters was occupied. By 1972 the organization had been embraced by Leonard Crow Dog, a Brûlé Lakota traditionalist from the Rosebud Reservation, adjoining Pine Ridge. He became the movement's spiritual leader and after his 1972 Sun Dance, it was agreed that AIM should carry the struggle forward into a new phase by organizing delegations from as many peoples as possible to converge on Washington, D.C. AIM's intent was to force President Richard M. Nixon, then running for reelection, to publicly acknowledge and pledge corrective action concerning the U.S. government's long-standing pattern of violating treaties with American Indians, usurping their governments, and expropriating their lands and resources. As a result of such policies and practices, Native people had long been the most impoverished population group identified in the U.S. Census. In 1972, for example, annual per-capita income on the Pine Ridge Reservation was barely \$1,200, unemployment hovered at about 90 percent, and male life expectancy averaged 44.6 years.

Arrangements were made with federal authorities for planned demonstrations and ceremonies, as well as for food and housing for the participants. When officials reneged, several hundred protesters occupied the BIA headquarters, conducting daily press conferences and refusing to leave until Nixon personally agreed to respond to each demand in the demonstrators' twenty-point program. Nixon agreed—another promise that would be broken—and the occupiers withdrew, taking large numbers of BIA files with them. Over the next several months, the files were copied, the originals returned to the BIA, and duplicates distributed to the peoples whose assets and affairs were affected. Among many other

programs that provoked Indian peoples' rage, the BIA files revealed an involuntary sterilization program secretly run by the BIA's Indian Health Service (IHS). Eventually it was estimated that, between 1970 and 1975, approximately 40 percent of all American Indian women of childbearing age had been sterilized, a disclosure that forced the relocation of IHS to the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (now Health and Human Services).

BIA documents also revealed fraudulent governmental activity with respect to assets managed in trust by the BIA as a result of the plenary power asserted by the United States over Indian affairs since 1903. Under BIA-negotiated leases, American Indians were receiving, on average, about 10 percent of the royalties they would have received on the open market. Armed with this information, many Native people were able to force changes in the administration of their lands and resources, although trust funds still unaccounted for by the BIA total well over a \$100 billion.

Rather than responding to the issues raised by the Trail of Broken Treaties, the Nixon administration launched a campaign to discredit AIM and whatever information it might disseminate. Sensational stories were planted in the press, falsely claiming that AIM "vandals" had done more physical damage to the Capitol than anyone since the British in 1812. The federally funded National Tribal Chairmen's Association denounced AIM leaders as irresponsible revolutionaries without a Native constituency. In the meantime, the FBI was instructed to target and politically neutralize the movement.

### Wounded Knee Siege

As AIM members returned home in triumph, Russell Means found himself barred from the Pine Ridge Reservation—despite the fact that he was an enrolled tribal member and owned land there—by thugs working for recently installed Pine Ridge President Dick Wilson. Wilson had been given federal funds to establish a paramilitary group that came to be known as the Guardians of the Oglala Nation (GOONs). The GOONs, who overlapped considerably with the BIA police, were used to terrorize Wilson's opponents. In response, the Oglala Sioux Civil Rights Organization (OSCRO), headed by Pedro Bissonette, was organized to impeach Wilson.

In January 1973 Dennis Banks called for AIM members to gather in Rapid City to begin a major civil rights campaign. Upon arrival, they learned





that Wesley Bad Heart Bull, a young Oglala, had been stabbed to death in the nearby town of Buffalo Gap. As in the Yellow Thunder case, local police refused to bring charges and the victim's mother asked for AIM's help. This time, however, the authorities were prepared when the AIM contingent arrived in Custer, South Dakota. First, an anonymous caller caused the *Rapid City Journal* to announce that the demonstration had been canceled, so the turnout was low. The Indians were then met by a combined force of local, county, and state police tactical units, overseen by FBI observers. In the ensuing struggle, the Custer County Courthouse and the local chamber of commerce building were set ablaze and most of the Indians, including Russell Means, Dennis Banks, and Bad Heart Bull's mother Sarah were subsequently arrested on charges of riot and arson. The trials dragged on for years and resulted in convictions of most of the defendants. Sarah Bad Heart Bull was sentenced to serve a year in jail, while her son's killer never spent a day behind bars.

In the meantime, impeachment efforts on Pine Ridge had been thwarted. OSCRO had obtained more signatures for Wilson's removal than the number of votes by which he was elected, but the BIA—having first brought in a sixty-man Special Operations Group (SOG) of U.S. marshals to “maintain order”—allowed Wilson to preside over his own impeachment. Under these conditions, Wilson was retained in office by a fourteen-to-zero vote of the tribal council and immediately proclaimed a reservation-wide ban on all political meetings. Unable to resolve their grievances through any sort of conventional due process, the elders of the traditional Oglala leadership asked AIM to intervene.

On February 27, 1973, it was decided that a press conference would be held the following day to expose what was happening on Pine Ridge. A symbolic site was chosen—the mass grave of some 350 Lakotas massacred by the U.S. Army at Wounded Knee in 1890. About 150 AIM members immediately went to the tiny hamlet to prepare, while others began notifying the media. At dawn, those inside Wounded Knee realized that, overnight, Wilson's GOONs had set up roadblocks that both prevented press access and sealed in the AIM organizers. SOG reinforcements and FBI personnel soon arrived and by the following day, two “consultants”—actually special warfare experts—had been dispatched by Nixon's military advisor, General Alexander Haig.

The seventy-one-day Siege of Wounded Knee had begun. Unprepared for an armed confrontation or a protracted occupation, the AIM contingent obtained weapons from a local trading post and quickly improvised defensive “bunkers.” Supporters soon worked out a way to smuggle in food, clothing, arms, and ammunition through the federal lines. By March 7, nearly 300 marshals and more than 100 FBI agents were deployed on Pine Ridge, supported by about 250 BIA police, most of them SWAT team members from other reservations, some 150 GOONs and about an equal number of non-Indian vigilantes. State and local police in the five surrounding states intercepted anyone suspected of heading for Wounded Knee, arresting some 1,200 persons over the next two months.

General Haig's “consultants” arranged for the provision of military equipment, ranging from armored personnel carriers to M-79 grenade launchers; an elite rapid deployment force stood by for an airborne assault; and the Strategic Air Command conducted aerial reconnaissance. More flares illuminated the perimeter at night than were used by U.S. forces in Vietnam during any year of the war. All told, a half-million rounds were fired into the perimeter during the siege, killing Frank Clearwater, an Apache, and Buddy Lamont, an Oglala, and wounding many others. In addition, Wilson's GOONs are believed to have murdered as many as thirteen people captured while attempting to slip in. When sheer government firepower failed to stop supplies from reaching the encampment, the grass was burned off for a half-mile in all directions.

The confrontation ended only when federal officials agreed to conduct a full investigation of the Wilson regime and to meet with traditional Oglala leaders concerning U.S. violations of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, the document that officially defines U.S.-Lakota relations. Again, the agreement was violated by the authorities, but AIM's purpose had been accomplished. By the end of the siege on May 7, 1973, the conditions on Pine Ridge, and in Indian Country generally, had been the focus of international attention for over two months.

Within the year, AIM would translate this attention into the establishment of its diplomatic arm, the International Indian Treaty Council (IITC). Directed by NASC's Jimmie Durham, the IITC's mandate was to bring the issue of indigenous rights to the United Nations. By 1977, it was the first Native American organization to attain formal United





Nations consultative status. Durham was instrumental in organizing the “Indian Summer in Geneva,” a conference that led to the establishment in 1982 of the UN Working Group on Indigenous Populations. The Working Group provided a regular forum for reporting violations of Native rights and for drafting a Universal Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples for adoption by the UN General Assembly. It has become a major international forum for indigenous peoples around the world, and the Draft Declaration, completed in 1993, is under review by the UN Commission on Human Rights.

### AIM Trials

In May 1973, however, these international developments lay in the future. AIM’s priority was to survive the 185 indictments its members faced following the siege of Wounded Knee. In February 1974 Russell Means and Dennis Banks went to trial, charged with everything from criminal conspiracy and kidnapping to car theft and assaulting federal officers. Prosecutors were unscrupulous, even introducing the testimony of an “eyewitness” who had been in California during the siege. After more than eight months, Judge Fred J. Nichol dismissed all charges, noting that the waters of justice had been “polluted” (his word) by governmental misconduct, and that “[t]he FBI has stooped to a new low” (Johansen and Maestas, 1979, 91).

Later it was revealed the FBI had an infiltrator in the defense team throughout the trial. By the end of 1974, the government had obtained only five minor convictions after having prosecuted forty cases. The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee (WKLDOC), created by attorneys Ken Tilson and Beverly Axelrod, challenged U.S. jurisdiction over the remaining cases as violating the 1868 treaty. Judge Warren Urbom ruled, in effect, that, while this would once have been true, the United States had so long and regularly violated the treaty that its legal force had been eroded. The Justice Department dismissed fifty pending cases, but twenty “leadership trials” dragged on for another year. Spiritual leader Leonard Crow Dog, Oklahoma AIM leader Carter Camp, and Stan Holder, who headed security at Wounded Knee, were convicted of interfering with a group of marshals who had attempted to enter the AIM perimeter disguised as postal inspectors. Ultimately, federal prosecutors obtained only fifteen guilty verdicts, none for substantial offenses.

It later became apparent that the government had not gone to court expecting a better conviction rate. Rather, its strategy was one of political neutralization, using pretextual arrests to keep the activists tied up in court, their organization bankrupted by bail and legal costs. This continued, albeit on a more selective basis. Russell Means, for example, faced one charge after another for years. He was even tried for murder in 1976, despite the fact that his alleged victim stated repeatedly before he died that Means was *not* one of the assailants. Acquitted in each case, the apparently endless proceedings eventually exhausted Means’s patience. His refusal, as well as that of other AIM members, to rise for the judge in Sarah Bad Heart Bull’s 1974 trial resulted in a courtroom brawl and Means’s only felony conviction, for which he was sentenced to four years under a South Dakota statute that had never before been used and was repealed while he was in prison.

Dennis Banks was convicted on the Custer charges in July 1975. Facing a fifteen-year sentence, he became a fugitive. California Governor Jerry Brown granted him sanctuary, citing South Dakota Attorney General William Janklow’s statement that “the way to deal with AIM leaders is to put a bullet between their eyes.” Janklow had campaigned on a pledge to “put the AIM leaders either in jail or under it” (Churchill and Vander Wall, 2002, 345–346).

In 1982 Brown was succeeded by George Deukmejian, and Banks again went underground, surfacing on the Onondaga Reservation in upstate New York. Finally, in September 1984, after obtaining assurances of safety from Janklow, who had since become governor of South Dakota, Banks surrendered and served thirteen months.

In the meantime, in November 1975, Banks, his wife Kamook, and AIM members Kenny Loud Hawk and Russell Redner were charged with federal explosives and firearms violations. The case was dismissed for lack of evidence in 1976, reinstated in 1980, and again dismissed in 1983, this time because the government had violated the defendants’ right to a speedy trial. In January 1986 the U.S. Supreme Court reinstated the charges, and six months later the case was again thrown out on the basis of additional prosecutorial misconduct. The Justice Department sought reinstatement yet again and, in late 1988, a weary Dennis Banks entered a pro forma guilty plea in exchange for a suspended sentence and the dropping of charges against his codefendants.

In another case, Los Angeles AIM members Paul “Skyhorse” Durant and Richard “Mohawk”





Billings were accused of the torture and murder of a cab driver. Local officials had arrested the likely culprits within hours of the slaying and were preparing charges when the FBI apparently convinced them to immunize the accused as state's witnesses and to charge Skyhorse and Mohawk instead. When the case finally came to trial it became obvious that the state's evidence was either meaningless or crudely fabricated. Finally a primary witness admitted that he had killed the victim, and Skyhorse and Mohawk were acquitted. By then, however, they had been imprisoned for nearly four years and AIM's reputation in California was irreparably damaged.

Summing up this ongoing legal travesty, WKL-DOC attorney William Kunstler observed, "the purpose of the trials [was] to break the spirit of the American Indian Movement by tying up its leaders and supporters in court and forcing [it] to spend huge amounts of money, time and talent to keep [its] people out of jail, instead of building an organization that can work effectively for the Indian people" (Matthiessen, 1991, 193–194). Black Panther Party attorney Charles Garry noted that this approach was identical to that used by the FBI in its efforts to destroy the Panthers' political effectiveness between 1969 and 1971.

### Reign of Terror on Pine Ridge

During the siege, Dick Wilson proclaimed that AIM would die at Wounded Knee. In a less dramatic manner this was confirmed by a 1973 FBI document entitled "Paramilitary Operations in Indian Country." Even before the U.S. marshals were withdrawn from Wounded Knee, the GOONs were appearing with new, fully automatic M-16 rifles and state-of-the-art military communications equipment. Years later, GOON leader Duane Brewer admitted that the FBI had secretly funneled weapons, munitions, and equipment to them. The FBI claims it only provided the BIA police with such lethal paraphernalia, but it was common knowledge that approximately two-thirds of the reservation police doubled as GOONs.

Between March 1973 and March 1976, at least sixty-nine AIM members and supporters were murdered on or near Pine Ridge, giving the reservation a murder rate *eight times* that of Detroit, then considered the "murder capital of the United States" (Johansen and Maestas, 1979, 83). One of the first fatalities was OSCRO leader Pedro Bissonette, shot point-blank in the chest with a 12-gauge shotgun after being stopped at a police roadblock in October

1973 and then was left to bleed to death. In March 1975, Bissonette's apolitical sister-in-law Jeanette was also shot to death. According to Brewer, she had been mistaken for Ellen Moves Camp, a prominent Pine Ridge activist. AIM supporter Jim Little was severely beaten in September 1975 and died while the ambulance took an hour to come the two miles from the BIA hospital. In January 1976, attorney Byron DeSersa, a Wilson opponent, was shot and left to bleed to death in a ditch. Numerous witnesses identified the assailants—all known GOONs—but FBI personnel on the scene arrested no one but one witness, an elderly Cheyenne named Guy Dull Knife, whom the agents accused of becoming "abusive" when they failed to act.

As the death toll rose, approximately 340 additional AIM members and supporters on Pine Ridge were subjected to serious physical assaults, including attempts on their lives. In March 1975, the home of seventy-year-old Matthew King, an assistant to Chief Fools Crow and an uncle of Russell Means, was riddled by gunfire. Two nights later, Fools Crow's house was burned to the ground. Tribal council member Severt Young Bear's home was shot at so often that he "lost track" of the number of instances. In June, Means was shot in the back by a BIA police officer, who claimed that Means was engaging in "rowdy behavior." The following November, a BIA officer opened fire on the home of AIM supporter Chester Stone, wounding Stone, his wife, and two small children.

AIM and its supporters continued to seek due-process remedies. In 1974 Russell Means opposed Wilson in the elections for tribal president. Means won the primary by a wide margin but ostensibly lost the runoff by an even larger number of votes. The Denver office of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division found evidence of massive fraud, but nonetheless Wilson remained in office. Criminal investigation of the Wilson regime had been a central demand of the Wounded Knee standoff, and in 1975 the General Accounting Office finally completed an audit. It concluded that Wilson could not account for more than \$300,000 in federal highway funds, but no charges were ever filed.

Many, perhaps most, of the crimes committed against AIM and its supporters were committed by the BIA police who were not likely to investigate themselves. George O'Clock, special agent in charge of the FBI's Rapid City Resident Agency, which had primary jurisdiction over the reservation, explained that he was too "short of manpower" to investigate





the homicides, attempted homicides, or assaults against AIM. During this same period, however, O'Clock had sufficient resources to create more than 316,000 investigative documents on the victims of this violence.

In July 1975 Denver Civil Rights Division investigators returned to Pine Ridge and concluded that the Wilson regime, with the complicity of federal authorities, had visited a "reign of terror" on reservation residents for over two years. Their recommendation for resumption of a congressional inquiry into FBI operations on Pine Ridge, which had just been "indefinitely postponed," was ignored. In 1987, GOON leader Duane Brewer confirmed that, for all practical purposes, the GOONs had operated as a death squad, coordinated by the FBI in much the same way that the Central Intelligence Agency used paramilitary organizations in Latin America. The reign of terror on Pine Ridge was not law enforcement gone awry so much as an exercise in counterinsurgency warfare by domestic police agencies. The FBI, it appears, was escalating the illegal counterintelligence operations, or COINTELPROs revealed in the 1975 Senate Select Committee's *Report on Intelligence Activities and the Rights of Americans*, that the Bureau had conducted to "disrupt, destabilize and destroy" the Black Panther Party and other activist organizations.

Despite all of these efforts, the FBI had not succeeded in destroying the American Indian Movement. AIM security had organized armed defensive clusters around the reservation and the GOONs began to back off. An opportunity to eliminate the resistance altogether presented itself on June 26, 1975, when two FBI agents, Ronald Williams and Jack Coler, approached a Northwest AIM encampment on the property of Harry and Cecelia Jumping Bull, elderly traditionalists living a few miles south of the town of Oglala. Ostensibly the agents were serving a (nonexistent) warrant for the arrest of seventeen-year-old Jimmy Eagle, accused of stealing a pair of used cowboy boots. In fact, they stopped close to the Northwest AIM camp and opened fire. Receiving heavy return fire, the two agents were soon fatally shot as they radioed frantically for backup. Despite the reservation's remote location, the requested help began to arrive almost immediately. The FBI later claimed that roughly 150 BIA SWAT personnel were "coincidentally" in the area for an unrelated training exercise, and before the end of the day FBI SWAT teams based in Quantico, Virginia, Minneapolis, Chicago, Denver, and elsewhere

were on the scene. Governor Janklow managed to arrive with a group of local vigilantes while the fire-fight was still in progress. Apparently the FBI had hoped to quickly overrun the AIM encampment at the Jumping Bull compound, then send in an overwhelming force to eliminate AIM positions across the reservation. However, when AIM responded strongly, both BIA and FBI units took up blocking positions rather than mounting an attack. Coler and Williams were thus abandoned and all of the "insurgents" escaped, with the exception of Joe Stuntz Killwright, an AIM member from Coeur d'Alene, Idaho, killed by a sniper at long range.

The FBI immediately barred the press from the scene, then "explained" publicly that the agents had been "lured" into an "ambush" by "AIM guerillas." The government spokesperson, flown in from Washington, D.C., for the occasion, even provided reporters with what were supposed to be one of the agents' last words before he was "viciously executed." None of this was factual, but headlines across the country depicted AIM as killers and the FBI sent in 400 agents, complete with combat fatigues, M-16s, armored personnel carriers, and Huey helicopters. For two months they conducted Vietnam-style "sweeps" through the reservation, kicking in doors and mounting "air assaults" on the properties of known AIM members on both Pine Ridge and Rosebud.

As AIM was being pounded into disarray, Dick Wilson went to Washington to sign preliminary documents transferring title of the Sheep Mountain Gunnery Range to the Interior Department's National Park Service. This area, the northwestern eighth of the reservation, was ostensibly to be incorporated into the Badlands National Monument, but the Interior Department had known for some time that it contained large deposits of uranium intermixed with molybdenum. Eventually the Oglalas recovered the surface lands involved, but not the subsurface mineral rights.

The FBI still needed to hold someone accountable for the deaths of Coler and Williams, and it also wanted to prevent AIM from effectively regrouping. To these ends it began the RESMURS (Reservation Murders) investigation, an acronym applied only to the deaths of the agents, not to the scores of still unsolved Indian homicides. Although the FBI knew that a number of local Oglalas were involved, it targeted Bob Robideau, Dino Butler, and Leonard Peltier, "outsiders" perceived to be the backbone of Northwest AIM.





Butler and Robideau were captured in the summer of 1975 and tried in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, in June 1976. At trial, the government's credibility was undermined by its reliance on transparently false witnesses, and the all-white jury returned verdicts of not guilty on all counts. The jury noted that Butler and Robideau had acted in self-defense, doing "only what any reasonable person would do, under the circumstances" that had been created on Pine Ridge (Churchill, 2003, 280).

Meanwhile, Peltier had escaped to a traditional Cree community in Alberta, Canada. Arrested in February 1976, he was extradited to the United States, primarily on the basis of a fraudulent "eyewitness affidavit" prepared by the FBI. This flagrant violation of the U.S.-Canada extradition treaty was later exposed, prompting the Canadian parliament to consider canceling the treaty altogether. Peltier was still fighting extradition during the Butler and Robideau trials and thus was tried separately upon his return.

Determined not to repeat the "mistakes" of its first trial, the Justice Department had Peltier's case moved to North Dakota, where it found district judge Paul Benson willing to narrowly restrict the evidence to the events of June 26, 1975. This precluded the introduction of the Cedar Rapids trial record and, more generally, any explanation of the reign of terror prevailing at the time of the firefight. Prosecutors then argued a "lone gunman" theory, completely contradicting the evidence they had introduced against Butler and Robideau. Based on the introduction of much fabricated evidence, the jury quickly found Peltier guilty of double homicide and on June 1, 1977, Judge Benson sentenced Peltier to two consecutive life sentences.

The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals acknowledged more than thirty reversible errors, but allowed Peltier's conviction to stand. Shortly thereafter, William Webster, the chief judge of the circuit court, became director of the FBI, but both the Eighth Circuit and the Supreme Court denied review. Despite ongoing appeals based on additional evidence of governmental misconduct and on prosecutor Lynn Crooks' 1987 acknowledgment that he "really has no idea who shot those agents," Leonard Peltier remains in prison in 2007, routinely denied parole because he refuses to "accept responsibility" for the deaths of the agents. Petitions for his release have been signed by more than 14 million people internationally, and Amnesty International has declared Peltier a "prisoner of conscience." In Janu-

ary 2001, President Bill Clinton was on the verge of signing a long-promised commutation of Peltier's sentence when FBI agents mounted highly publicized protests and Clinton backed down. Peltier thus remains in prison, not for any crime he has committed, but as a symbol of the federal government's arbitrary ability to repress indigenous peoples' legitimate aspirations to liberation.

### The Ongoing Struggle

By the late 1970s AIM was in serious decline. Its reputation suffered as a result of rumors, which may have had some substance, that in February 1976 AIM members had murdered one of their own, a Mi'kmaq named Anna Mae Pictou Aquash, who had been "bad-jacketed" (a standard COINTELPRO tactic) as an infiltrator. In 2005, the case was revived by federal prosecutors, apparently as part of a wider effort to discredit activist organizations of the 1960s and 1970s. One former AIM member, Arlo Looking Cloud, was tried and convicted; another, John Graham, is fighting extradition from Canada; and it appears that indictments will be brought against several others.

In 1979, shortly after his wife, three children, and mother-in-law were murdered on the Duck Valley Reservation in Nevada, John Trudell, the only remaining "national" AIM officer, resigned and announced that all comparable positions had been abolished.

In 1978 Dennis Banks organized The Longest Walk, a march from San Francisco to Washington, D.C., to protest pending legislation to repeal all treaties with American Indians. The bills were subsequently defeated, in part due to this action but more fundamentally because U.S. claims to the legitimacy of the occupation of Indian lands are based largely on those same treaties. Banks, too, has "retired" from AIM, although he continues to coordinate walks and runs to draw attention to Native issues.

During 1979 Jimmie Durham and IITC associate director Paul Chaat Smith resigned as well, citing the organization's increasingly close ties to the governments of Cuba and other socialist countries. During the mid-1980s the IITC incorporated and replaced its council of traditional elders with a handpicked board, which immediately aligned itself with Nicaragua's Sandinista government, thereby helping quash the right of the indigenous people in Nicaragua to self-determination. This splintered what was left of AIM. The Treaty Council continues





to exist, without a discernible base of grassroots support and functioning essentially as an appendage of the statist entities it was created to oppose.

Russell Means during 1981 led the seizure of an 880-acre tract in the Black Hills National Forest. Named Yellow Thunder Camp, the site was continuously occupied until 1985 while AIM took the battle to court. It won a landmark decision, with District Judge Robert O'Brien ruling that the Lakotas, and thus other Indians, were entitled to view entire geographic areas as sacred sites and to enjoy use and, in certain instances, occupancy rights. This was soon nullified, however, by the Supreme Court's 1988 decision in the "G-O Road" case, *Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association*.

Means and Colorado AIM leader Glenn Morris organized a broad coalition of local organizations to protest the annual Columbus Day parade in Denver during the early 1990s. In the summer of 1992, a jury not only acquitted Means, Morris, and two other Colorado AIM members of violating the First Amendment rights of the Columbus Day organizers, but stated that the city of Denver had violated international law by issuing a permit for the parade. This led to the cancellation of an extravagant 1992 celebration of the quincentennial of Columbus's "discovery of America." By 2000 such celebrations of genocide had reemerged, and again protestors led by Colorado AIM were acquitted. In 2002, over 240 people were arrested and charged with disrupting the parade; after losing yet another jury trial, Denver officials were forced to drop charges against all remaining defendants.

AIM's Denver victories in the early 1990s stimulated activities in chapters across the country, and even this modest resurgence illustrated that the FBI was still anxious to neutralize the movement. In a bizarre twist, a barrage of notices were issued by an entity calling itself the National American Indian Movement, claiming that the Colorado chapter was fraudulent, that its leadership consisted of "white men masquerading as Indians" and "probable police agents," and that the entire group had therefore been "summarily expelled" from AIM. It turned out that "National AIM" was actually a Minnesota-based nonprofit corporation with no membership of its own, subsisting on corporate and federal funding. Nonetheless, the confusion it generated negated any potential for a genuine AIM revitalization.

Despite the generally successful neutralization of the movement, AIM was instrumental in transforming the circumstances of Native life in ways that

may prove irreversible. A sense of pride was instilled among people long oppressed; Indian issues were forced into public consciousness for the first time in many generations; and the movement illustrated that gains could be made by direct confrontation. This understanding is reflected in the armed confrontations undertaken by Mohawks at Oka, near Montreal, and elsewhere, confrontations over land issues that continue in 2006 in places such as Caledonia, Ontario. The militant struggles of the 1970s have laid the groundwork for a future that certainly looks brighter than it did for Indian people two generations ago.

Ward Churchill

*See also* Aquash, Anna Mae Pictou; Banks, Dennis; Identity; Means, Russell; Oakes, Richard; Occupation of Alcatraz Island; Pan-Indianism; Peltier, Leonard; Pine Ridge Political Murders; Red Power Movement; Trail of Broken Treaties; Wilson, Richard; Wounded Knee, South Dakota, Massacre at.

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## Anderson, Wallace Mad Bear

A medicine man and prophet, Wallace Mad Bear Anderson also was a noted Native American rights activist during the 1950s and 1960s. During his lifetime, he led national and international efforts for the recognition of the sovereignty of Indian nations.

Anderson, a member of the Tuscarora nation, was born on November 9, 1927, in Buffalo, New York. Called Mad Bear by his grandmother because of his temper, he grew up on the Tuscarora Indian Reservation, near Niagara Falls. As a young man, he enlisted in the U.S. Navy. After he returned from service, Anderson applied for a loan under the GI Bill to build a house on the reservation. When the loan was denied, Anderson's belief that he was discriminated against because of his race prompted him to become an activist for Native American rights.

In 1957, Anderson led Iroquois protests against state income taxes. The demonstrations culminated in a march to the Massena, New York, state courthouse, where several hundred protestors burned summonses for their unpaid taxes. The following year, Anderson became a key figure in the Tuscarora Reservoir Protest. After the Power Authority of the State of New York seized 1,383 acres of the Tus-

carora Reservation to build a reservoir that would flood the land, Tuscarora men, women, and children joined forces to resist the taking of their land. Anderson and others blocked surveyors from entering the reservation and deflated workers' tires. When approximately 100 state troopers threatened to enter the reservation, the demonstrators laid in the road to block their trucks. Despite the efforts of the Tuscaroras, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Federal Power Commission v. Tuscarora Indian Nation* (1960) that the taking of the land was legal, and the reservoir was eventually built.

In March 1959, Anderson aided in a revolt of Iroquois at the Six Nations Reserve in Brantford, Ontario. After the Iroquois declared their sovereignty, twelve Royal Canadian Mounted Police invaded the reservation's council house, but the Iroquois forced them to leave. That same month, Anderson attempted a citizen's arrest of Commissioner of Indian Affairs Glenn Emmons, whom some Native Americans, resentful of the federal termination policy, had accused of misconduct in office. Emmons avoided Anderson but later resigned.

After receiving an invitation from revolutionary leader Fidel Castro, Anderson led a delegation of Native Americans to Cuba in July 1959. Members of the Six Nations and the Miccosukee of Florida agreed to recognize the sovereignty of Cuba in exchange for Cuba's recognition of their own sovereignty. Indian sovereignty was an important issue for Anderson; he once stated that his main purpose in life was to help the Indian people regain sovereignty, rather than be absorbed by a society that he regarded as "sick."

Anderson founded the North American Indian Unity Caravan in 1967 to encourage the activism that was growing among Native Americans nationwide. Later that year, he delivered to Congress messages from 133 tribes that did not want their reservations to be terminated, which helped to defeat one of the final termination bills. Anderson toured the nation with his caravan for the following six years, but he paused to plan and participate in the Alcatraz Occupation in 1969. In 1975, he was the national director of the Indian Nationalist Movement of North America.

Anderson's work as a medicine man was featured in the book *Rolling Thunder* (1974) by Doug Boyd. In discussing his concept of good medicine, Anderson also articulates the philosophy behind his individual activism.





Wallace Mad Bear Anderson arguing with a toll collector in New York. (Corbis/Bettman)

See also Red Power Movement; Tribal Sovereignty.  
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## Anishinabe Algonquin National Council

The Council (also called the Algonquin Anishinabeg Nation Tribal Council) is a political unit representing seven Algonquin communities located in the Ottawa River watershed. Six of the communities are located in the Outaouais and Abitibi-Témiscamingue regions of the province of Quebec: la Première Nation Abitibiwinini (Pikogan, population 800), Eagle Village First Nation–Kipawa (Témiscaming, population 650), Kitcisakik First Nation (Val d'Or, population 386), Kitigan Zibi Anishin-





abeg (Maniwaki, population 2500), La Nation Anishnabe de Lac Simon (Lac Simon, population 1200), and Long Point First Nation (Winneway River, population 650). The seventh community is located in the district of Cochrane in the province of Ontario: Wahgoshig First Nation (Matheson, population 250). Of all the communities, Kitigan Zibi is the closest to Ottawa.

In 1989, Algonquin communities in western Quebec, including those just listed, submitted a formal and comprehensive land claim to Canada's Department of Indian and Northern Affairs regarding lands in the Ottawa River watershed. In light of research conducted by these communities, the federal government agreed to pursue land claims negotiations with the Algonquin of western Quebec. In 1992, representatives of Abitibiwinni, Eagle Village, Lac Simon, Long Point, and Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg met to form the Algonquin Anishinabeg Nation Tribal Council specifically to facilitate the land claims process. Although the initial meeting was hosted by the Kitcisakik First Nation, the Council decided to operate out of Kitigan Zibi since it was only eighty-four miles north of Ottawa.

The areas claimed by the Algonquin Anishinabeg Nation Tribal Council cover a large area, although not all nations' claims are equal in size. The smallest is Eagle Village at 21.49 hectares. The largest is Kitigan Zibi at 18,437 hectares.

The Council initially focused strictly on politics. Its office in Kitigan Zibi had only two staff members, who were both involved in the land claims process. In 1996, however, the Council hired an architect, a human resources advisor, and an engineer to offer expanded services to the member communities. In 1999, Kitcisakik First Nation joined the Tribal Council. The following year, Wahgoshig First Nation also became a member, although its participation was limited to political issues. That same year, the Minister for Indian and Northern Affairs proposed that the Algonquin Chiefs conduct a scooping-out exercise, whose purpose was to determine if sufficient common ground existed to begin negotiations with the potential for success within a reasonable time frame.

Kipawa, Kitcisakik, Kitigan Zibi, Pikogan, Lac Simon, and Long Point-Winneway initially agreed to this exercise, beginning the scooping-out exercise in February 2001. Kitigan Zibi later pulled out of this collaboration and conducted its own scooping-out exercise. In October 2002, Kitigan Zibi and Lac Simon requested the beginning of negotiations. As of

2006, the Algonquin nation as a whole had yet to decide if there will be issues of overlapping claims that could affect negotiations.

The Anishinabe Algonquin National Council has two current priorities. The first is the advancement and protection of aboriginal rights. The second is the provision of advisory and technical services to member communities. To accomplish these priorities, the Council has embarked on a training plan to develop the skills of its members, including training courses on basic management skills.

The Council is governed by a board of directors, composed of the chiefs from the member communities as well as representatives for elders, women, and youth. All of these representatives are elected by the people.

In 2004, the Council Office expanded its staff by hiring an information officer and an economic development officer. That same year, perhaps in an effort to launch land claims negotiations, the Long Point First Nation presented a resolution to the Assembly of First Nations, asking support for its natural resources permit system. The resolution also called on the federal and Quebec governments to respect the permit system.

During the 2005 federal election campaign, Gilles Duceppe, leader of the Bloc Quebecois Party, drew attention to the poor living conditions that existed in Kitcisakik First Nation and called for the federal government to proceed with the construction of a new town. Since the community is not covered under the Indian Act, however, and the negotiation process had yet to begin as of 2006, it is not clear which government is responsible for assisting the community.

The Anishinabe Algonquin National Council maintains an informative Web site, and the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs keeps a regularly updated report of land claims issues on its Web site.

*Elizabeth Sneyd*

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## Apess, William

Author of the first published American Indian autobiography, *A Son of the Forest*, and a leader in the Mashpee Revolt, William Apess (Pequot) was born in Colrain, Massachusetts, on January 31, 1798. His father, William, reportedly a descendent of the Wampanoag King Philip, was Pequot and white, and

his mother, Candace, was perhaps African American and Pequot, and probably a slave.

Apess's Pequot ancestors had been nearly eliminated in 1637, when the Pilgrims, Puritans, and other tribes with which they had allied burned the Mystic River Pequot fort, killing seven hundred men, women, and children. Survivors were largely sold into slavery in the West Indies. A few, like Apess's family, persisted on the fringes in southeastern Connecticut, eking out livings as domestics and day laborers. Some report that Apess's father was a shoemaker; others suggest both of Apess's parents were basketmakers. What is certain is that Apess's world was one carved out of the leftovers of genocide and colonialism.

Apess's early years were spent in extreme poverty, hunger, and abuse at the hands of his alcoholic grandparents, with whom he and his siblings had been left. After being nearly beaten to death by his grandmother, Apess was "bound out" at the age of five. The Furmans, the white family with whom he was first indentured, allowed him an education for at least part of the year between the ages of six and eleven. This was the only formal education he received. He was subsequently sold to two wealthy families before running away in April of 1813, from the William Williamses of New York, who forbade his attending Methodist camp meetings. Apess had studied the teaching of John Calvin, repopularized during the Second Great Awakening—humans, all miserable sinners, could be saved only by God's grace. He was later drawn to the Methodists, who taught that Christ was the savior of all mankind, brethren in their belief and in His love.

Apess enlisted as a drummer in the War of 1812 and developed a problem with alcohol, later working for a while in Canada, trying to quit drinking. Around 1816–1817, Apess returned to Connecticut. Despite his lengthy separation from his people, Apess conceived of himself as Pequot. He was baptized in December 1818. In 1821, he married Mary Wood of Salem, Connecticut, a mixed-blood formerly bound servant and fellow Methodist. They had two daughters and a son. Apess was ordained as a Protestant Methodist minister between 1829 and 1830.

Published in 1829, his *A Son of the Forest* recounts his early life in a manner that might seem dispassionate to some readers given the circumstances. It is, in one sense, a Christian conversion narrative, making it appealing to a white audience marveling





at the novelty of an Indian writer and giving faith to Natives and African Americans, who might be “saved” and “civilized.” However, *A Son of the Forest* sharply indicts whites for colonialism and for bringing alcohol and poverty to his people and other tribes. Apess also published in 1831 *The Increase of the Kingdom of Christ: A Sermon*, along with an appendix entitled “The Indians: The Ten Lost Tribes.” Apess followed this with the publication of his *The Experiences of Five Christian Indians of the Pequot Tribe* in 1833, the first edition of which included his “An Indian’s Looking-Glass for the White Man,” an essay denouncing white Christian hypocrisy.

As an itinerant preacher, Apess met the Mashpee. His actions on their behalf, including serving jail time, were some of the earliest intertribal activist efforts on behalf of tribal sovereignty. During the Mashpee revolt, he wrote and published a list of Indian complaints regarding the whites entitled *Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts, Relative to the Mashpee Tribe; or, the Pretended Riot Explained* (1835). He gave his popular “Eulogy on King Philip” in Boston during 1836. Apess’s death in 1839 may have been a result of his continuing struggle with alcohol.

Kimberly Roppolo

See also Pequot War.

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## Aquash, Anna Mae Pictou

One of the leading women of the American Indian Movement in the early 1970s, Anna Mae Pictou Aquash was a staunch advocate for American Indian rights. In spite of her many endeavors as an activist, however, she is often remembered for her untimely and mysterious murder on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota.

Born to Mi’kmaq parents on March 27, 1945, near Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, Anna Mae, along with her two older sisters and younger brother, spent much of her youth in poverty in Pictou Landing, a Mi’kmaq reserve in Nova Scotia. Her father practiced traditional craftwork and instilled into his stepdaughter a sense of her heritage and culture until his death in 1956. Her mother then abandoned her children to marry another man. Anna Mae’s insecure family life, combined with the racial taunts she received from her non-Indian schoolmates, had a detrimental effect on her grades. She attended Milford High School but dropped out at the end of the ninth grade.

In 1962, Anna Mae journeyed to Maine to work the potato and berry harvest, then moved to Boston, Massachusetts, with Jake Maloney, another Mi’kmaq. She secured a job at the Elvin Selow sewing factory while Jake opened a karate school. In June 1964, the couple had their first child, Denise, followed by Deborah, seventeen months later. Desiring to raise their daughters in a more traditional setting, the family moved to New Brunswick, where they formally married at Richibucto and settled onto a Mi’kmaq reserve.

In 1969, the couple’s marriage ended, and Anna Mae returned to her job at the sewing factory while volunteering at the Boston Indian Council—an organization that she had helped to create. Among other things, the Council strove to aid the city’s Indian population avoid alcohol abuse, a problem with which Anna Mae struggled herself in the aftermath of her marital difficulties. In November 1970, Anna Mae participated in the American Indian Movement’s national day of mourning at the 350th anniversary celebration of the arrival of the Pilgrims in Plymouth, Massachusetts. Her interest in Indian activism piqued as she listened enthusiastically to Russell Means’s oratory. Quitting her factory job, Anna Mae moved to Bar Harbor, Maine, and worked as a teacher in the Teaching and Research in Bicultural Education School Project (TRIBES) until its funding expired. In 1971, she returned with her daughters to Boston and entered the New Careers program at Wheelock College. She began teaching at the experimental Ruggles Street Day Care in the district of Roxbury—a predominantly black community in the city. Offered a scholarship to Brandeis University, she chose instead to continue her work with urban Indians and helped initiate the Boston Indian Council’s job placement





program with the General Motors Plant in Framingham, Massachusetts.

During her time in Boston, Anna Mae met and established a relationship with Nogeeshik Aquash, an Ojibwa artist from Walpole Island in Ontario, Canada. The two traveled to Washington, D.C., with members of the Boston Indian Council to participate in the final stage of the Trail of Broken Treaties. In March 1973, she and Nogeeshik left for the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota to help the besieged Indian activists at Wounded Knee. There, Anna Mae smuggled supplies past the government roadblocks at night and aided in the construction of protective bunkers for the beleaguered Indians. On April 12, Wallace Black Elk married Anna Mae and Nogeeshik in a traditional Lakota ceremony. Thirteen days later, the Aquashes were detained and released by the FBI as they attempted to leave Wounded Knee. Returning first to Boston in an unsuccessful attempt to start an AIM survival school in the city, the couple then moved to Ontario to set up a display of Indian art and culture at the National Arts Centre. The exhibit spawned an interest in traditional Mi'kmaq ribbon shirts, and Anna Mae foresaw the sale of these colorful shirts as a fund-raising enterprise for AIM.

With the conclusion of her exhibit in May 1974, Anna Mae, now separated from her husband, moved to the Minneapolis–St. Paul area, where she made ribbon shirts and worked for the Red School House, the AIM survival school in St. Paul, and for AIM's central office in Minneapolis. There, she became closely associated with Dennis Banks and soon became a national AIM leader in her own right. In the fall, she traveled to Los Angeles to aid in the establishment of an AIM office on the West Coast. In January 1975, she along with fellow workers from the Los Angeles office, Dino Butler and his future wife Nilak (Kelly Jean McCormick), journeyed to Gresham, Wisconsin, to aid the Menominee Warrior Society in their short-lived takeover of an unused abbey—hoping to convert the building into an Indian health center. After departing Gresham, she organized a benefit concert in St. Paul for AIM survival schools before moving briefly to Rosebud, South Dakota, and then to Oglala on the Pine Ridge Reservation near Tent City—the AIM encampment on the property of the Jumping Bull family. AIM members were there in reaction to growing tensions on the reservation between Pine Ridge tribal chairman Dick Wilson and Lakota traditionalists. Anna Mae became involved in community work with local

women and began to develop plans for a comprehensive cultural history of the Indian peoples of North America.

In early June 1975, Anna Mae accompanied her compatriots at Tent City to the annual AIM convention in Farmington, New Mexico. Upon their return to Pine Ridge, the activists were involved in a June 26 shoot-out on the Jumping Bull property with two FBI agents. Both agents died, along with one member of AIM. The reservation immediately became the focus of a massive manhunt as the FBI attempted to apprehend the individuals responsible for the death of their agents. As far as the government was concerned, Anna Mae's presence implicated her as either a suspect in or a witness to the incident. Finally located on the Rosebud Reservation at the home of AIM's spiritual leader, Leonard Crow Dog, she was charged on September 5 with unlawful possession of explosives and firearms and taken to Pierre, South Dakota. Released on bond, Anna Mae chose to flee rather than stay and face trial. Recaptured by the FBI on November 14 on the Port Madison Reservation in Washington, she returned to South Dakota to stand trial on the Rosebud charges. Released again prior to the day of her trial, Anna Mae left her Pierre motel room on the evening of November 24 and went into hiding in Colorado.

On February 24, 1976, a rancher discovered Anna Mae's decomposed and frozen body in a ravine near Wanblee, South Dakota. Unable to identify the body, the pathologist removed her hands for possible later identification and ruled that exposure was the cause of death. On March 3, Jane Doe was buried in the cemetery at the Holy Rosary Mission (Red Cloud Indian School) at Pine Ridge. That same day, the FBI lab identified the severed hands as belonging to Anna Mae Aquash. Her family asked for a second autopsy and had the body exhumed on March 10. An independent pathologist discovered that she had been murdered—shot in the back of the head at close range with a .32-caliber weapon. Four days later, her body was reburied at the Wallace Little Ranch in Oglala, where it remained for twenty-eight years. On June 21, 2004, Anna Mae's family returned her remains to the Mi'kmaq reserve in Nova Scotia.

What happened to Anna Mae following her November 24 flight from Pierre until her death in December 1975 (or possibly early January 1976) is conjecture. There is compelling evidence that she fled to Denver and was there kidnapped and taken to South Dakota by some members of AIM who





falsely suspected her of being an FBI informant. She was subsequently killed, according to this theory, to rid the organization of a government spy. Although approached several times in the past by the FBI in hopes of employing her services, Anna Mae openly denied any allegations that she was on the FBI's payroll. The FBI also stated that there was no truth to the assertions. Other members of AIM believe she was killed by a faction of the organization who believed she could identify those responsible for the June 26 deaths of the two FBI agents on the Jumping Bull property. Arlo Looking Cloud was convicted of the murder in 1974.

Alan C. Downs

See also American Indian Movement; Peltier, Leonard; Pine Ridge Political Murders.

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## Assembly of First Nations

The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) was established in 1982 as Canada's national organization representing the First Nations' political interests. Following the Canadian government's announcement that it had initiated the Constitutional repatriation process, the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), the Native Council of Canada (NCC), and the Inuit Committee on National Issues were invited to participate in the 1978 deliberations. By the time of the nation's adoption of self-governance in 1982, however, the NIB, once considered Canada's premier First Nations political organization, had imploded from internal dissension. Emerging from the organizational debris was the Assembly of First Nations (AFN).

The evolution of the AFN can be traced to the establishment of the National Indian Council (NIC) in 1961. This organization was created to represent Canadian First Nations groups, including status Indians, nonstatus Indians, Inuit, and the Métis. However, the conflicting interests of the various First Nations groups led the NIC to split into two unaffiliated organizations in 1968: The NIB was formed to represent status Indians, while the Métis established the Canadian Métis Society. The NIB emerged prior to the federal government's 1969 white paper policy, which called for the assimilation of all the First Nations peoples into Canadian soci-

ety and the elimination of the mention of Indians from the Canadian Constitution. Following the white paper's release, however, the NIB aggressively and successfully lobbied Parliament to rescind the unpopular policy proposal.

For the next thirteen years, the NIB's organizational structure remained unchanged. This became a cause of friction, due primarily to the fact that NIB members were appointed, not elected. Complaints asserting that the NIB was not accountable to the chiefs were politically destabilizing. Unsure that the NIB could effectively represent their interests, 300 status Indians and First Nations chiefs arrived in London, England, in 1979, in an attempt to halt the repatriation of the Constitution, causing even greater dissension among First Nations leaders. First Nations confidence in the NIB failed after a number of questionable moves by its founder, Del Riley, which were followed by calls for organizational reform. The discussion of organizational restructuring focused on the need to create a body that was representative and accountable to First Nations community leaders. It was at this point that the NIB began the transition which led to the formation in 1982 of the AFN. The AFN was an organization open to the chiefs representing all of the status Indian bands in Canada, as opposed to being an organization of regional representatives. The new structure permitted First Nations leaders to formulate and administer AFN policies.

In response to the First Nations' lobbying efforts, Canada revised its Constitution in 1982 and recognized aboriginal rights. The Constitution recognized the Métis, Inuit, status Indians, and nonstatus Indians of Canada as aboriginal people, while also affirming "existing aboriginal and treaty rights." From 1983–1987, the AFN met with the provincial premiers at four First Ministers Conferences in an attempt to define aboriginal self-government. The AFN also began working closely with other prominent lobbying groups and organizations, such as the United Nations, in an attempt to convince Canada to uphold the spirit and intent of treaties. By the mid-1980s, the AFN had become an influential contributor to the ongoing Constitutional debates, as well as a critic of the U.S.–Canada Free Trade Agreement and other proposed legislative changes and issues affecting Canada's First Nations. AFN resistance helped scuttle the Meech Lake Accord in 1990, which proposed Constitutional amendments that recognized Quebec's distinct society while simultaneously ignoring distinct First Nations societies. This, in turn,





*Assembly of First Nations Chief Phil Fontaine (left) smokes from a pipe offered by Elder Fred Kelly in a ceremony marking an announcement regarding Indian Residential Schools. (Jim Young/Reuters/Corbis)*

resulted in the federal government's openly consulting with First Nations leaders prior to drafting the Charlottetown Accord in 1992, which was rejected by Canadians in a national referendum in 1992. Had the Accord been successful, aboriginal self-government would have been realized, significantly augmenting the First Nations' political influence.

Throughout the 1990s, the AFN continued working with the federal government while zealously lobbying for the formal recognition of aboriginal self-government and the expansion of aboriginal rights. Once again, in 2001, the Canadian government put proposed changes to legislation on the agenda. Without consulting First Nations leaders, federal officials in 2001 proposed legislative changes known as the First Nations Governance Initiative (FNGI) that many AFN delegates considered analogous to the termination policy embodied in the 1969 white paper policy. After years of AFN-led resis-

tance, the Liberal government in 2004 rescinded its unpopular initiative.

*Yale D. Belanger*

**See also** Canada, Indian Policies of; Constitution Act; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Indian Act; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

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## Banderas, Juan de la Cruz

Juan Banderas was a noted Yaqui Indian war leader of the early nineteenth century. After receiving visions in 1825, Banderas attempted to unite the Indian nations of northwestern Mexico under the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe and the last great Aztec emperor, Moctezuma II. Although Banderas successfully challenged Mexican dominance for seven years between 1825 and 1832, local forces captured and executed the Yaqui leader in January 1833. Thereafter Banderas became a powerful symbol of Yaqui resistance to foreign domination.

Banderas was born Juan Ignacio Jusacamea in the Yaqui town Rahum, possibly from the family line that included Muni, leader of the Yaqui Rebellion of 1740. In Rahum, Banderas held the important post of flag bearer in the town military organization. Following Mexican independence from Spain in 1821, Banderas rose to prominence, leading resistance to state land and political policies aimed at integrating the Yaquis into the Mexican nation. In particular, the western state of Occidente (modern Sonora and Sinaloa) attempted to impose taxes on the Yaquis, survey their lands, and integrate Indian towns into the local municipal system. Upon arrest for resisting state programs, Banderas reported having visions summoning him to establish an independent Indian nation-state. In several proclamations, the Yaqui leader invoked the protection of the patron saint and symbol of Mexican independence, the Virgin of Guadalupe, and expressed a desire to restore the sovereignty of the last great Aztec emperor, Moctezuma II. A man of great organizational and oratory skill, Banderas invited all the Indian nations of Sonora and Sinaloa to join the rebellion, although he garnered strong support only from the Yaqui, Mayo, and Opatá nations.

From 1825 to 1827, Banderas's forces restored Indian control over much of the state of Occidente. With between 2,000 and 3,000 fighters armed largely with bows and arrows, Indian units enjoyed several military victories over the disorganized state forces. Banderas excelled at guerilla tactics, engaging in strikes on lonely outposts, and then retreating to local Indian towns or mountain ranges. Combined Yaqui, Mayo, and Opatá units forced panicked Mexicans to consolidate in the larger towns of Guaymas and Alamos, and prompted local non-Indians to relocate the capital from El Fuerte south to Cosalá, Sinaloa. Defeated in 1827, Banderas accepted a

pardon. His resistance, however, forced the Occidente government to acknowledge the Yaqui leader's position as commander general of his nation, a concession to the preindependence system. Although Banderas invoked European and indigenous religious symbols, the messianic appeal of his movement was likely overridden by more concrete political and strategic concerns among his followers.

By 1831, a new series of state laws aimed at colonizing Yaqui territory and incorporating their towns into the local municipal structure sparked a second Banderas rebellion. That year, the Yaqui commander allied with Opatá Indian leader Dolores Gutiérrez and gained immediate success. Having several thousand warriors in their command, Banderas and Gutiérrez enjoyed support among the Opatá and Lower Pima peoples in northern Occidente and the Yaqui and Mayo peoples in the south of the state. For approximately two years rebel forces swept the countryside, attacking isolated ranches and mines, burning farms and houses, profaning churches, and killing settlers. Banderas's military success ended in December 1832, however, when his troops met defeat at Soyopa, Sonora. The revolt crushed, in January 1833 Banderas, Gutiérrez, and eleven others were executed. Thereafter, Banderas's main rival, Juan María Jusacamea, succeeded him as captain general and accommodated Mexican nationalist policies. Banderas's articulated goals of an independent Indian state did not die with him, however. His movement ushered in intermittent warfare between Yaquis and Mexicans that would continue through the Mexican Revolution. In light of Yaqui resistance, nineteenth-century Mexican officials never fully succeeded in their aims of integrating the Yaqui towns into the local municipal system, collecting taxes, or alienating Yaqui lands.

Contemporaries and later observers have debated the significance of Juan Banderas and his movement. Mexicans of the time viewed him simply as a military strongman, leading a bandit movement for personal reward. Twentieth-century anthropologist Edward Holland Spicer places Banderas squarely within a longer tradition of Yaqui resistance to European encroachment. Historian Evelyn Hu-DeHart credits him with beginning the Yaquis' century-long guerilla war against the more powerful Mexican nation-state. To modern Yaquis, Banderas holds an exalted place: a militant torchbearer of the independent spirit of their people.

*Mark Edwin Miller*





See also Assimilation; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Banks, Dennis

From the 1960s to the present, Dennis Banks has been a prominent Native American activist, educator, and advocate for Indian rights. He is most famous for his activities as cofounder of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and leader in the historic standoff between the FBI and AIM at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. While he has attracted great political controversy, he is widely loved by traditional indigenous elders and Native rights supporters from around the world.

Born in 1937 on the Leech Lake Reservation in Minnesota, Banks's Ojibwa grandparents raised him to have traditional cultural values. He recalled what happened when he returned home as a boy and announced that he had killed a porcupine, his first success as a hunter. When asked to show his grandparents the porcupine, he confessed that he left it deep in the forest. To teach him an important lesson in life—not to kill any living creature indiscriminately—he was instructed to go back into the dark forest and recover the porcupine. He then was taught the proper way to pray over the animal, asking for forgiveness and promising to use every part of the animal for a good purpose. He cleaned it, cooked the meat, and saved all the quills to be used as decorations for quillwork clothing and birchbark boxes. The experience profoundly changed his worldview at an early age.

His life was seriously disrupted when U.S. government officials took him from his family. They forced him to attend a government boarding school, where he was subjected to a repressive assimilation program. At the age of seventeen, Banks enlisted in the U.S. Air Force and shipped off to Japan. He fell in love with the Japanese people and married a Japanese woman.

When Banks left the Air Force, he was shipped back to the United States and found himself in the Indian slums of Minneapolis, Minnesota. He was arrested and sent to prison for stealing groceries to feed his growing family. Here he decided to educate

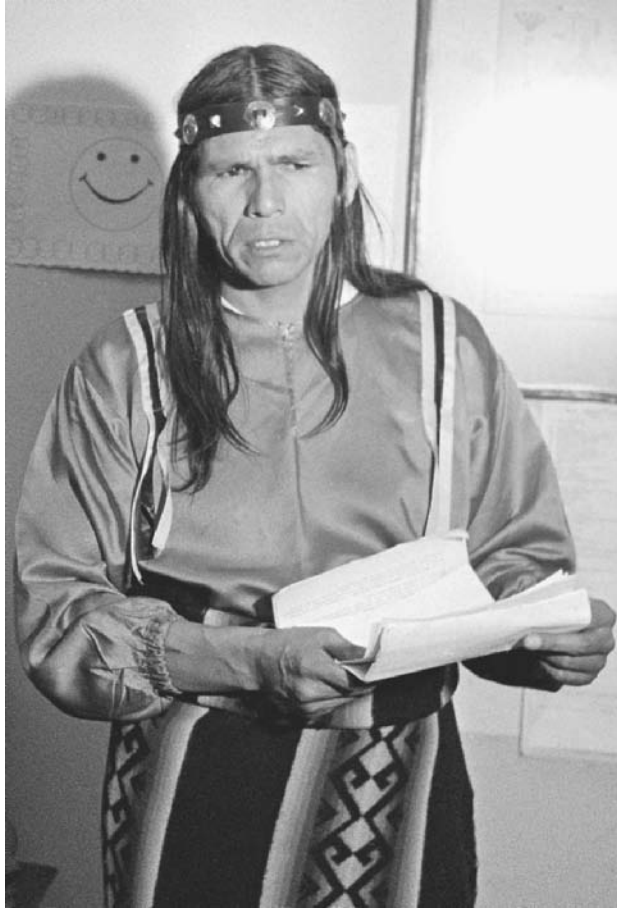
himself, becoming immersed in the study of federal Indian affairs. He learned of the existence of more than 300 broken treaties. Reading in the U.S. Constitution (Article VI) that “treaties are to be judged the supreme law of the land,” Banks discovered a legal basis for the defense of Indian rights. Upon his release, he and a number of other Indians, including Russell Means and Vernon and Clyde Bellecourt, founded the American Indian Movement.

In 1972, Banks helped organize a march on Washington, D.C., called the Trail of Broken Treaties. The group arrived at the Bureau of Indian Affairs and demanded that past broken treaties be honored. When a positive response was not received, AIM entered and occupied the BIA building. They raised their AIM flag, barricaded the doors, and called the media. President Richard M. Nixon called for additional snipers to protect the White House and asked the FBI to intervene. After the Iroquois chiefs arrived, a settlement was negotiated. Banks and the AIM members left the BIA building and caravanned in parade of old “rez cars” back to the Lakota reservation in Pine Ridge, South Dakota. The Lakota medicine men, Frank Fools Crow and Leonard Crow Dog, conducted ceremonies.

On February 27, 1973, Dennis Banks and 200 people, including AIM members and their Lakota supporters, found themselves surrounded by FBI agents, U.S. marshals, BIA police officers, and the notorious goon squad of the Pine Ridge tribal council. They had been invited onto the reservation by tribal elders for protection against the terrorism fostered by tribal president Richard “Dick” Wilson. The confrontation quickly turned into an armed standoff. The FBI brought in superior firepower and armored personnel carriers designed for wartime combat. Banks called the Iroquois chiefs, the Muskogee medicine man Philip Deere, and other tribal leaders for support. The armed siege made national news, as TV cameras lined up to record the “last battle of the Indian wars.” The standoff lasted seventy-one days, ending, after the deaths of two Indian men, with the signing of a “peace pact” that soon was added to the list of broken treaties.

Dennis Banks was given sanctuary from federal prosecution by California Governor Jerry Brown. Having earned an associates of arts degree at Davis University, Banks went on to serve as chancellor of Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl (D-Q) University, developing educational programs while organizing in 1978 a new and larger march from Alcatraz Island to Washington, D.C., called the Longest Walk. Modeled





Dennis Banks, an Ojibwa, was a co-founder of the American Indian Movement. (Bettman/Corbis)

after Martin Luther King's civil-rights marches, the event's purpose, ultimately successful, was to halt proposed legislation to abrogate Indian treaties.

Taking refuge on the Onondaga nation after Governor Brown left office, Banks eventually surrendered to authorities and served eighteen months in a South Dakota prison. After his release, he worked as a substance abuse counselor on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Banks went on to work successfully for strict legislation to protect Indian graves against desecration. He published his autobiography, *Sacred Soul*, in 1988.

Dennis Banks led the ultimately unsuccessful 1996 drive for executive clemency for the political prisoner, Leonard Peltier. He has performed in movies and has released CDs of original and traditional music. He continues to lead sacred runs around the world in support of various Native

causes, and he remains active as a substance abuse counselor, lecturer, and elder.

Gregory Schaaf

*See also* American Indian Movement; Peltier, Leonard; Pine Ridge Political Murders; Trail of Broken Treaties; Wilson, Richard; Occupation of Wounded Knee.

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## Bearskin, Leaford

Leaford Bearskin (b. 1921) was elected in 1983 as Chief of the Wyandotte Nation, known since the 1500s in American history as part of the Hurons, as well as the Keepers of the Council Fire for the Old Northwest (Delaware) Confederacy. In this capacity, he led the Wyandotte into the twenty-first century after a long career as a military officer and civilian employee of the U.S. Air Force. Among his accomplishments as chief, Bearskin helped the tribe achieve economic self-sufficiency with several business ventures that have benefited both the tribe and local communities. Through his leadership, the Wyandotte have enhanced health care, education, nutrition services, employment opportunities, and emergency services for tribal members. Magnified by his history as a bomber pilot in World War II, an airlift squadron commander during the Berlin Blockade of 1948, and an air base group commander, Bearskin also initiated several Veterans' Day events in northeastern Oklahoma and established a Wyandotte Color Guard to represent the tribe at nation-wide events.

Bearskin was born in a log cabin on 140 acres of allotment land along Sycamore Creek in the hills northeast of Wyandotte, Oklahoma, where he attended public school. The family lost the land after his older brother was stricken with polio. Bearskin's parents borrowed money from the local bank to get medication. Subsequently, a land speculator came through town and bought several mortgages from the bank, including the Bearskins', and then foreclosed on them.

After graduating from high school, Bearskin wanted to attend college but he lacked the financial





means to do so. Since he also harbored a secret desire to fly an airplane, Bearskin joined the Army Air Corps in 1941. Assigned to an air base in Alaska after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Bearskin applied for flight school when the Corps revised the minimum requirements for pilot training to a high school diploma. Thus began a highly distinguished career in which Bearskin was awarded such military honors as the Distinguished Flying Cross, the Asiatic Campaign Medal (with four major battle stars), the National Defense Medal, the United Nations Service Medal, and the Air Force Longevity Service Award (with three bronze oak-leaf clusters). After numerous outstanding efficiency ratings and many commendations, Bearskin retired from the Air Force in 1960. Following his retirement, Bearskin spent another twenty years working for the Air Force as a civil servant in the areas of missile weapons systems, logistics, and headquarters operations.

Beginning with his election as chief in 1983, Bearskin has made voluminous contributions to the Wyandotte nation and the surrounding communities of northeastern Oklahoma. Bearskin rewrote the tribal constitution, obtained a grant for the tribe's first economic development project (the Wyandotte convenience store complex), and returned the Wyandotte nation offices to tribal land. He also led a \$5.7-million settlement with the U.S. government of Wyandotte land claims in Ohio. Additional tribal programs Bearskin instituted include a senior citizens nutrition program, a food delivery program to local shut-ins, the construction of a tribal social activities center, the creation of a tribal library, and the establishment of a health clinic also available to non-Indian members of the community on a space-available basis. Educationally, the Wyandotte Turtle Tots preschool was recognized as the best preschool in the United States in 1995 and 1996 by the U.S. Department of Education.

Also impacting communities nearby, such as Wyandotte, Fairland, and Miami, Oklahoma, Bearskin oversaw the creation of a cemetery for anyone in the area, Indian or non-Indian, who needed a place to be buried. Under his watch, the Wyandotte nation also made significant enhancements to local public services. The tribe helped the city of Wyandotte create twenty-four-hour law enforcement, helping cut down on crime in the area. The tribe also supports the city's fire department, emergency medical services, and flood management control, and it supervises and funds several regional transportation projects, building or improving roads and

bridges to benefit the whole of Ottawa County. Chief Bearskin also ensured that the tribe's wellness center is available to the entire community. Nationally, Bearskin oversaw the tribe's purchase of six technical schools across the United States that teach highly employable vocational subjects such as court reporting, medical records maintenance, and other skills.

Chief Bearskin instigated the establishment of a Wyandotte Cultural Center, and he directed a cultural committee to revive an annual powwow that had not occurred since the early 1960s. Since its rebeginning in 1991, the annual intertribal event draws up to 4,000 people to the Wyandotte nation in early September and has a dramatic impact on the service-oriented businesses of the area. Chief Bearskin also instituted a Wyandotte language program that is ongoing, and throughout his career traveled extensively speaking about the Wyandottes, their lifeways, and concerns. In 2005, Bearskin led the Wyandotte nation in establishing a gaming complex in Wyandotte County, Kansas.

*Hugh W. Foley, Jr.*

*See also* Economic Development.

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## **Black Elk**

Black Elk, a Lakota spiritual leader, came of age during the late nineteenth century, as European encroachment reached his homeland. His views of Native life at that time reached large audiences beginning in the early twentieth century through the books of John Neihardt, the best-known of which is *Black Elk Speaks*. Black Elk is therefore known as a traditional spiritual leader, although he also spent much of his later life as a Catholic.

Black Elk was eleven years old in the summer of 1874 when, by his account (published in *Black Elk Speaks*), an expedition under General George Armstrong Custer invaded the *Paha Sapa* ("hills that are black"), land sacred to the Lakota. The Black Hills had been guaranteed to the Lakota "in perpetuity" by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Custer's expedition was on a geological mission, not a military one.





Custer was looking for gold. He found it, and in his wake several thousand gold seekers poured into the Black Hills, ignoring the treaty.

In the words of Black Elk, the Lakota and Cheyenne “painted their faces black”—went to war—to regain the Black Hills. The result was Custer’s Last Stand in 1876. In his memoir, Black Elk told Neihardt that he was a young warrior who participated in the battle of the Little Bighorn. Young Black Elk tried to take the first scalp, but the soldier under Black Elk’s hatchet proved to have an unusually tough scalp, so Black Elk shot him.

The Seventh Calvary initiated a battle that the Lakota Chief Kill Eagle likened to a hurricane or to bees swarming out of a hive. Completely surrounded and cut off from reinforcements stationed only nine miles away, Custer’s force was cut to ribbons during one furious, bloody hour on a battleground that nearly disappeared under a huge cloud of dust. The battle provoked momentary joy among the Sioux and Cheyennes, who for decades had watched their hunting ranges curtailed by what Black Elk characterized as the gnawing flood of the *Wasi’chu* (literally “takers of the fat,” used to characterize the invaders).

After the Wounded Knee massacre, Black Elk watched his people, once the mounted lords of the Plains, become hungry, impoverished prisoners, pent up on thirteen government reservations. In 1886, when he was twenty-three years of age, Black Elk joined Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show. After a tour of large cities on the eastern seaboard, the troupe traveled to England.

The first three decades of Black Elk’s life are chronicled in Neihardt’s book-length poem *Black Elk Speaks*, first published in 1932; much of the same period was covered in Joseph Epes Brown’s *The Sacred Pipe: Black Elk’s Account of the Seven Rites of the Oglala Sioux*. The final words in Dee Brown’s *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* (1970) come from Black Elk: “It was a beautiful dream . . . The nation’s hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center anymore, and the sacred tree is dead.”

Another book, Michael Steltenkamp’s *Black Elk: Holy Man of the Oglala* (1993), describes Black Elk’s final years as a Roman Catholic missionary. Steltenkamp, who is a Jesuit himself (as well as an anthropologist), said he learned of Black Elk’s conversion from Lucy Looks Twice, Black Elk’s only surviving child, who died in 1978. The Catholic Church also sent Black Elk on fund-raising trips to cities such as New York, Boston, Chicago, Washington,

D.C., and Omaha. In 1934, shortly after publication of *Black Elk Speaks*, Black Elk complained that Neihardt hadn’t said enough about his life as a Catholic. Black Elk added that his family was all baptized. All his children and grandchildren belonged to the Catholic Church, he asserted.

During his later years, Black Elk combined Catholic missionary work with occasional showmanship at South Dakota tourist attractions that capitalized on his image as a Lakota holy man. Steltenkamp wrote that Black Elk sensed no contradictions in mixing the two interpretations of the “great mystery.” Black Elk died in 1950. He is said to have believed that lights in the sky would accompany his death. The night Black Elk died, the Pine Ridge area experienced an intense and unusually bright meteor shower.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Missionaries, French Jesuit.

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## Blackfeet Confederacy

The Blackfeet claim modern-day central Montana, southern Alberta, and western Saskatchewan to be their homeland. Recent archaeological discoveries confirm these claims while demonstrating thousands of years of Blackfeet territorial occupation. Four distinctive political groups comprised the Blackfeet Confederacy: the Piikunis, North Piikunis, Kainais, and Siksikas. The imposition of the U.S.–Canadian border in the nineteenth century split the members of the Blackfeet Confederacy, leaving six bands in Canada and one in the United States. In the United States, the Piikunis reside on a reservation in Montana, while in Canada, where they are known as the Blackfoot, three reserve communities in southern Alberta are home to the Kainais, the North Piikunis, and the Siksikas.





The name “Blackfeet” is an English term originally used to describe the people who dyed their moccasins black. The Blackfeet were organized into small bands typically no larger than twenty or thirty people. The bands were self-governing and self-sufficient entities that occupied demarcated territories for their exclusive use and benefit. They fended off anyone who broached their sovereignty, be it American whiskey traders or other nations, such as the Crees from the east or the Shoshones from the south. Prior to their acquisition of horses in the mideighteenth century, the Blackfeet traversed their territory on foot. During this period known as the “dog days,” characterized by limited mobility, dogs were the beasts of burden and hooked up to travois to haul teepees and other heavier materials. While the small band sizes were militarily limiting, they made hunting buffalo effective. This resulted in the creation of highly refined techniques for hunting buffalo, the animal the Blackfeet were most dependent on spiritually and materially.

The introduction of the horse in the early eighteenth century was a technological revolution of sorts, permitting the development of more efficient hunting techniques. The Blackfeet were able to travel farther east on horseback, a development that led also to their acquiring guns from the French. This had the effect of positioning the Blackfeet as the pre-eminent military power in the northwestern region of the Great Plains. A period of rapid and aggressive territorial expansion followed, as the Blackfeet pushed the Shoshones to the southwestern corner of Montana while forcing the Flatheads and Kootenais across the Continental Divide. Northern movement led the Blackfeet to effectively displace the Crees from those territories. By the end of the eighteenth century, the Blackfeet controlled a significant portion of the Montana territory, extending into modern Alberta and western Saskatchewan. The explorers Lewis and Clark confirm these results, claiming that, as of 1806, the Piikunis controlled all of north-central Montana. With an estimated population of 15,000, an ample source of raw materials in the form of buffalo to maintain their traditional economy, and a well-known reputation as fierce warriors, the Blackfeet controlled this extensive region well into the mid-nineteenth century despite the appearance of British officials and the U.S. cavalry seeking to expand their territorial claims.

From 1840 to 1860, the Blackfeet Confederacy bands became distinctive political entities occupying specific territories. For instance, the Kainais, North

Piikunis, and Siksikas remained north of the international boundary, whereas the Piikunis lived south of the border. In 1851, following the signing of the Treaty of Fort Laramie, the U.S. government identified the Piikunis as one of the tribes authorized to use the vast Montana territory north of the Missouri River and east of the Continental Divide, even though they were not directly involved in the treaty negotiations. This nevertheless did not end cross-cultural hostilities. Colonel E. M. Baker almost killed Heavy Runner’s entire band, the majority of who were women and children, in a surprise attack in January 1870. The Baker Massacre was revenge for the murder of a prominent settler named Malcolm Clark. In all, 173 Blackfeet died and an additional 140 were taken prisoner. This, in turn, led to a reduction of the overall Blackfeet reserve in 1873 and 1874.

In Canada, the Kainais, the North Piikunis, and the Siksikas signed Treaty 7 with representatives of the British crown and the Canadian government in 1877. Despite their poor experience treating with the U.S. government, Canadian success in removing whiskey traders from southern Alberta convinced Blackfeet leaders to negotiate with the crown. In return for annuities, the promise from federal officials to protect the buffalo, and the establishment of protected reserves, the Kainais, North Piikunis, and Siksikas agreed to cede more than 25,000 square miles of their territory to the Canadian government. The Piikuni remained south of the international boundary, contained on their reservation north of the Missouri and Marias Rivers. The loss of the buffalo by the early 1880s led to a desperate situation in Canada and the United States, however. In the United States, Blackfeet leaders were forced to sell a portion of their land, which broke up the contiguous Blackfeet Reservation. The Blackfoot (which is the accepted designation for these bands living in Canada) north of the border found themselves increasingly confined to their reserves, as they became more dependent on government rations and Indian agent generosity for their survival. Later, pressure from the U.S. government led the Blackfeet to surrender a scenic portion of their reservation, land that eventually became part of Glacier National Park.

Indian agents on both sides of the forty-ninth parallel argued that farming and ranching were key to Blackfeet self-sufficiency. As part of Treaty 7, the crown provided farming implements and minimal training to aspiring Blackfoot farmers. In addition to farming, the U.S. government permitted the Black-





feet the right to allot lands to individual families on the reservation, and within a year construction on a large irrigation project began. By the early 1920s, however, the Blackfeet's economy had all but collapsed, with an estimated two-thirds of tribal members reliant on federal handouts. Similarly, in Canada, Blackfoot bands faced tough economic times, due in part to federal efforts to dispossess Indians of the reserves through the illegal leasing and allocation of land to Great War veterans as a reward for their efforts in the European theater. In response, Kainai war veteran Mike Mountain Horse organized two political conferences, in 1924 and 1925, to bring an end to the illegal leasing of reserve lands and to lobby the government for a renewed political relationship. Although little came of the conferences, most Blackfoot leaders continued to resist the leasing of reserve lands. In particular, Kainai Chief Shot Both Sides became a vocal proponent of protecting his people's territorial autonomy and, in the 1920s, initiated a moratorium on leasing reserve land.

The Blackfeet in Montana reorganized according to the provisions of the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), the land allotment process was terminated, the sale of reservation lands to non-Indians was halted, and a number of vocational training programs were implemented. In Canada, Blackfoot leaders reacted to the federal government's policy of benign neglect by forming the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA) in 1939. A strictly regional organization that concerned itself with Alberta Indian issues, the IAA promoted equality without endorsing Indian assimilation. It was concerned with drawing the public's attention to social issues on reserves while never losing sight of protecting the Alberta treaties. It continued as a lobby group until the 1970s.

By the 1960s, the Blackfeet, both in the United States and Canada, began to witness better economic times. The Blackfeet in Montana began receiving petroleum royalties, followed by the construction of a pencil factory in 1972. Although still under the threat of termination from the U.S. government, the Blackfeet boast an enrollment of 15,560, of which 8,560 are off-reservation and 7,000 are on-reservation. The Blackfoot in Canada are separated into three main reserve communities: Kainais, Piikunis, and Siksikas. Kainais have a population of more than 9,000, while the Piikunis and Siksikas have a total registered population of 3,375 and 5,922, respectively. The Kainais have a small industrial base, receive royalties on water rights and mineral

extraction, and maintain active farming and ranching industries. The Siksikas First Nation receives natural resource royalties and engage in agriculture and ranching, while benefiting from tourism. They also hold exclusive land rights to one of Canada's fastest growing economic sectors. The Piikunis are engaged in petroleum exploration, agriculture and ranching, as well as tourism.

The connection between the Blackfeet of Montana and the Blackfoot of Canada remains close, with friends and family regularly crossing the international boundary to visit and work. The Sun Dance celebration remains a central event and various religious societies still meet, entailing cross-border travel.

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*See also* Canada, Indian Policies of; Confederacies; Economic Development; Welch, James.

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## Black Hawk

Black Hawk (Makataimeshekiakiak) was a distinguished warrior in the War of 1812 and an inveterate foe of American expansion. Two decades later, he waged the last Indian war in the Old Northwest to curb white encroachment of his homeland.





*Black Hawk was a chief of the Thunder Clan of the Sauk and Fox. (Library of Congress)*

Black Hawk was born about 1767, a member of the Thunder Clan of the Sauk and Fox, and grew up at Saukenuk in northeastern Illinois. He joined his first war party at the age of fifteen and fought in successive wars and raids against the neighboring Osages and Cherokees. A chief since 1788, Black Hawk resented American interference in Indian affairs and became stridently pro-British in outlook. This sentiment conflicted directly with most tribal elders, who were friendly toward the United States and received gifts and annuities in return.

By 1804, Black Hawk's dislike turned to hatred when Indiana territorial Governor William Henry Harrison persuaded several Sauk and Fox chiefs to sell most of their peoples' land east of the Mississippi River. Black Hawk refused to sign the treaty and remained at his village of Saukenuk. When the War of 1812 erupted eight years later, his warrior band joined Tecumseh's pan-tribal alliance in their struggle against the whites. Real Indian unity proved fleeting, however. Despite Black Hawk's

best efforts, the Sauk and Fox nation split into the British band under himself and a pro-American faction allied to Chief Keokuk.

Black Hawk fought and helped defeat General James Winchester at the Battle of Frenchtown in January 1813 and subsequently attended the unsuccessful siege of Fort Meigs that May. When British forces failed to dislodge Major George Croghan from Fort Stephenson in August 1813, however, he grew disillusioned and withdrew to his homeland for the winter. Black Hawk reentered the fray in July 1814 when his warriors ambushed and defeated a detachment of the First U.S. Infantry on Campbell's Island in the Mississippi River.

In September, Black Hawk enjoyed similar success when he drove off an expedition under Major Zachary Taylor at Rock River, Illinois. Black Hawk was therefore very upset with his British allies when they signed a peace treaty and abandoned all their western conquests to the United States. Throughout the spring of 1815, he raided several settlements near Fort Howard, Missouri, in protest. His warriors defeated a pursuing party of rangers at the Battle of the Sinkhole in June 1815, the final skirmish of the War of 1812. The following year, Black Hawk sullenly concluded a peace treaty with the United States and was the last war chief to do so.

For the next twenty years, Black Hawk lived in an uneasy truce with his white neighbors at Saukenuk, but by 1829 the Illinois state government applied pressure on the Indians to migrate. When the old chief refused, Governor John Reynolds called out the militia in June 1831 to evict them by force. Bloodshed was averted, however, when the Sauk and Fox tribe slipped quietly across the Mississippi River into Iowa and endured an uncomfortable winter there. Black Hawk had come under the influence of White Cloud, a Winnebago prophet, who urged action against the whites, and Black Hawk decided to reclaim his ancestral home. On April 5, 1832, the tribe, numbering 1,400 men, women, and children, crossed back into Illinois for the stated purpose of occupying Saukenuk. It was hoped hostilities could be avoided.

The Americans reacted by summoning the troops of General Henry Atkinson and Colonel Henry Dodge, who immediately marched against them. The Indians, having received no pledge of assistance from the neighboring Winnebago and Potawatomi tribes, decided the odds were too steep and tried to surrender. When two of their peace envoys were killed by Illinois militia, the Battle of





Stillman's Run erupted on May 14, 1832, and Black Hawk was again victorious. The Indians then reached the Mississippi River and prepared to cross. They were in the act of building rafts when they were attacked by the steamboat *Warrior* on August 1, 1832.

Again, the Indians tried to signal their surrender, to no avail. After inflicting considerable losses, the steamboat withdrew because of lack of fuel, just as Atkinson's column arrived. An intense battle ensued in which 150 Native Americans were slain and a similar number captured. Several survivors made their way across to the west bank of the Mississippi, where they were immediately attacked by Sioux Indian war parties. Black Hawk was eventually captured and taken east by Lieutenant Jefferson Davis to meet with President Andrew Jackson. After several months of confinement at Fort Monroe, Virginia, he was released in the custody of rival chief, Keokuk.

Back in Iowa, Black Hawk dictated his memoirs, a stinging indictment against European-American injustice, to Indian agent Antonine LeClaire. When published in 1833, the book became a national best seller. Black Hawk continued living quietly for another five years and died in Keokuk's village on October 3, 1838. His defeat signaled the collapse of Native American resistance to white expansion east of the Mississippi.

*See also* Black Hawk's War; Harrison, William Henry.

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## Black Kettle

Perhaps the most famous Southern Cheyenne leader during the mid-1800s was the peace advocate Black Kettle (Moketavato). His rise in power came when

the Cheyenne people turned to more centralized authority as the threat of American encroachment increased. While some Cheyenne leaders and warrior societies chose aggression, Black Kettle preferred to guide the Cheyennes through the violence of the 1860s that defined Cheyenne–American government relations by peaceful resolutions. Despite suffering horrific atrocities by the American military, being opposed and even ostracized by his own people, and being betrayed and vilified by white leaders, Black Kettle endorsed peace—even until his own violent death—as the answer to the threatening destruction of the Cheyennes.

Few biographical details are known about Black Kettle, especially of his earlier years. The famed trader George Bent, who married Black Kettle's niece, provides some information. According to Bent, Black Kettle was the son of Swift Hawk Lying Down (who never was a chief), who was of the Sutaio tribe (a kindred people to the Cheyennes and a portion of whom were incorporated into the tribe during the 1700s and became one of the tribe's divisions) and who was a good warrior. Cheyenne historian George Bird Grinnell suggests that Black Kettle even carried Medicine Arrows into battle against the Delaware in 1853. When exactly Black Kettle became a chief is uncertain, but he is known to have become *the* principal chief by 1860. That same year historical evidence identifies the Cheyenne leader with the name Black Kettle, the name for which he is most known. Black Kettle lived on the vast territory of the southern Plains, a region guaranteed the tribe under the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851. The Pike's Peak gold rush of 1859, however, created a flood of white migration to Colorado, bringing with it intrusion on Cheyenne lands and hostilities between the two cultures.

The U.S. government sought to resolve the situation by forcing a new treaty on the Cheyennes in 1861 (Treaty of Fort Wise) that would cede all tribal lands save a small reservation (the Sand Creek reservation) in southeastern Colorado. Black Kettle supported the treaty, fearing an even worse outcome if he did not, and then he struggled to see the Cheyennes kept their part of the agreements. The lack of agricultural success and hunting at the Sand Creek Reservation, along with epidemic diseases, created a dismal situation for the Cheyennes. Young men began to leave the reservation and prey on nearby settlers and passing wagon trains. Tensions escalated between the two cultures, especially after federal troops left the West to fight the Civil War.





Black Kettle continued to press for harmonious relations, especially for his band, but Coloradans refused the peace.

Coloradans desired a world cleansed of Native peoples, and leading that charge were men like Colonel John M. Chivington, commander of the Third Colorado Volunteers. Without warning, Chivington's troops attacked Black Kettle's encampment on Sand Creek in southeastern Colorado on November 29, 1864, in spite of Black Kettle's efforts to secure peace. The attack left about 200 of Black Kettle's Cheyennes, many women and children, slaughtered by Chivington's men, who then sexually mutilated, scalped, and took body parts as trophies of their conquest.

Black Kettle miraculously escaped the massacre at Sand Creek. More remarkably, he continued to be an advocate for peace even as other Cheyennes pursued violent retribution throughout the southern Plains. Eventually, Black Kettle and other Indian leaders achieved an uneasy truce with the government and agreed to a new reservation in Kansas. Not all Cheyennes approved. Many ignored the agreements and continued ranging over their ancestral lands. Federal negotiators again sought to remove the Cheyennes, this time to two smaller reservations in Indian Territory (today's Oklahoma). Black Kettle was among the chiefs who signed this treaty, the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The federal government, however, failed to uphold its agreements by not giving the Cheyennes all the promised supplies. As a result, many Cheyennes left the reservations to hunt, roam, and raid. Some attacked white settlements, leading to a full-scale American military response. In 1868, General Philip Sheridan orchestrated a wintertime total war campaign against any southern Plains tribes not found at the agencies. The newly formed Seventh Cavalry led by George Armstrong Custer was selected to take the lead.

On the frozen morning of November 27, 1868, almost four years to the day since the Sand Creek Massacre, Custer's command attacked Black Kettle's Cheyenne camp on the Washita River, well within the boundaries of the Cheyenne Reservation. During the initial attack, both Black Kettle and his wife were shot down. In that moment the Cheyennes lost one of its greatest leaders. In a matter of months the old Cheyenne way of life was lost as well.

*S. Matthew DeSpain*

*See also* Genocide; Sand Creek Massacre.

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### Boas, Franz

Franz Boas was an influential social philosopher and anthropologist. He is remembered today largely because of his application of the scientific method to the study of human society and his resulting rejection of the notion of racial hierarchy.

Boas was born in Germany in 1858. He completed a Ph.D. in physics but later became interested in studying human geography. In 1887, Boas immigrated to New York City. A year later, he accepted his first teaching position, and in 1896 he was hired by Columbia University, where he taught anthropology for more than forty years. He died in 1942. Boas was an impolitic, unyielding academician dedicated to the pursuit of knowledge and truth (at least as he defined it). Because he was an unconventional thinker who was frank in his assessment of others' work, the early part of Boas's academic career was marred by friction, frequent job changes, and occasional periods of unemployment.

Boas was a highly productive writer and researcher. During the most productive eighteen years of his career, he published more than sixty journal articles, a monograph, and two academic papers. Boas wrote and published both popular and scientific articles, but the bulk of his published work consists of ethnographic data that he gathered and recorded during his anthropological fieldwork in tribal communities. These data include myths, songs, linguistic information, descriptions of rituals, and physical measurements, such as head size and height.

Although Boas was in many ways ahead of his peers, he was still a product of the Victorian era (1837–1901) in which he grew up. For example, early in his career, Boas participated in now discredited research, such as attempting to gauge a people's intelligence based on their average head size. A common criticism of Boas's work is that he emphasized the gathering and recording of ethnographic data over its analysis. To a certain extent, this emphasis can be explained as an attempt to catalogue and pre-



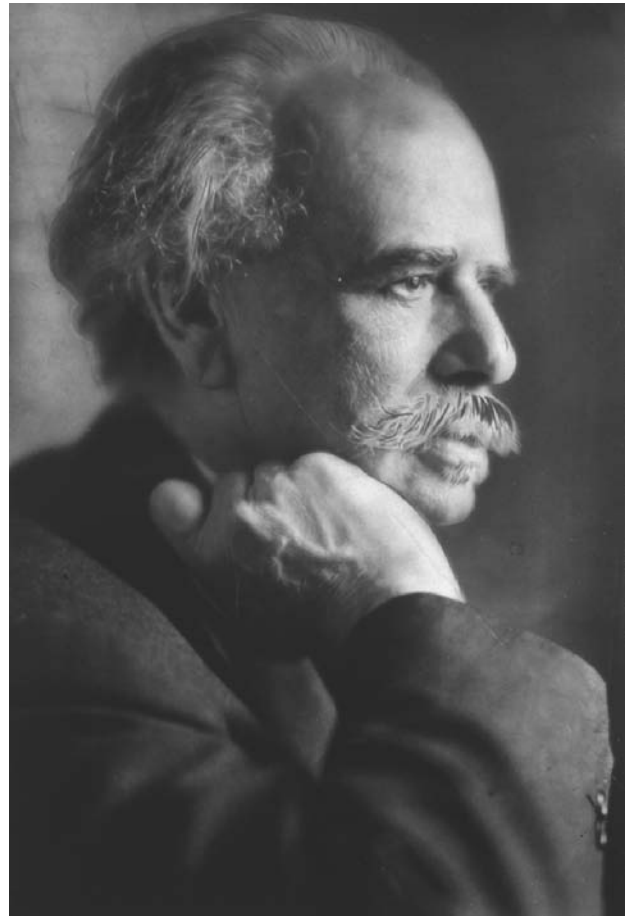


serve for future generations what Boas and his contemporaries perceived to be vanishing cultures. Another explanation might be an unwillingness and/or inability to see Native perspectives.

In addition to his work as a scholar and educator, for many years Boas curated museum exhibits. When Boas began his museum work, artifacts were customarily arranged in groups of similar items—for example, weapons, pottery, tools. Typically, the artifacts also were organized to create an appearance of evolutionary development. Thus, a stone arrowhead from North America would be placed beside a Viking age iron spear point, which would lie next to a steel Bowie knife, and so forth. Boas revolutionized this type of museum exhibit by rearranging the displays, grouping objects from a single tribe and placing the artifacts of neighboring tribes in close proximity. This new exhibit style eventually transformed museum displays around the world.

At the time that anthropology was gaining strength as an academic discipline, social theory had not yet separated the concepts of culture, race, and nationality. The prevalent view was that people from each region of the world had a certain “temperament,” or personality, that was the result of factors such as climate, diet, religion, language, and physical traits. According to this view, nations, or races, could be grouped into a hierarchy, or pyramid, with one’s own group at the top and other races at the bottom. Among Europeans and European-Americans, a common belief was that Caucasians surpassed all other human groups in intelligence, physique, and social development. This belief was used to justify such racially motivated policies as slavery, the removal of Native Americans from their lands, and the European fascist movements that led to World War II. While some of the most prominent early American anthropologists used anthropology to perpetuate the racially deterministic beliefs of the day, Boas did just the opposite.

Boas applied the scientific method he had learned in his study of physics to the study of human society. This led him to reject the theory of racial hierarchy and instead to theorize that differences among societies did not indicate that one group was superior or inferior to another, but rather that each group was uniquely well adapted to fulfill its members’ needs and ensure their collective survival. Boas’s scholarship and ideas were widely disseminated and came eventually to affect the views of the larger society, ultimately helping to break the monolithic Victorian worldview into the separate



*Franz Boas was an influential social philosopher and anthropologist. (Library of Congress)*

concepts of race, culture, and language that characterize how we view the world today.

*Amy L. Propps*

*See also* Bureau of American Ethnology.

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## **Bonnin, Gertrude Simmons**

Gertrude Bonnin (Yankton Dakota, 1876–1938), whose Native name was Zitkala-sa, provided a written window on Sioux life at the juncture of the Native American and Anglo-American worlds. Born the year of the Custer Battle, she died on the





Throughout her life pan-Indian activist and writer Gertrude Bonnin fought for Native American self-determination and the preservation of Indian culture. (Library of Congress)

eve of World War II. Bonnin was one of several prominent literary figures to come out of the boarding schools, whose engines of assimilation produced strident critiques of their methods (and of Anglo-American society generally) by the likes of Luther Standing Bear, George Eastman, and Bonnin, among others.

"This is a story," wrote Ruth Spack, in *America's Second Tongue: American Indian Education and the Ownership of English, 1860–1900* "of language and how people used it to further their own political and cultural agendas" (2002, 7). Thus, Bonnin and other Native American students took control of English as a means of expression even as they were forced to speak it to the exclusion of their Native tongues. This was not always the kind of assimilation that their Anglo-American teachers had anticipated.

Bonnin distrusted most non-Indians, but early sought a formal education against her mother's wishes, eventually attending the Boston Conserva-

tory of Music. Her articles and poetry were published in large-circulation magazines, such as her "Red Man's Helper" in the June 1900 edition of *The Atlantic Monthly*. One of Bonnin's books, the autobiographical *American Indian Stories* (1921), described her changing perceptions of the Euro-American world and her gradual acceptance of Christianity. She also authored *Old Indian Legends* (1901), among other titles.

Bonnin returned to the Carlisle Industrial School as a teacher and developed a curriculum for boarding school education from a Native perspective (which was rejected). She also edited *American Indian Magazine*, a publication of the Society of American Indians. She was among a number of very literate American Indian activists in her time who valued printed media (non-Indian outlets as well as their own) to advocate for change. Bonnin's autobiographical essays, including "Impressions of an Indian Childhood," "School Days of an Indian Girl," and "An Indian Teacher Among Indians," enraged Richard Henry Pratt, founder of the boarding school system, even as he used her reputation as an example of how Native American children were helped by the schools (Katanski, 2005, 17).

Bonnin intensely resented the use of her work to support theories of social evolution; at one point, she wrote, "No one can dispute my own impressions and bitterness" (Katanski, 2005, 29). Amelia V. Katanski, in *Learning to Write "Indian,"* characterizes much of Bonnin's work as "images of angry, pain-filled students, whose plight challenged white educators' justifications of the boarding schools" (2005, 166). However, she recognized the compromises between tradition and non-Native change that so affected her life, as in the first sentence of "Impressions of an Indian Childhood," in which she described living with her mother in a tepee made not of buffalo hides, but canvas (Katanski, 2005, 116).

With Eastman, Bonnin was a founder of the Society of American Indians, an early pan-Indian advocacy organization in the 1920s. She also was known for her talent on the violin. Bonnin investigated the swindling of Indians in Oklahoma by settlers who swarmed into the area after the discovery of oil, and she advised the government's Meriam Commission in the late 1920s. Bonnin remained active in Indian affairs until she died in 1938.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Society of American Indians.





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## Brant, Joseph

Joseph Brant was an influential Mohawk leader whose lasting achievement was the establishment of the Six Nations Grand River Reservation in southern Ontario. An active ally of the British during the American Revolution, he was known for conducting military raids against New York State colonists. After the war, his allegiance to the British was rewarded with a reserve of several hundred square miles along the Grand River, held in trust by the British crown. The final ten years of his life were marked by frustration with British authorities, however, who often blocked his attempts to sell portions of the land to raise sorely needed money for his people. Very well educated for a frontiersman, Brant helped to translate a bilingual Mohawk–English prayer book, and kept up an extensive political correspondence for much of his life. His Mohawk name, Thayendanegea (pronounced Tai-yen-da-nay-geh), has been variously translated as “He Places Two Bets” or “Two Sticks of Wood Bound Together.”

The records of Brant’s youth are obscure, but both of his principal biographers agree that he was born of humble origins. Little is known of his parents, Margaret and Peter (Tehonwaghkwangeraghkwa). John Norton, a close friend of Brant’s, wrote that they may have been captured Canadian Wyandots adopted by the Mohawks near the Bay of Quinte. Because Margaret was certainly not from sachem lineage, her son’s political future was limited. Joseph was probably born on a hunting trip in Haudenosaunee (Six Nations, or Iroquois) territory in Ohio during 1743. Over the next ten years, Margaret went through three husbands, had more children (Molly was from her second husband), and lived in the town of Canajoharie on the Mohawk River. Her third husband was a well connected Mohawk sachem named Brant Canagaraduncka.

Because Joseph’s new father-in-law was a sachem, Sir William Johnson’s courtship of his half sister, Molly, made political sense for the rising



Mohawk chief Joseph Brant, also known as Thayendanegea, was a significant Native American leader during the American Revolution. Brant allied himself with the British against the American colonists. (National Archives and Records Administration)

British Indian superintendent. Johnson wished to keep the Mohawks as strong allies, and he took fifteen-year-old Brant on raids and battles against the French in 1758, although Brant did not see much action until the siege of Fort Niagara in 1759.

When the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock wrote to Johnson seeking bright young candidates for his Indian school in Lebanon, Connecticut, Johnson sent Brant in 1761. In addition to learning basic skills in English literacy, Brant developed friendships with many of the missionaries trained at Wheelock’s school, such as Samuel Kirkland. In 1763, Pontiac’s rebellion broke out, however, and Brant was summoned home by his mother. Brant was asked to recruit warriors to discipline Pontiac’s Shawnees and Delawares who were waging war against the





British. While on a recruiting trip along the Susquehanna River, Brant met Neggen Aoghyatonghere, or Peggy, whom he eventually married in 1765. They had two children, Isaac and Christina, and lived a comfortable life in Canajoharie, with Brant working as an interpreter for William Johnson, and then his successor Guy Johnson, for seventy pounds a year. After Peggy died of tuberculosis in 1771, Brant married her half sister Susanna in 1773.

As war with the colonies loomed in 1775, Brant went to England with his superior, Guy Johnson, who was seeking appointment as Indian superintendent. During his eight-month stay, Brant met George III, attended parties, and was generally well liked for his pledges of fidelity to the crown.

Although the British initially resisted employing Indians in warfare, by 1777 Brant was asked by Guy Johnson to recruit the members of the Six Nations for action. For the next several years, Captain Brant headed small groups of Indians and frontier Loyalists to harass upstate New York towns. Brant commanded several noteworthy raids on Oriskany, Cherry Valley, and German Flats, even burning his friend Samuel Kirkland's church at Oneida. Thomas Campbell, in his 1806 poem, "Gertrude of Wyoming," blamed "the Monster Brant" for the massacre of 227 people at Wyoming, New York, even though Brant was not present.

Following General Sullivan's march through central New York in 1779, Brant conducted many successful raids in 1780 and 1781, but the pro-British Indians were largely forced to hunker down at Fort Niagara for the remainder of the war. Brant's second wife, Susanna, died there, also of tuberculosis. Shortly afterward, however, Brant met Catharine Adonwentishon, daughter of George Croghan and a Mohawk woman. At thirty-six years of age, Brant married her and he also became lifelong friends with her half brother, the sachem Henry Tekarihoga.

When the war ended in 1783, the British made no provisions for their Indian allies, and, as a result, they were afraid that the Indians might turn on them. Although Brant remained an ostensible supporter of the British for the next twenty years, he began also to support pan-Indian unity as a means to counteract the intrigues of British and American politics. At an important postwar council at Sandusky, Ohio, in 1783, Brant recommended that all the Indian nations act as one body in the future. The British General Frederick Haldimand, trying to placate the Mohawks, arranged in October 1784 to

award them several hundred square miles of land along the Grand River as recompense for the lands they had lost in New York.

Brant was grateful to Haldimand but the political betrayal by the British had lasting consequences. Just after the war, Brant went again to England to request financial restitution on behalf of the Mohawks for what they lost in the war and to inquire about the delay in his Indian department pension. Although he was finally successful on both counts, he was insulted that Indian requests were so slowly acted on.

The second half of Brant's life saw him trying simultaneously to heal the disagreements between the various Indian nations and to obtain Indian ownership of Grand River. As a result, he was sometimes perceived as unscrupulous. In actuality, however, it was the British and the Americans who drove these intrigues. To his credit, Brant frequently made trips to Ohio and Detroit, telling the Indians not to rely on the British for military aid. He told the Haudenosaunee living in New York, who began to court the favor of the United States after 1790, that they should not rely on American favors. By August 1793, when the Miami and Shawnee rebellions were at their peak of success, Brant urged the western Indians to accept a compromise borderline with the United States at the Muskingum River, but other British agents successfully quashed his peace proposal. From the Americans' point of view, however, the collapse of the August 1793 negotiations was due to Brant.

At the same time that Brant was unsuccessfully trying to get the western and Haudenosaunee Indians to work together, he also was involved in numerous Haudenosaunee land sales. Although Brant was probably guilty of accepting bribes at the largest New York sales—the 1788 Phelps-Gorham Purchase and the 1797 Treaty of Big Tree—even most of the whites who attended were directly bribed or had some financial stake in the sale. Bribed or not, most of these land sales should be evaluated in light of the crushing poverty that the Haudenosaunee began to experience in the 1790s.

Indian poverty was the primary motive behind the final act of Brant's life, the sale of large portions of the Grand River lands to his business associates (Johnson, 1964; Kelsay, 1984). Haldimand gave the land to the Six Nations in trust in 1784. By 1797, however, Brant was petitioning the trustees to give the Indians the land in fee simple, allowing them the





right to make sales. British authorities, who saw Indian populations on the border as useful political tools, declined. Over the course of the next ten years, Brant became enraged by the delaying tactics of the British Indian Superintendent William Claus and Canada's Lieutenant Governor Peter Russell. In 1804, Brant secretly sent his friend, John Norton, an adopted Mohawk of Scottish ancestry, to go over Russell's head and lobby English authorities directly. When the Six Nation sachems heard that Norton was advertising himself as a Mohawk chief on a mission they knew nothing about, they met in 1805 and stripped Brant of his authority. Although Brant was eventually reinstated by his Grand River constituents, he died on November 24, 1807, before he cleared title on the land.

The principal biographies of Brant have different strengths. The first, by William Leete Stone, is extraordinarily thorough regarding his Revolutionary activities and politics. Stone benefited from correspondence with many people who knew Brant well. Even today, Stone's biography remains a rich source of primary documents and speeches not reprinted in later works on Brant. Curiously, however, Stone spends only twenty pages on the final decade of Brant's life. Isabel Kelsay's modern biography, which corrects Stone's omission, is very well footnoted and an excellent research tool for scholars. Charles Johnson's collection provides a detailed and comprehensive overview of Brant's financial dealings at Grand River.

*Granville Ganter*

*See also* French and Indian War; Johnson, William.

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## Campbell, Ben Nighthorse

Ben Nighthorse Campbell was elected four times to the U.S. House of Representatives from Colorado, beginning in 1986. In 1993, he became the only modern-day Native American to serve in the United States Senate, serving two terms until 2005. At the same time, Campbell also was a member of the traditional Council of 44 in his Northern Cheyenne homeland in Montana.

Campbell's mother, Mary Vierra, was a Portuguese immigrant who arrived in the United States at the age of six. The Vierra family settled in a large Portuguese community near Sacramento, California. When Vierra contracted tuberculosis, she met Albert Campbell, a Northern Cheyenne, at a hospital where he was being treated for alcoholism. The couple later married. Campbell was born April 13, 1933, in Auburn, California. During Campbell's childhood, his father continued to have problems with alcohol, often leaving the family for months at a time. Campbell's mother also continued to experience health problems with tuberculosis. At home, often no one was available to care for Campbell or his younger sister, Alberta. As a result, the young Campbell spent much of his youth in the streets, getting into trouble.

By age ten, Campbell had spent five years in Sacramento's St. Patrick's Catholic Orphanage. He attended Placer High School but dropped out in 1951 to join the U.S. Air Force and served in the Korean War. He was discharged from the Air Force in 1953 with the rank of Airman Second Class, as well as the Korean Service Medal and the Air Medal.

Returning to the United States, Campbell earned a bachelor of arts in physical education and fine arts at California State University (San Jose), graduating in 1957. Campbell also became a championship competitor in judo. He won the U.S. collegiate championship in his weight class three times and took a gold medal at the 1963 Pan American Games. Campbell also attended Tokyo's Meiji University between 1960 and 1964, majoring in Japanese culture. In 1964, he represented the United States as captain of the judo team at the 1964 Tokyo Olympic Games. Campbell was chosen to carry the American flag during the closing ceremonies after swimmer Don Schollander was unable to attend. In 1974, Campbell authored a judo training manual, *Championship Judo Training Drills*.

In 1983, Campbell became the second Native American to be elected to Colorado's legislature,





*Ben Nighthorse Campbell, former Colorado congressman and Northern Cheyenne. (Peter Turnley/Corbis)*

where he served until his election to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1986. He served in the House from 1987 to 1993, after which he was elected to the U.S. Senate, becoming the first Native American in more than sixty years—since Charles Curtis—to serve in the Senate. In 1995, he switched from the Democratic to the Republican party.

Campbell was reelected to the Senate in 1998 and served from January 3, 1993, to January 3, 2005, during which time he chaired the Committee on Indian Affairs. Campbell declined to run for reelection to the Senate in 2004. His Senate seat was won by Democrat Ken Salazar in the November 2004 election.

Senator Campbell had more freestanding Senate legislation passed into law (twelve public laws) than any other member of the 106th Congress. Senator Campbell consistently fought to balance the federal budget through spending cuts, to reduce the tax rate on American families, and to impose strict account-

ability for all federal spending. He was a recognized leader in public lands and natural resources policy. In the 106th Session of Congress he alone sponsored legislation that created the Sand Creek Massacre National Historic Site, the Black Canyon of the Gunnison National Park, and the Colorado Ute Settlement Act Amendments of 2000.

An advocate of zero-tolerance for illegal drug use legislation, Senator Campbell secured funding to combat drug trafficking through the creation of the Rocky Mountain High Intensity Drug Trafficking Area. The program coordinates federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies efforts to combat the manufacture and distribution of illegal drugs such as methamphetamine.

Campbell has been married to the former Linda Price for more than thirty-five years. He is the father of two children, Colin Campbell and Shanan Longfellow, and grandfather to Luke and Saylor Longfellow and Lauren Campbell. The family shares





many activities, including riding motorcycles. He has been a rancher and a horse trainer in his adopted hometown of Ignacio, Colorado, and long has maintained a jewelry design business.

Bruce E. Johansen

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## Canassatego

As tadadaho (speaker) of the Haudensaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy during the mideighteenth century, Canassatego played an important role in frontier diplomacy, notably educating Benjamin Franklin and other Anglo-American colonial leaders regarding the value of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy as a political model.

In 1742, Pennsylvania officials met with Iroquois sachems in council at Lancaster to secure an Iroquois alliance against the threat of French encroachment. At this council, Canassatego spoke to Pennsylvania officials on behalf of the Six Nations. He confirmed the League of Friendship that existed between the two parties and stated that "We are bound by the strictest leagues to watch for each other's preservation" (Colden, 1902, 2: 18).

Two years later, Canassatego would go beyond pledging friendship to the English colonists. At a 1744 treaty council also in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, the great Iroquois chief advised the assembled colonial governors on Iroquois concepts of unity, telling them, "Our wise forefathers established Union and Amity between the Five Nations. This has made us formidable; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighboring Nations. We are a powerful Confederacy; and by your observing the same methods, our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire such Strength and power. Therefore

whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another" (Van Doren and Boyd, 1938, 75).

The preacher Richard Peters provided this description of Canassatego at Lancaster: "a tall, well-made man," with "a very full chest and brawny limbs, a manly countenance, with a good-natured [sic] smile. He was about sixty years of age, very active, strong, and had a surprising liveliness in his speech" (Boyd, 1942, 244–245). Dressed in a scarlet coat and a fine, gold-laced hat, Canassatego is described by historical observers such as Peters as possessing an awesome presence that turned heads whenever he walked into a room.

Shortly after he advised colonial leaders to form a federal union at the 1744 Lancaster Treaty Council, Canassatego also became a British literary figure, the hero of John Shebbeare's *Lydia, or, Filial Piety*, published in 1755. The real Canassatego had died in 1750. With the flowery eloquence prized by romantic novelists of his time, Shebbeare portrayed Canassatego as something more than human—something more, even, than the noble savage that was so popular in Enlightenment Europe. Having saved the life of a helpless English maiden from the designs of a predatory English ship captain en route to England, Canassatego, once in England, became judge and jury for all that was contradictory and corrupt in mideighteenth-century England.

While Shebbeare described his work as history and himself as an historian, *Lydia* is obviously a story that many people today would call historical fiction, with an emphasis on fiction. Canassatego never visited Europe. While not an historical account per se, *Lydia* is another example of how images of American Indians and their societies were used in counterpoint to Europe's. Borrowing the eyes of Canassatego to needle the corruptions of English civilization, Shebbeare assures his readers that the Iroquois sachem is qualified for the job. Not only were the Iroquois known throughout the Western world for their valor and military prowess, but, according to Shebbeare, "Nor, in the milder parts of legislative knowledge, are their souls deficient. Eloquence, reason, truth, and probity are not less the characteristics of this people's knowledge" (Shebbeare, 1755, Act 1: 34).

Shebbeare seemed to have researched the real Canassatego's life relatively well. At the Lancaster Treaty Council of 1744, in addition to advising the colonists to form a federated union on an Iroquois model, Canassatego worried about the increasing





dependence of his people on European manufactured goods. In *Lydia*, Shebbeare has Canassatego complaining that many Native Americans have become dependent on European manufactures: "What are we but slaves, who traverse the wide Woods of America in search of furs and skins" (Shebbeare, 1755, Act 1: 11)

Disembarking in England, Shebbeare's Canassatego meets with a rude sight: a ragged collection of dwellings "little better than the Huts of Indians" and men rising from the bowels of the earth, dirty, broken, and degraded. Asking his hosts for an explanation, Canassatego is told that the men have been digging coal. The Iroquois sachem inquires whether everyone in England digs coal for a living and reflects that he is beginning to understand why so many English have fled to America.

Subsequent encounters do little to warm Canassatego to English life and government. The sachem's hosts are forced to confess that England has a class structure and that some labor for the benefit of others: "He asked if England were not a free country," wrote Shebbeare, "where all were destined to the same employment, or if the Great Spirit had made two species of men, one inferior to the other, and the lesser destined to the service of the greater? How can it be reconciled that Creatures born of the same land, in the same Form, and endowed with the same Faculties, should be doomed to this inhuman labour whilst others live at ease?" (Shebbeare, 1755, Act 2: 7).

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Democracy and Native American Images among Europeans; Franklin, Benjamin, Native American Influences; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System.

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## Canonicus

The name of Canonicus (ca. 1562–1647), also called Cananacus, Conanicus, and various other variations, might be a Latin derivation of Qunnoune (Drake, 1880, 118). He was the sachem of the Narragansetts, a native North American nation established in what is today Rhode Island. Although "he never fully trusted the English" (Hodge, 1912, I, 202), mostly because of their aggressive ways, Canonicus always remained friendly to them. He gave Roger Williams the tract of land where Providence, Rhode Island, now stands. Long after his death, he was still remembered as a great sachem, as evidenced by the U.S. Navy naming four ships after him. He should not be confused with Canonchet, a later Narragansett sachem.

The earliest Narragansett sachem that the English had heard about was Tashtasick, who is sometimes referred to as Canonicus's father. But the tradition also reports that Wessonsuoum and Keneschoo, his son and daughter, were the parents of Canonicus (Drake, 1880, 118). He spent his life in a village called Narragansett, north of what is now Kingston, Rhode Island. Following the two-sachem rule, the Narragansetts had Canonicus as their home sachem, while Miantonomo, his nephew, dealt with other matters, such as war parties.

Unlike other nearby nations, the Narragansetts largely avoided the diseases that devastated New England's native population in 1617–1619. This situation strengthened Canonicus's power and authority, in part because numerous refugees from other nations joined his people. Although he fought the Wampanoags, Canonicus remained at peace with his English neighbors. In the spring of 1636, after he escaped from Massachusetts, Roger Williams went to the Narragansett country. Tradition reports that he was greeted by Canonicus with the words, "What cheer, nétop [my friend]" (Simmons, 1978, 194). They soon established a good relationship and Canonicus later gave some land to Williams, who was involved in the diplomatic efforts to stop the Narragansett war against the Wampanoags. It was also under Williams's influence that Canonicus decided, in 1637, to help the Puritans and their Mohegan allies in their war against the Pequots.

After the Pequot nation's dispersal following that devastating war, Mohegans and Narragansetts agreed to a treaty that would erase old enmities. It was broken in 1643 when Sequasson, an allied sachem, was attacked by Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans. Miantonomo asked the English if he





could retaliate and their answer was that they would not intervene. Unfortunately, he was captured by Uncas in a raid soon after. Despite the £40 ransom sent by Canonicus, Uncas handed Miantonomo over to the English, who sentenced him to death secretly under Uncas's rule. The Narragansetts sought revenge for the disrespect of the ransom custom.

On April 19, 1644, after having been under Puritan pressure for a long time, the Narragansetts surrendered themselves and their lands voluntarily to King Charles I for protection. Canonicus refused to explain his decision, and suffered a loss of esteem among his people as a result.

Canonicus signed a surrender treaty on August 28, 1645, in which he acknowledged various misdeeds, as he agreed to cede the Pequot country (Simmons, 1978, 92). Canonicus never regained his full authority. He died on June 4, 1647, at the age of roughly eighty-five (Drake, 1880, 119).

*Philippe Charland*

*See also* Pequot War; Williams, Roger.

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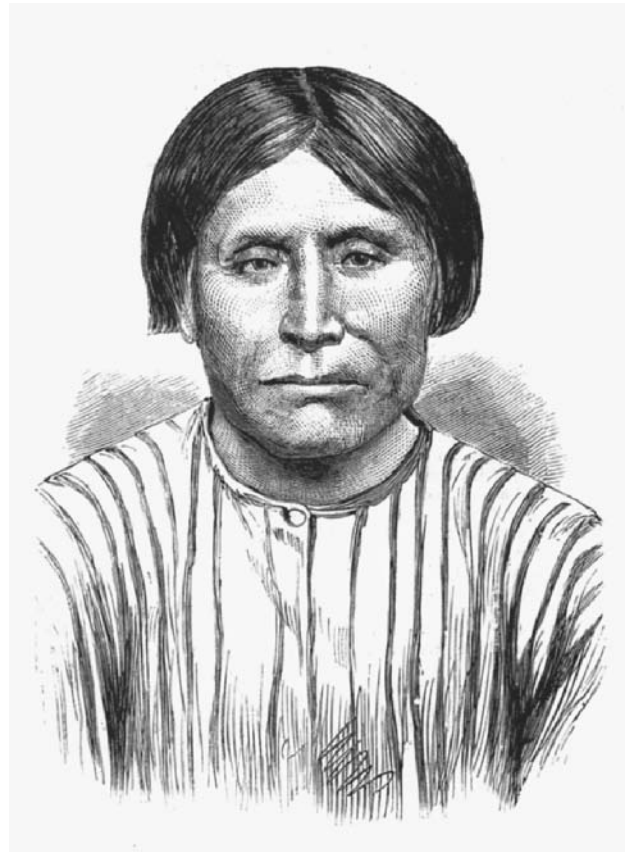
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## Captain Jack

Kintpuash (Modoc, ca. 1837–1873), later called Captain Jack by Anglo-American colonists of California, played a major role as a leader in the Modoc War of 1872–1873. Born at the Wa'chamshwash village on the Lower Lost River near the California–Oregon border, Kintpuash's father was ambushed and slain by whites during the Ben Wright Massacre of 1846. Little is known of his life before age twenty-five. We do know that his Modoc name, Kintpuash, meant "he has water brash [psoriasis]."

The Modocs had little contact with the immigrants until the advent of the 1849 California Gold Rush. Around this time, Kintpuash acquired the nickname Captain Jack because he wore a uniform coat with brass buttons that had been given to him



*Captain Jack, aka Kintpuash, a Modoc leader, was a key leader in the Modoc war. (Library of Congress)*

by a U.S. Army officer. Although the Modocs opposed Anglo-American expansion into their lands, Captain Jack counseled peace and encouraged trade with the settlers living near Eureka, California, during the 1840s. He had taken two wives by this time.

The Gold Rush intensified tensions and hostilities in the 1850s until Schonchin John, a Modoc chief, signed a treaty removing his band to a reservation in Oregon in 1864. The area was also the traditional homeland of the Klamaths, however, who resented the Modoc intrusion. Realizing that the land in Oregon was insufficient, Captain Jack and his followers returned to California and requested a reservation there. The federal and state authorities denied their request.

Settlers soon began to insist on the forced removal of Modocs. On November 28, 1872, forces invaded Captain Jack's camp and coerced him into consenting to removal. As tensions mounted at the





meeting, violence broke out. Scarfaced Charley, a Modoc leader angered by the Army's behavior, refused to give up his gun, and shots were fired during the ensuing struggle. When the fighting stopped, eight soldiers and fifteen Modocs were dead.

Fearing reprisals, the Modocs under Captain Jack fled to the Lava Beds nearby, believing that they would be safe there. However, this was not to be the case. Hooker Jim and his Modocs, encamped on the other side of the Lost River, were attacked by settlers, and, while retreating to the Lava Beds, they killed twelve whites in revenge. Within this hostile environment, the Modoc leaders, Captain Jack, Schonchin John, and Hooker Jim prepared for an attack in the vast, largely inaccessible volcanic area. But Captain Jack still counseled peace and negotiation, arguing that the government would ultimately win. However, more militant factions under Hooker Jim and Schonchin John outvoted him.

On January 13, 1873, troops moved into the Lava Beds to quell the Modoc uprising. On February 28, Captain Jack's cousin, Winema (married to a white man named Frank Riddle), and a peace delegation began talks with the rebellious Modocs. Hooker Jim and Schonchin John believed Captain Jack to be a coward for consenting to the talks, so they insisted that Captain Jack kill General Edward S. Canby, the head of the delegation. The Modoc militants also believed that American resolve would be damaged by the death of Canby.

Reluctantly, Captain Jack agreed to their terms only if the Modocs were refused amnesty and a return to their California homeland. At a meeting on April 11, Captain Jack shot Canby. The Reverend Eleazar Thomas was also killed, and Albert Meachum, the Indian superintendent, was severely wounded. Winema and her husband managed to escape with the remaining members of the peace party. Quickly, the government fielded more troops and heavier weapons.

The rugged lava rock terrain worked to the Modocs' advantage at first, but dissension among the Modoc leaders and harsh conditions weakened their position. Captain Jack surrendered in late May. After a military trial with Hooker Jim testifying for the prosecution, Captain Jack, Boston Charley, Black Jim, and Schonchin John were hanged on October 3, 1873. Since the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant had instituted a Peace Policy toward Indians, the American people were stunned by the uprising and the consequent inhumanity and insensitivity of the pursuit and hanging of the Modocs.

In the final analysis, white prejudice, Indian betrayal, greed, and an opportunistic press made a deplorable situation far worse. Employing more than a thousand soldiers to fight a Modoc force that never numbered more than fifty-three, the Army incurred losses of seven officers, thirty-nine soldiers, two scouts, and sixteen civilians. The Modoc dead numbered eleven women and seven men. An enormous human and financial cost was endured to capture and remove 155 Modocs to Indian Territory.

A melodrama entitled "Captain Jack" was staged for a brief time in 1873 but it failed to fully capitalize on the tragic bloodletting. A second group of grisly entrepreneurs were more successful. On the day after Captain Jack's execution, robbers exhumed his grave, embalmed his body and put it on display in a carnival sideshow that toured profitably across many Eastern cities.

In 1909, fifty-one of the Oklahoma Modocs were permitted to return to their reservation in Oregon.

*Bruce E. Johansen*

*See also* California Indians, Genocide of; Hooker Jim.

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## **Carson, Christopher "Kit"**

One of the most controversial figures in the history of the American West, Christopher "Kit" Carson (1809–1868) has been lauded as a great frontiersman and hero by some, and condemned as a mass murderer by others. The chief point of contention is his role in the last great Navajo war, which led to the forced relocation of roughly 8,000 Navajos from their



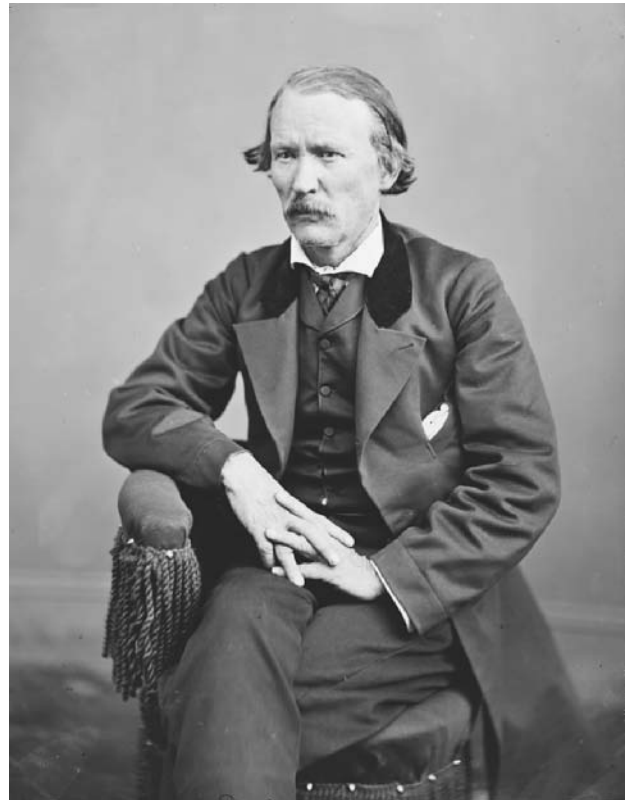


traditional homeland to the wastelands of Bosque Redondo in eastern New Mexico. For the Navajo, this trek is known simply as the Long Walk, and its memory is alive and well—and painful—in their oral tradition.

Kit Carson was born on Christmas Eve, 1809, in Madison County, Kentucky. As a boy, he dreamed of heading west to the great Rocky Mountains where he hoped to carve out a niche for himself. In 1826, young Kit took off for Santa Fe and soon became a mountain man and fur trapper. He eventually found employment as a hunter at Bent's Fort in southeastern Colorado and earned a reputation as a reliable and experienced frontiersman. In the mid-1840s, Carson served as a guide to John C. Frémont, who was exploring the Rocky Mountain West for the U.S. government. Frémont recorded and subsequently published an account of his travels. The charismatic and rugged Carson was a central character in the report and soon gained notoriety and fame throughout the land. His reputation was further enhanced by his role in the Bear Flag Revolt during the Mexican–American War.

Between 1854 and 1861, Carson was Indian agent to the Utes, with whom he developed a positive rapport. When the Civil War broke out, Carson took a commission as colonel in the First New Mexico Volunteers. He fought off invading Texans in the Battle of Valverde and helped in expunging the Confederates from the New Mexico Territory. In 1863, Carson was reassigned and ordered to fight the Mescalero Apaches who were raiding the settlements of encroaching whites. The famed mountain man successfully brokered an agreement with the Indians, leading to their relocation near the watchful eye of Fort Sumner. Next, General James H. Carleton commanded Carson to conduct a campaign against the Navajos in eastern Arizona and western New Mexico. Hoping to return home to his family in Taos, a reluctant Carson nevertheless took the commission.

Though Carson was hesitant to wage war on the Navajo, he was relentless in carrying out his assigned duty. He launched an all-out assault against his adversaries, who quickly realized that they had to conduct a guerrilla-like war against Carson's formidable army. The Navajo hoped to disrupt the invaders by making quick lightning strikes before retreating back into the canyons and mesas spread across their homeland. Carson was not discouraged. If he could not fight them head-on, he would carry out a protracted war of attrition by



*Scout Christopher "Kit" Carson was renowned as a frontiersman, but also has a controversial legacy for his treatment of Native Americans. (Library of Congress)*

destroying their crops and livestock and burning their homes and possessions. His scorched-earth strategy worked. The Navajos, on the run, were forced deep into Cañon de Chelly. As winter set in, the fugitives had no food or shelter; many starved or succumbed to the elements. Finally, in January 1864, most of the Navajos surrendered, accepting Carson's terms and their removal to Bosque Redondo. Carson was not present during the Long Walk to eastern New Mexico, but his roundup led directly to it. Like the Trail of Tears, the death and despair that marked the forced trek and the Navajos' confinement at Bosque Redondo were compounded by the psychological impact of being torn away from their homeland.

After his campaign against the Navajo, Carson went on to lead 1,000 troops, accompanied by Ute and Apache scouts, in an assault on the Kiowa and Comanche of the Great Plains. Soon, however, Carson's health began to decline, and he returned home to his family in Taos, New Mexico. On May 25, 1868, Kit Carson died.





Carson's reputation only grew after his untimely death. In the late nineteenth century he became the subject of countless dime novels. These sensationalist and, more often than not, fictitious books portrayed Carson as a near superhero. Though he was still celebrated, this pulp Kit Carson was a fearless Indian killer and scalper, rather than the trusty mountain man and guide described in John Fremont's report. In the 1960s and 1970s, Carson's image was further revamped. With the mounting Indian activism of the era, Kit was targeted for his role in the Indian wars and, more specifically, the campaign against the Navajo. Today, Carson remains a point of contention between scholars, who hope to restore his legendary status as an American icon and Western hero, and the Navajos, who can never forget the tears and suffering that he brought to their ancestors.

Bradley Shreve

See also Forced Marches; Long Walk.

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## Casas, Bartolome de las

The first Catholic priest ordained in the New World (1512), Bartolome de las Casas is considered by many, along with Antonio de Montesinos and Juan Quevado, to be among the first Indian rights activists. His *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*, first published in 1552, chronicles Spanish depredations and was translated almost immediately following its publication into every major European language. Though its original audience was intended to be Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire and Charles I of Spain, to whom de las Casas appealed to end these atrocities, it was later used by other European powers in attempts to discredit Spain's colonial claims. It caused a major public outcry, both against the conquistadors and soldiers as well as against de las Casas himself for exposing them.

Las Casas was born in Seville, Spain, in 1484, the son of merchant Pedro de las Casas who had

made enough money to finance his son's study of Latin. Pedro and three of his brothers were on Columbus's second voyage. Of their time there, scholars only know that Pedro was given an Indian youth as a slave, whom he subsequently bestowed on his son. Bartolome gave the boy back to Spanish authorities so that he might return home. In 1502, at the age of eighteen, de las Casas himself journeyed to the Indies with Nicolas de Ovando's twenty-five hundred soldiers. After returning to Europe to be ordained as a deacon in Rome, he returned, meeting such figures as Hernán Cortéz and Pedro de Alvarado, some of the most notorious leaders of the invasion. De las Casas went with Diego de Velasquez and Panfilo de Narvaz as a chaplain during the invasion and genocide in Cuba, where soldiers engaged in horrific slaughter while Columbus lay ill. De las Casas was rewarded, along with the others, with Indians and land for his service as a priest just as the soldiers were for their "work." In 1514, de las Casas shocked his parish by preaching against Spanish behavior toward the Indians.

Thus, Las Casas began a crusade that would gradually grow until he was granted an audience with the king in 1520, both to testify regarding his views and to defend himself in regard to the charges pressed against him by other Spanish colonists. Charles ruled in de las Casas's favor, agreeing that the time for military conquest was over and that Natives could be converted and saved according to peaceful means along with a nonviolent agricultural colonization. However, this did not change the actual conditions. De las Casas returned to the New World later that year to start a missionary community in Venezuela that he planned to be self-sustaining, but it failed due to the propagandizing of his enemies, which caused an Indian uprising. He became a Dominican monk, writing his plan for peaceful conversion in his *The Only Method of Attracting Everyone to the True Religion*. He also began in the monastery *Apology for the History of the Indies* and *The History of the Indies*.

Finally, in 1537, Pope Paul III issued a bull according human status to American Indians; as humans, they had the right to have their lives and property protected under church law. King Charles also backed an enterprise by de las Casas and the Dominican order to put the plan proposed in *The Only Method* to work in missions in Guatemala. The king issued his New Laws in 1542, making Indian slavery illegal and outlawing the inheritance of

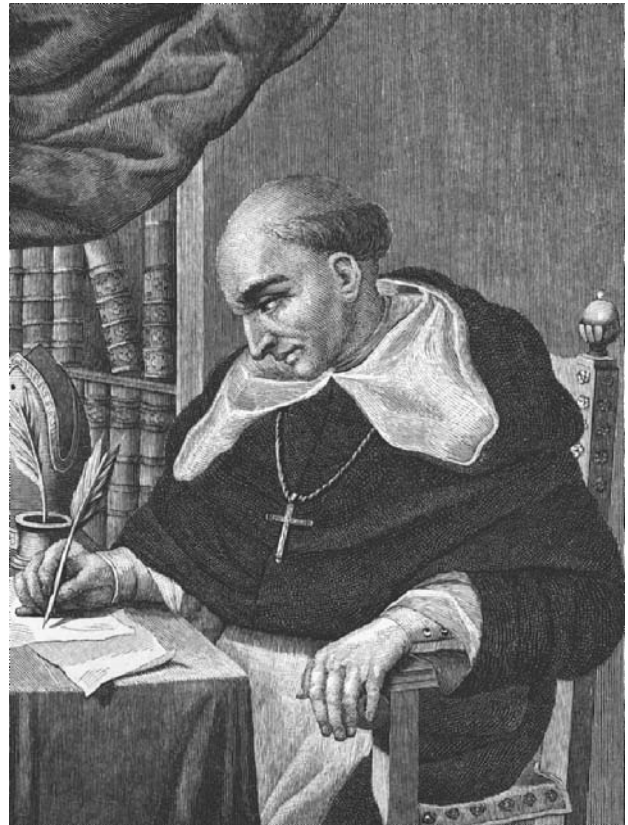




land and slaves (known as *encomiendas*) given in the earlier years of colonization. In Spain at the time, de las Casas had contributed to the passage of the New Laws, reading part of his *Devastation* to the court.

*The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account* is a plea for human rights. The Spaniards, arriving on slow wooden ships, distant from home and king, were free to do anything they pleased in violation of morality and law. Their actions, in part, stem from Spain's similar experiences under Moorish dominance for centuries. Papal bulls had also given permission to invade the lands and enslave the people "in the name of Christ" and justified war with resisting populations. De las Casas, as a Christian Spaniard, cannot tolerate the evils being perpetuated by his fellow Spaniards in the name of his God. De las Casas testifies to the poverty, humility, and peacefulness of the inhabitants of Hispaniola, which was shortly reduced from his estimate of 3 million to 200 in less than fifty years at the hands of the Spaniards. He adds that Cuba, San Juan, and Jamaica, along with numerous other small islands, had been almost entirely depopulated and devastated.

De las Casas recounts horrors that may even exceed those of the German Holocaust of the Jews. Part of the legacy of the Spanish is a program of genocide in the Americas that killed an estimated 100 million over the last 500 years (Stannard, 1992, 150–151). Certainly, even with 6 million Jews killed during World War II, the holocaust in the Americas has outdone it in numbers and scope. The Spaniards killed not only Indians in combat, but also the elderly and the children, pregnant women and those in childbirth, not just "stabbing and dismembering them but cutting them to pieces as if dealing with sheep in the slaughter house" (de las Casas, 1992, 33). The Spaniards wagered over who could cut an Indian in two with one pass of the sword, cut off an Indian's head most efficiently, or empty his belly of bowels the quickest. De las Casas reports infants being taken from their mothers, thrown off cliffs or into rivers, smashing their heads against the rocks. He indicates that other Indians were put to death by hanging them from gallows with their toes dangling above the ground, a blaze lit beneath them to honor "the memory of Our Redeemer and His twelve Apostles" (de las Casas, 1992, 34), their tongues depressed with sticks to suppress their screams as they slowly cooked to death.



Bartolome de las Casas (1474–1566), a Spanish historian, and the earliest European crusader for human rights in the New World. (Bettman/Corbis)

He also reports on the practice of "dogging," that is, of hunting, typically Indian children, but also adults, for sport and amusement and for the purpose of feeding the Spaniards' war dogs. He reports the rape of Indian women for the purpose of increasing her sale value as a pregnant slave and for the purpose of degrading the men. Michele de Cuneo, an Italian nobleman who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage:

While I was in the boat I captured a very beautiful Carib woman, whom the said Lord Admiral gave to me, and with whom, having taken her into my cabin, she being naked according to their custom, I conceived desire to take pleasure. I wanted to put my desire into execution but she did not want it and treated me with her finger nails in such a manner that I wished I had never begun. But seeing that . . . I





took a rope and thrashed her well, for which she raised such unheard of screams that you would not have believed your ears. Finally we came to an agreement in such manner that I can tell you she seemed to have been brought up in a school of harlots (Quoted in Stannard, 1992, 84).

De las Casas also relates the horrors experienced by the survivors in Spanish slavery, many of whom died in transport being brought from other areas of the New World once the population of the earliest contact was devastated. Throughout the area of the Americas invaded by the Spanish, de las Casas cites the deaths of numerous others, many of them children, through malnutrition and starvation, abuse, overwork, disease, and suicide. Some Spaniards practiced cannibalism by choice and forced the Indians they enslaved to engage in it as well. Children were sometimes killed to save them from the slow, tortuous death of enslavement that often began before the age of three. De las Casas details Spanish atrocities against the Aztecs brought by Cortes and throughout the Americas, all in the name of gold more than God, also indicting Germans for similar behavior, though they were in the Americas in fewer numbers. De las Casas died in July 1556 and was buried in the chapel of the convent of Our Lady of Atocha in Madrid, regretting he had not been able to do more.

Kimberly Roppolo

**See also** Democracy and Native American Images  
Among Europeans; Spanish Influence.

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## Catlin, George

George Catlin (1796–1872) was born July 26, 1796, at Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. He died December 23, 1872, at Jersey City, New Jersey. Catlin married Clara Gregory in 1828 and had four children: Elizabeth, Clara, Louise, and George, Jr. Catlin was a self-taught artist who painted in the American Romantic tradition. He is famous for his paintings, sketches, and artifact collection of Plains Indian life. He is less well-known for his landscape and miniature paintings as well as his Central American, South American, and Pacific Coast Indian paintings. Along with his artwork, Catlin published books about Plains Indian life, as well as his experiences while living among the Indians and traveling in Europe. Catlin also promoted justice for the Indian. Like others in the 1830s and 1840s, Catlin advocated that a large reservation be established for the remnants of the "Indian race." Catlin's work and Indian Gallery, displayed in Europe for over thirty years, helped establish the Plains Indian as the "typical" North American Indian in popular imagination.

Catlin's mother, Polly Sutton, survived the 1778 Wyoming Valley Massacre. His father, Putnam Catlin, was a lawyer and landowner as well as Revolutionary War veteran. Growing up in the Susquehanna Valley, New York, Catlin collected Indian curiosities and formed a brief friendship with an Oneida family—On-O-Gong-way, his wife, and daughter—who camped on the family farm.

While largely homeschooled, Catlin did attend the Classical Academy in Wilkes-Barre and the Gould and Reeve Law School in Connecticut. Upon graduation from law school in 1818, Catlin worked as a lawyer until 1820, when he decided to become an artist. His initial endeavors were miniatures of locals and some oil-on-canvas paintings of notables, such as Sam Houston. In 1827, Catlin expanded his repertoire by painting Niagara Falls, as well as the Erie and Welland Canals. It was during his efforts to establish his artistic career that Catlin met a delegation of western chiefs, in Philadelphia, who were heading to Washington for treaty negotiations. This meeting gave Catlin the impetus to travel to the West to paint the last remaining "uncivilized" Indians.

During 1830, Catlin arrived in St. Louis, where he became a protégé of General William Clark. From 1831 to 1836, Catlin visited and painted various Plains nations, such as the Pawnees, Otos, Kansas, Poncas, Assiniboines, Ricarees, Dakota, Mandans, Blackfeet, Crows, the Five Civilized Tribes, Osages,





Comanches, Picts, Kiowas, and Wicos, as well as the Ojibwas of Minnesota. In 1837, Catlin opened his Indian Gallery in New York City. Catlin offered to sell his collection of approximately 500 paintings and thousands of artifacts to the U.S. federal government, which declined his offer. Afterward, he transported the collection to England in 1839. On February 1, 1840, he opened the gallery at the Egyptian Hall, Piccadilly, which drew thousands, including commoners and royalty. As interest in the display waned, Catlin utilized showmanship to keep the crowds coming. Initially employing English cockneys to play Indians, Catlin hired a group of Canadian Ojibwas and later a group of Iowas to recreate aspects of their culture for entertainment and education. Realizing that England was tiring of the exhibition, Catlin moved the entire gallery, including the Iowas, to Paris with great fanfare. Tragedy soon resulted. Catlin's wife, son, and four of the Iowas died in France of disease. After hiring Ojibwa performers, eight became ill with smallpox which resulted in two deaths shortly after reaching Belgium. The remainder were hospitalized in Brussels at Catlin's expense. The direct result of these misfortunes forced Catlin to mortgage his collection, which was sold to cover debts. His daughters were taken in by wealthy in-laws.

During the 1850s, Catlin set out to paint the Indians of Central and South America, as well those along the West Coast of the United States. He eventually completed 600 new Indian paintings. In 1871 Catlin returned to New York to display his work. Unable to secure funds, he accepted free living space at the Smithsonian Institution, where he lived in poverty until his death in Jersey City in 1872.

Catlin's paintings, sketches, and writings are a wonderful resource on Plains Indian culture at its pinnacle. Significant collections of his work are located at the Smithsonian Institute and the American Museum of Natural History.

Catlin is also credited as the first Euro-American to visit the stone quarries near present-day Pipestone, Minnesota. The soft red stone, used to make sacred pipes, is known as Catlinite.

Karl S. Hele

*See also* Democracy and Native American Images among Europeans.

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## Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate

By the 1820s, the Cherokees were an immensely literate people, possessing a written constitution that emulated that of the United States, a written language (developed by Sequoyah), and a bilingual newspaper, *The Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate*. *The Cherokee Phoenix*, the first Native American newspaper, is still published today. During the years before the Trail of Tears (beginning in 1838), the newspaper acted as an official organ of the Cherokees' government and as a key institution in the battle against removal.

Sequoyah's written Cherokee language was introduced in 1821, after twelve years of experimentation. He developed the language with an eye to its social and political uses, making it easy to learn





The Cherokee Phoenix, first published in 1828, was the first Native American newspaper. (Library of Congress)

(many Cherokee acquired it in two weeks) and to use in the preparation of documents, including newspapers.

In 1828, the Cherokee Tribal Council initiated a weekly newspaper, printing bilingual editions in Cherokee and English.

The missionary Samuel Worcester, whose name became affixed to what is perhaps the best-known case in American Indian law (*Worcester v. Georgia*, 1832), was a community activist among the Cherokees. Worcester collaborated with Stephen Foreman on a translation of *The Bible* into Cherokee, and, with aid from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, he worked to procure type fonts and a press for the *Cherokee Phoenix*. Worcester played a role in having type cast in Sequoyah's symbols, hiring a printer, and choosing Elias Boudinot as the newspaper's first editor.

When *The Cherokee Phoenix* began publishing at New Echota on February 21, 1828, Worcester also was a major editorial force. The newspaper quickly acquired an international circulation but also experienced financial problems due, in part, to Boudinot's salary of \$300 a year, a relatively high wage at the time. A number of prominent Cherokees, including John Ross, Stand Watie, and John Ridge, spoke on behalf of the newspaper to raise money for what they regarded as an important voice in crucial times.

By 1832, however, Boudinot, Ridge, and others split with Ross as they began to support removal. Ross at first asked them to curtail their editorials in favor of removal. When they refused, he forced Boudinot's resignation. Charles Hicks, Ross's brother-in-law, then became editor. Hicks was strongly opposed to removal, but he restricted his views to editorials. The newspaper continued to publish views on both sides of the issue, including letters from Boudinot.

*The Cherokee Phoenix* continued to publish as pressure for removal grew. It shared news reports with a hundred other newspapers, but shortages of ink and the illnesses of printers and editors caused publication to become erratic. Georgia officials made obvious their desire to close the paper.

Financial problems persisted; on May 31, 1834, the paper ceased publication when the Cherokee Nation ran out of money as the federal government reneged on treaty obligations. When money again became available, the newspaper's staff planned a move to Red Clay, Tennessee, out of concern that the Georgia Guard would prevent its publication at New Echota. However, "Hours before the move, Elias Boudinot's brother, Stand Watie, joined the Guard in a raid on the offices of the Phoenix. They dumped the soft lead type on the ground and stamped it into the red Georgia clay with their feet, effectively silencing the voice of the Cherokee Nation. Watie and the Guard then removed the press and set fire to the building" (Worthy, n.d.).

The newspaper was revived after the Cherokees' forced march to Indian Territory, now Oklahoma. The original site of the newspaper's office in New Echota became a tourist attraction when a state park opened in the area in 1962. Today, the newspaper may be read in Cherokee and English on the Internet.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Ross, John; Sequoyah; Watie, Stand.





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## Clark, George Rogers

George Rogers Clark (1752–1818) enjoyed a brief burst of fame between 1778 and 1782, due to his exploits in Illinois and Ohio during the Revolutionary War. By 1782, however, his fragile reputation was on the wane, and ten years later he was in full disgrace.

The second son of John and Ann Rogers Clark—his younger brother, William, accompanied Meriwether Lewis on the Lewis and Clark Expedition—George Rogers grew up in Virginia, where his parents first owned a small farm near Charlottesville, before inheriting a four-hundred-acre plantation in Caroline County. Despite this seeming prosperity, the family was neither elevated nor educated. With only a minimal period at a private school at age eleven, Clark remained essentially illiterate his entire life, causing him problems in later military positions that required frequent and comprehensible paperwork.

The way up the economic ladder in Clark's Virginia led through Indian Country: Up-and-comers surveyed, inevitably Native American land, for the purpose of speculation. In 1772, at age twenty, George left on his first surveying mission. After involving himself in 1774 in Lord Dunmore's War—a blatantly illegal attempt to seize Ohio—Clark formally took up surveying in 1775 as a deputy surveyor of Kentucky, a "colony" of Virginia already carved out of Native lands. Clark earned a small wage but garnered a living through land speculation (*Indian Historical Bureau*, 2; *James*, 1: 9, 28).

In 1776, as war heated up with England along the seacoast—and with Native America in "the

west" for control of land—Clark led a delegation to Virginia, securing 500 pounds of gunpowder for Kentucky "defense." Thereby called to the attention of Patrick Henry, then governor of Virginia, Clark was secretly commissioned to seize, if he could, western territories in Illinois from the purported control of the British before Virginia's rival, Pennsylvania, could manage the same feat. The resultant and daring Illinois campaigns of 1777–1779 are, today, the lynchpins of Clark's fame, although his murderous depredations against the Shawnees of Ohio in 1780 and 1782 were at least as famous among his contemporaries.

Avoiding Vincennes at first, because the British Fort Sackville was garrisoned there, Clark sneaked up at night on Kaskaskia, Illinois, a French settlement that was not expecting trouble, taking it on July 4, 1778, deeply frightening the inhabitants. The next day, Clark hiked over to Cahokia, demanding and receiving it as well. That October, Clark likewise seized Vincennes with ease, although he promptly lost it with equal ease in December to British Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton. After a cold February march back to Vincennes, Clark resealed the town and its fort in March 1779. These "victories" look more impressive on paper than they did on the ground, for, in truth, the French inhabitants of Illinois rolled quickly with the punches, placating whichever commander held the upper hand at the moment. Furthermore, neither Clark nor Hamilton was in any position to raise the armies for a real contest. Clark had, at most, 175 men, and Hamilton, but thirty-nine, after his seventy-five French militiamen defected ("Account . . .," 1908, 492, 502; Barnhart, 1951, 149, 181; Clark, 1966, 518, 528).

Throughout his time in Illinois, Clark deliberately terrorized the French settlers, the Illinois Native Americans, and the British, boasting later of his policy of terror (Clark, 1966, 475, 479, 481). In retaking Fort Sackville in 1779, he staged horrifying tortures, including the live, slow scalping of a party of Natives taken prisoner as its members entered Vincennes without knowing of recent events. These atrocities were performed in full view of the besieged small garrison of Fort Sackville, specifically to effect its immediate surrender. A horrified Hamilton (reviled by the Americans as "the famous Hair Buyer General") left a vivid description of a blood-covered Clark sluicing off the gore while boasting of his escapade to the now captive British officer ("Account . . .," 1908, 501; Barnhart,





*Colonel George Rogers Clark confers with Native Americans at Cahokia in the Illinois Territory. The group surrendered to Clark and his men in 1778, and Clark continued with his successful attempt to acquire, without conflict, immense tracts of land for the United States. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

1951, 182–183; Clark, 1966, 534, 541; Mann, 2005, 114–116).

Establishing Fort Jefferson on a flood plain at the confluence of the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers (only to abandon it in 1780) Clark headed back to Kentucky to raise an August attack on the Shawnees in Ohio, then clearly Native American territory. Clark was frankly racist in his attitudes, admitting that he awaited but a “sufficient excuse to put all the Indians & partisans to death” (ISHL, 1903, 144) and viewed their “extirpation” (Barnhart, 1951, 189) as his “divine” mission (Clark, 1996, 539). Taking 1,000 men (against 300 Native defenders), Clark ploughed into Shawnee lands, destroying around 1,000 acres of crops and all the housing he could find, including Old (also called

Little) Chillicothe and three Piqua clan towns on the Big Miami River, his men plundering towns, murdering and mutilating straggling Natives, and pulling bodies out of graves to scalp for state bounties. As a quickly combined “Union” force (a pan-Native alliance in Ohio) bore down on him, Clark beat a hasty retreat home (Mann, 2005, 124–127).

By the end of 1780, Clark was so acclaimed in the back settlements that George Washington handed him the all-important campaign to roust the British from their western headquarters in Detroit. Due to a fraught rivalry that erupted into a recruiting and supplying competition with Colonel Daniel Brodhead, commander of the Western Department headquartered at Fort Pitt, Clark was unable to raise enough men for the effort or to keep those he had raised from deserting. Setting out in a scattered way from Fort Henry (Wheeling, West Virginia) on July 20, 1781, by the end of August, Clark’s troops had been entirely defeated by the Ohio Union (Mann, 2005, 143–146).

Clark was placed in the military command of Kentucky in 1781, where he failed not only to support outlying posts but also to report back to Virginia, whose governor, Benjamin Harrison, blamed the problem on Clark’s raging alcoholism (ISHL, 1926, 132), but which was equally the fault of Clark’s illiteracy. Consequent of his failures, the massive August 19, 1782, defeat of the Kentucky militia by the Ohio Union at Blue Licks was blamed on Clark. Partially to regain his prestige and partially to make one last grab at Ohio before a signed Treaty of Paris prohibited continued invasion, Clark led a second, unauthorized invasion of Shawnee lands in November 1782, attacking and looting an evacuated Chillicothe (modern-day Piqua), along with Willistown, Pigeon Town, two Piqua clan towns, and a British trading post. He destroyed 10,000 bushels of corn, the Shawnees’ entire winter supply (Mann, 2005, 174–179).

After the Revolution, in recognition of his military services, Clark was “paid” 8,059 acres of Native land in Ohio and 73,962 acres of Chickasaw land farther west (Lutz, 1969, 250, 251–252). He also was tapped as an Indian agent during the U.S. attempt to seize Ohio by treaty (thus to remit all congressional land warrants issued as soldiers’ pay during the Revolution). In 1786, Clark negotiated a strong-armed treaty with the Shawnees, which was immediately repudiated, and then led an attack on the Wabash Miami nations.





Clark's star was, however, decidedly declining; Virginia held him personally liable for paying war supply debts it claimed he had incorrectly managed. (In fact, Clark had properly submitted receipts, as he had always claimed.) As Clark struggled with these woes, James Wilkinson, a Spanish double agent, conspired to depose him from his position as Indian agent, subsequently taking over Clark's post. Now in serious trouble, Clark tried some skullduggery of his own, in a scheme to create a Spanish colony in Mississippi. Continuing his new career as a foreign agent, Clark attempted in 1793 to drag the United States into Franco-Anglo hostilities. He died in Louisville in 1799, his reputation in tatters.

Barbara Alice Mann

See also American Revolution, Native American Participation.

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## Cochise

Often thought of as the greatest of Apache leaders, Cochise was born between 1800 and 1813 somewhere in the Chiricahua Mountains of southeastern Arizona (Sweeney, 1991, 6). Not much is known of his early life, but historians have written (Sweeney, 1991, 14) that at about age fifteen the young man had been physically and mentally prepared for the first of the four raids he undertook as a novice warrior. Raiding was as necessary to the Apache people as breathing. Survival depended on raiding, as did the quality and skills of the leader.

The young Chiricahua Apache learned all the rituals associated with raiding. He came to understand the special language spoken by the raiders, why he and his people had to travel by night, where waterholes were, and how to avoid the many taboos that adversely affected a raid's success. After four grueling trips under the watchful eyes of experienced warriors, his conduct satisfied the men, and he was accepted as one of them.

Cochise married at least three times. With his second wife, Dostehseh, the daughter of the powerful Mimbres Apache chief, Mangas Coloradas, he fathered two sons: Taza and Naiche. Taza never married and died an untimely death in Washington, D.C., as he sought peace after his father's demise. Naiche, born about 1856, was the last leader of the free Chiricahua Apaches and became Geronimo's colleague. Theirs was a cooperative relationship: Geronimo deferred to Naiche in all matters other than warfare and healing; Naiche reciprocated similarly when it came to warring.

Cochise was a complex individual whose great intelligence has never been disputed. For years he outsmarted and outfought the most competent Indian fighters the U.S. Army sent after him. He has









open a hole in the tent and escaped. Fifty shots were fired at him as he fled. His brother, two nephews, and two others couldn't get away. Cochise never forgot the lesson: Under the disguise of friendship, he had been tricked and nearly imprisoned by those he trusted.

The next day, Cochise and others approached the Army camp waving a white flag of truce. Their intention was to lure Bascom out of his tent and take him hostage to trade later for the relatives. "Tell the boy soldier I have Americans to trade for my people," Cochise said (Arnold, 1951, 7). When the plan failed, Cochise sacked a mail station, captured three white men, killed and burned eight other men, and held several hostages. He contacted the Army again and offered to exchange his collection of captives for his relatives. Bascom refused, killed Cochise's family, and the Apache wars started. Cochise's fury then knew no bounds (Thrapp, 1967, 18).

In June 1862, Cochise participated in the Battle of Apache Pass. Believing that the troops, under command of Brigadier General James Carleton, had come to punish them (the soldiers were actually on their way eastward to drive Confederate forces back to Texas), the Apaches prepared an ambush that failed when two mountain howitzers lobbed several shells at them (Sweeney, 1991, 198–200). Even though the Indians retreated this time, in the eyes of the American government they had become the principal stumbling block to white settlement and, importantly, to establishing business enterprises, such as a railroad, in southeastern Arizona.

Tom Jeffords, a government mail contractor, risked his life by riding into the Dragoon Mountains in search of Cochise. His mission was to convince the Apache to allow his mail carriers through without killing them. Jeffords later told an historian:

Cochise had killed fourteen men in my employ. I made up my mind that I wanted to see him. I located his camp . . . went into his camp alone, fully armed. I told him I was there to talk with him personally and that I wanted to leave my arms in his possession . . . to be returned to me when I was ready to leave, which would probably be in a couple of days (Sonnichsen, 1991, 13).

Impressed by Jeffords' bravery, Cochise honored the request to let the mail riders live as they crossed his territory, and remarkably the two men became close friends for the rest of their lives.

In 1863, the Americans murdered Mangas Coloradas (Sweeney, 1998, 455–465), Cochise's father-in-law, causing great grief and creating an even stronger desire for revenge against all enemies, Mexican or American. Twelve years and 5,000 deaths later, President Ulysses S. Grant sent General Oliver O. Howard to the southwest to explore peace with Cochise through a treaty.

At the conclusion of the lengthy talks, Cochise and Howard agreed on three main points: the site of a reservation in southeastern Arizona, adequate food and clothing to be furnished by the government, and the appointment of Tom Jeffords as their agent at the new site. Cochise promised a truce that would keep the roads open without danger (Sweeney, 1991, 363) and that would allow settlers and others, such as miners and merchants, to enter southern Arizona safely. He kept his word.

Cochise became progressively ill and died on June 8, 1874, two years after being placed on the reservation. Agent Jeffords was unable to keep some of the Chiricahuas from resuming their former ways; so in 1876 the government, after much ado, abolished the reservation. Cochise's followers were marched to San Carlos, Arizona, a desolate spot. Intolerable at best, this site was one of the motivating factors that caused earlier problems to reemerge, resulting in continuing hostilities between the government and the Chiricahua Apaches that continued until Geronimo's final surrender in September 1886.

H. Henrietta Stockel

*See also* Apache Wars; Mangas Coloradas.

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## Cody, William Frederick

William "Buffalo Bill" Cody (1846–1917) lived during a time of significant change on the Great Plains. Non-Natives were settling the West in great numbers, the stagecoach and the Pony Express made daily trips across the country, and the railroad was cutting through Indian lands. One of the Indians' primary sources of food, the buffalo, was being hunted to extinction. As a boy, Cody herded cattle, rode for the Pony Express, and drove the stagecoach. As a young man, he killed buffalo for the railroad men. The latter half of the nineteenth century saw many major Indian wars in the West, and William Cody played an important part as a civilian scout for the Army during much of this time. He later recruited many Indians for his famous Wild West Show.

William Frederick Cody was born on February 26, 1846, in Scott County, Iowa. He was one of eight children and a son of Isaac and Mary Ann (Laycock) Cody. The family moved to Kansas in 1853 and Cody's father died in 1857. At eleven years of age, Cody decided to find work to support his mother and siblings. He pursued a job with Majors and Russell (later Russell, Majors, and Waddell), a freighting firm in Leavenworth, Kansas. He was first hired as a messenger boy and later helped to herd oxen. He claimed to have shot his first Indian while returning to Fort Kearney in Nebraska with a group of bullwackers (ox team drivers). He was heralded the "youngest Indian slayer of the Plains."

During this time he met James "Wild Bill" Hickok. They would remain good friends until Hickok's death in 1876. In 1859, Russell, Majors, and Waddell started the Pony Express, and Cody was hired as a rider. He rode for the company on and off until it went out of business in October 1861. In 1862, he joined the Ninth Kansas Volunteer Cavalry as a civilian guide and scout. He later became one of the Red Legged Scouts (the name coming from the red leggings they wore), an informal (some say vigilante) militia acting on the side of the Union. In 1863, he joined the Seventh Kansas Cavalry, also as a civilian scout. He married Louisa Maude Frederici on March 6, 1866. They first settled in Salt Creek Valley, Kansas. During their marriage they had four children: Arta born in 1866, Kit Carson (named after the famed Kit Carson) in 1870, Orra in 1872, and Irma in 1883. After a failed attempt at running a hotel, Cody returned to scouting. It was during this time that he met George Armstrong Custer.

In 1867, with a partner, Cody tried his hand at establishing a town near Fort Hays in anticipation of the coming of the railroad. Named Rome, it flourished until the Kansas Pacific Railroad established a town nearby and Rome slowly declined. Cody was then hired to kill buffalo for the workmen who were building the railroad. They required twelve buffalo daily to feed the employees. He claims to have killed 4,280 buffalo in eighteen months, and it was at this time that Cody was christened "Buffalo Bill." His job hunting buffalo ended in the spring of 1868 when the building of the track was done.

Cody immediately returned to scouting. In 1869 he was appointed chief of scouts for the Fifth Cavalry that was going up against the Dog Soldiers, a band of Cheyennes. On July 11, 1869, General Eugene A. Carr, Major Frank North, three companies of the Fifth Cavalry, and two companies of Pawnee soldiers, with William Cody as chief scout, surprised the Dog Soldiers' encamped near the South Platte River at Summit Springs, Colorado. This battle is significant because it broke the back of the Dog Soldiers and virtually ended their raids on the Colorado settlers. Cody claims to have killed many Indians during his career as a scout. One of these, Chief Tall Bull, he claims to have ambushed and killed for his horse in 1869 at Summit Springs. Another, Chief Yellow Hair (also called Yellow Hand), he killed in 1876 at War Bonnet Creek (Hat Creek) and then claimed to have cried, "The first scalp for Custer." In 1872, Cody won the Medal of Honor for gallantry in action on April 26, 1872, in the battle at Loup Fork on the Platte River in Nebraska. In the fall of 1872 he was elected to represent the Twenty-Sixth District in the legislature of Nebraska, thus adding the title "Honorable" to his name.

During this time, Cody was being urged by a friend to represent himself on stage. He declined at first but eventually agreed and started on his career as a performer. In 1873, he organized his own theatrical company known as the Buffalo Bill Combination, which included Wild Bill Hickok that first season. Cody moved his family to Rochester, New York, to be closer to the show. In April 1876, his only son died of scarlet fever. Heartbroken, Cody closed the show early and returned to scouting for the Fifth Cavalry. Shortly thereafter, he received word that General George Custer had been killed in the Battle of Little Bighorn. In 1877, Cody went into the cattle business with his friend, Major Frank North. Cody's ranch was near North Platte in





Nebraska, and in 1878 his family moved from Rochester to settle there.

In 1883, Cody started a new venture, which he called Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show. In it he depicted all of the history that he had experienced during his life on the Plains: the buffalo hunt, the first settlers, the Pony Express, the Deadwood stage, the wagon trains, the soldiers and scouts, and the Indians. It was highly successful in the United States, and in 1887 he took his show to England where he played before the Queen. He made several more trips to London and other European cities.

Cody returned from one of his European tours in November 1890 to find continuing warfare in Sioux Country. Because of his intimate knowledge of the Badlands of North Dakota, he was immediately summoned to Chicago by General Nelson Miles. He was also asked, because of his prior friendship with Sitting Bull, to go to him and try to quell the imminent uprising. Before Cody could reach Sitting Bull, however, the order was rescinded by President Benjamin Harrison. Sitting Bull was killed on December 15, 1890. On December 29, 1890, the massacre occurred at Wounded Knee, at which Miniconjou Chief Big Foot and about 300 Indian men, women, and children were killed by U.S. soldiers. Shortly thereafter, Cody negotiated with the government to take 100 Indians, including prisoners from Wounded Knee, to tour with his show.

Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show ran from 1883 to 1913. For the most part it was a great success. Nevertheless, due primarily to an extravagant lifestyle that included numerous affairs and much drinking, William "Buffalo Bill" Cody ended up penniless and bankrupt. Cody died on January 10, 1917, while visiting his sister in Colorado. His wife Louisa died in 1921. They are buried together on Lookout Mountain in Colorado.

In his second autobiography (published after his death), Cody expresses his sentiments about Indians:

I . . . hope that the dealings of this Government of ours with the Indians will always be just and fair. They were the inheritors of the land that we live in. They were not capable of developing it, or of really appreciating its possibilities, but they owned it when the White Man came, and the White Man took it away from them. It was natural that they should resist. It was natural that they employed the



William "Buffalo Bill" Cody was a scout and showman.  
(Library of Congress)

only means of warfare known to them against those whom they regarded as usurpers. It was our business, as scouts, to be continually on the warpath against them when they committed depredations. But no scout ever hated the Indians in general.

Gayle Yiotis

*See also* Black Elk; Sitting Bull.

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## Cohen, Felix

Felix Cohen (1907–1953) was the author of the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (1942), a basic reference book in its field for decades. Cohen also served as associate solicitor of the Interior Department, and chaired the Department's Board of Appeals. He played an instrumental role in drafting the legal infrastructure of the Indian Claims Commission, founded in 1946. Cohen was especially active in securing for American Indians the right to vote and receive social security benefits.

In addition to the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, Cohen also authored a number of other books, including *Ethical Systems and Legal Ideals* (1933) and *Combating Totalitarian Propaganda: A Legal Appraisal* (1944). Elegant of speech, erudite of pen, and possessing a humane heart, Cohen sailed headlong into the political gauntlet that had once favored allotment and in his time sought termination of Native American nations as collective bodies.

Cohen was born in New York City and earned an AB degree in 1926 (summa cum laude) from City College, where, as a student, he edited *The Campus*, a student newspaper. Cohen earned a Ph.D. from Harvard in 1929 and an LLB from Columbia Law School in 1931. He was the son of Morris Raphael Cohen, a legal philosopher, writer, and professor at City College. The younger Cohen became well-known in the field of law well beyond cases concerning American Indians. In 1951, he coauthored a textbook, *Readings in Jurisprudence and Legal Philosophy*, with his father. The book contained the usual descriptions of European legal precedents, from Aristotle to the English Common Law, but also included a chapter titled

"Law and Anthropology," which described the legal traditions of tribal peoples in North America, including the Sioux and Cheyenne.

Cohen also was a student of Native American societies and a social critic. On one occasion, Cohen compared the Native American influence on immigrants from Europe to the ways in which the Greeks had shaped Roman culture: "When the Roman legions conquered Greece, Roman historians wrote with as little imagination as did the European historians who have written of the white man's conquest of America. What the Roman historians did not see was that captive Greece would take captive conquering Rome [with] Greek science [and] Greek philosophy . . ." (Cohen, 1952, 180).

Cohen wrote that American historians had too often paid attention to military victories and changing land boundaries, while failing to see that in agriculture, government, sport, education, and our views of nature and of other people, the first Americans also had helped shape their battlefield conquerors. American historians have seen America mainly as an imitation of Europe, Cohen asserted. In his view, the real epic of America is the yet unfinished story of the Americanization of the white man.

It is likely that Cohen honed his definition of these ideas through his friendship with Mohawk culture bearer Ray Fadden of Onchiota, New York. For many years in the 1940s, Cohen had a cabin at Buck Pond, within walking distance of the Fadden home. John Kahionhes Fadden, Ray's son, recalled his father and Cohen walking in the woods and having long conversations.

Cohen resigned from government service in 1948 to practice American Indian law in the New York City–Washington, D.C., firm of Riegelman, Stasser, Schwartz, and Spiegelberg. Cohen often represented the interests of the Montana Blackfeet, Oglala Sioux, All-Pueblo Council, and San Carlos Apaches. Cohen also served as a visiting professor of law at Yale University and City College. He also taught at Rutgers Law School and the New School for Social Research.

Cohen died of cancer October 19, 1953, at his home in New York City. At his funeral, which was held in Washington, D.C., pallbearers included Felix Frankfurter, an associate justice of the United States Supreme Court; Senator Hubert H. Humphrey; John Collier, former commissioner of Indian Affairs; and Oliver LaFarge, author and president of the Association on American Indian Affairs.

Bruce E. Johansen





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## Collier, John

John Collier (1884–1968), an idealistic reformer, became commissioner of Indian affairs in 1933 during the Democratic Franklin Delano Roosevelt administration. The Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), passed by Congress in 1934, was his creation and the centerpiece of the Indian New Deal. The IRA ended the disastrous allotment policy that had dispossessed Native tribes of tens of millions of acres of reservation lands. Yet the Indian New Deal left a mixed heritage with respect to the aspirations of many American Indians. Never completely successful, it was criticized and underfunded by its detractors in Congress, and even opposed by many Indian nations and tribes. The legacy of Collier's Indian reform program poses some interesting questions: How did Collier become a passionate admirer of Indian culture and an advocate of cultural pluralism, and how successful was his program of Indian reform? His biography may provide answers to these questions.

John Collier was born in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1884. His father was a lawyer and banker who went on to become mayor of Atlanta. His mother, a New Englander, instilled in her son a love of literature and nature. The family eventually fell on hard times, and both parents died when Collier was a teenager. As a youth he began regular restorative trips to the southern Appalachian Mountains, and a love of the outdoors continued throughout his life. His later interest in folk cultures began during these outings. Collier entered Columbia University in 1902 and later studied at Woods Hole Marine Laboratory in Massachusetts. He soon turned from the study of biology to an interest in social issues. According to Collier's biographer, Kenneth R. Philp, a book by the Russian anarchist, Prince Peter Kropotkin, *Mutual Aid*, caught the young man's imagination and began his interest in the community life of precapitalist societies. It was a harbinger of his later interest in American Indians.

Upon leaving college, he at first took a job as a newspaper reporter. By 1907, however, he had

become a reform social worker who for the next twelve years devoted himself to the welfare of European immigrants on Manhattan Island. In this endeavor he shared the interests of early American sociologists in the problems of immigration and urbanization. They, like Collier, believed that the machine age had undermined the old sense of community found in preindustrial societies and left the individual isolated. Crime and social problems were the result.

Collier became civic secretary for the People's Institute, an immigrant betterment organization, and editor of the Institute's bulletin. The Institute sponsored regular forums on relevant social issues for Jewish and Italian immigrants, along with the establishment of school community centers. Collier was a vigorous opponent of the Americanization policy that pressured immigrants to give up their native languages and cultures.

By 1912, Collier had become a frequenter of Mabel Dodge's weekly salons in New York City where leading intellectuals of the day gathered to share radical ideas. Dodge was to play a pivotal role in Collier's entry into American Indian advocacy a few years later. As a writer, poet, lecturer, and social reformer, Collier continued his social activism, establishing a training school for community workers and becoming editor of the publication of the National Community Center Conference. In 1916, when funding for the New York operations dried up and political difficulties arose, he moved with his family to Los Angeles, California, to become the director of the state's adult education program. After taking up the new work, he lectured extensively and established public forums similar to those of the People's Institute. His two main themes were the cooperative movement and the "Bolshevik experiment" of the Russian Revolution, both of which he admired. Collier's radical social work roots were to cause him problems later as Commissioner of Indian Affairs when he lobbied Congress for an Indian New Deal.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, Anglo-America had been persuaded that Indians were a vanishing race; therefore, the assimilation of the survivors through Americanization and Christianization was made to seem a task of philanthropy. In reality, American Indians had passed the nadir of their population decline and were no longer "vanishing," either physically or culturally. It was at this juncture that the missionary-oriented Indian Rights Association called on the Indian Office to place a ban on Indian ceremonial dancing.





*John Collier was the U.S. Indian Affairs Commissioner from 1933 to 1945. (Library of Congress)*

In the early 1920s, Indian commissioner Charles H. Burke banned Indian religious dances, and Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall sponsored legislation that would legitimize the seizure of 60,000 acres of Pueblo lands and the individualization of tribal economic assets.

In 1920, Collier interrupted a wilderness trip to Mexico to visit the Taos pueblo in New Mexico at the urging of his old friend Mabel Dodge. For two years he resided at the pueblo where he and others from the art community gathered around the fireplace in Mabel Dodge's home to discuss the meaning of Indian life. He came away determined that Pueblo culture, and Indian life in general, must be preserved. After his stay at Taos, Collier returned to California to accept a lecturer position at San Francisco State College.

A strong believer in cultural pluralism, Collier took up the protest from the Pueblos against the persecution by the Office of Indian Affairs and its Christian "reformers." The controversy over the Pueblo land grants, part of the larger struggle aimed at stopping reservation land dispossession and pauperization stemming from the 1887 General Allotment Act, led to the founding of the American Indian Defense Association (AIDA) by Collier in May 1923. The political agitation by the AIDA, along with the 2-million-member General Federation of Women's Clubs and the Indian Rights Association, led to the resignation of Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall from the Harding administration.

The year 1928 saw the issuance of the government's *The Problem of Indian Administration*, better known as the Meriam Report. For Collier it con-





firmed the horrible legacy of the allotment policy and the fact that major reform was needed in Indian administration. When Franklin D. Roosevelt was elected in 1932, the new president chose Harold Ickes as his Secretary of the Interior. Ickes was a Chicago progressive and former director of the American Indian Defense Association. Collier was then tapped to become the new commissioner of Indian affairs.

By 1934, the new commissioner had drafted a bill that became the framework for the Indian Reorganization Act. It was rough sailing for Collier, however, and Congress ended up dropping key provisions from the bill and amending others. The section of Title II having to do with promoting Indian arts, crafts, skills, and traditions was deleted by Congress, as was the section in Title III having to do with land alienation and the Indian heirship problem. Title IV, dealing with law and order, was dropped entirely. Not to be outdone, Collier launched his Indian New Deal anyway through a series of administrative reforms and edicts to the Office of Indian Affairs. A singular feature of the Indian New Deal was the exclusion of Christian missionaries from the Collier administration and the inclusion of anthropologists in their place. This represented a policy shift from cultural assimilation to cultural pluralism.

The new commissioner's critics, including a number of Indian tribes and reservation superintendents, viewed self-government under the IRA with suspicion, as socialistic and un-American. Collier, on the other hand, proposed that Indian tribes become chartered corporations with the powers of a community or county, a form of limited self-government. The new tribal councils would act as advisory bodies to the Secretary of the Interior. The IRA self-government provisions were seen by Collier as a form of indirect rule by the federal government and a progressive advance in U.S. Indian policy. By the 1920s and 1930s the European powers had come to favor this form of colonial administration since direct rule, especially by the French, had been such an abysmal failure. From today's perspective, Collier's reform may be criticized as a form of neocolonialism, but, taken in the context of the times, his ideas resulted in a progressive shift in federal Indian policy.

Despite the accomplishments of the IRA, World War II drained funds from the reform program and turned Congress and the country to other priorities. Discouraged, Collier resigned on January 10, 1945,

after twelve years as the head of Indian affairs. For the next twenty-three years he continued an active public life. During his tenure as commissioner, Collier helped found the first pan-American conference on Indian life held at Patzcuaro, Mexico, in the spring of 1940. He headed up a National Indian Institute in 1943 that undertook an important Indian personality research study, founded the Institute of Ethnic Affairs in 1945, and took an active interest in America's newly acquired trusteeships in the Pacific after the war. He published a major work in 1947, *Indians of the Americas*, which was used in anthropology courses for many years. In the same year he became professor of sociology and anthropology at the City College of New York, a position he retained until 1955. His memoir, *From Every Zenith*, came out in 1960, and he died at his Taos residence in 1968 at the age of eighty-four.

How should one evaluate the Collier legacy? In the first place, the IRA resulted in only a partial and imperfect restoration of Indian sovereignty. Furthermore, for all his democratic idealism, Collier's administrative style as commissioner has been criticized as authoritarian and paternalistic. In some cases he manipulated tribal elections to favor IRA acceptance. He also imposed Anglo-American model constitutions and charters on traditionally oriented tribes that undercut the political leadership of chiefs and the old band and treaty councils. The Navajo Nation never forgave him for the ruthlessness of his pursuit of the livestock reduction program on their reservation. The Lakota and some other tribes with allotted lands split into factions as a result of the IRA, the bitter legacy of which manifested itself in the occupation of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1973.

It may be that religious freedom was his most lasting accomplishment. In his memoirs Collier depicts ceremonial tribal dances as the core of Indian religion. "Through the dances are united body and soul, and self with the community, and self and tribe with nature and with God." Upon taking office as commissioner he immediately reversed the old Bureau policy of religious persecution by issuing Circular No. 2970, "Indian Religious Freedom and Indian Culture." He also issued an order curtailing missionary activity on the reservations. Yet the issue of Indian religious freedom was excluded from the Indian Reorganization Act. Religious persecution continued in less obvious ways and was not specifically addressed by Congress until the passage of the





American Indian Religious Freedom Act in 1978 and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act in 1990. The repatriation of human remains is still not resolved, and the question of sacred lands has scarcely been addressed by public policy.

Steve Talbot

*See also* Assimilation; Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Indian Reorganization Act; Meriam Report.

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## Coon Come, Matthew

As president of the Canadian Assembly of First Nations and as grand chief of the nine Cree councils, Matthew Coon Come (b. 1956) has become one of the late twentieth century's major Canadian Native leaders, especially in the campaign to halt exploitation of the James Bay region by Hydro-Quebec.

Coon Come was born in 1956 in a hut along the Mistissini trapline that his parents worked in northern Quebec. This was a seasonal encampment for the Crees, where they hunted and fished near James Bay. Coon Come didn't see a non-Native until he was six years of age. The first non-Native he saw was the Indian Affairs agent who arrived by float plane to take him to a residential school. Coon Come attended residential schools in Moose Factory, La Tuque, and Hull. He later studied political science, law, economics, and native studies at Trent and McGill Universities.

Coon Come's Cree elders recognized him as a natural leader. He was asked to coordinate inland Cree communities' negotiations with Canada that enabled the James Bay Crees to escape the Indian Act and gain the first ever aboriginal self-government legislation in Canada. Coon Come also served two

terms as chief of the Mistissini First Nation, helping to acquire for his community a new arena, an adult education center, a bank, new administrative offices, new health facilities, and major improvements to its housing and community infrastructure.

Coon Come married Maryann Matoush in 1976; they later had three daughters and two sons. At age twenty-one, Coon Come became deputy chief for the Cree Nation of Northern Quebec. Later, he became the grand chief for roughly 12,000 Crees. He was a vocal opponent on behalf of aboriginal peoples in the province during the Quebec separation movement. He later became grand chief of the Crees' Grand Council in Quebec as a whole. He was first elected as grand chief of the Grand Council of the Crees and chairman of the Cree Regional Authority in 1987. Coon Come soon became known throughout Canada for his efforts to end federal policies that favored the abolition of aboriginal peoples' human rights and legal self-determination.

Coon Come was reelected by the James Bay Cree People through four successive terms as grand chief, during which he became known for his international work to protect aboriginal peoples' traditional ways of life. Coon Come brought these issues to the 1992 Earth Summit in Brazil, when he formed a coalition with other indigenous peoples and environmental organizations to defend the traditional use of Native lands worldwide.

During the early 1990s, Coon Come fought Hydro-Quebec's James Bay II proposal to dam eight major rivers that flow into James Bay in northern Quebec, at a cost of up to \$170 billion, to provide electricity for urban Canada as well as several states in the U.S. Northeast. The area is virtually unknown to most Euro-Americans but has been home for thousands of years to roughly 10,000 Crees, many of whom would be forced from their homelands by flooding and toxic contamination.

Coon Come's Crees also had opposed construction of James Bay I, completed in 1985, which dammed or diverted five large rivers and flooded 4,000 square miles of forest. Rotting vegetation in the area had released about 184 million tons of carbon dioxide and methane gas into the atmosphere by 1990, possibly accelerating global warming around the world and saddling Quebec electric rate payers with a debt of \$3,500 per person. Rotting vegetation also caused an acceleration of microbial activity that converts elemental mercury in submerged glacial rock to toxic methyl mercury, which rapidly diffused throughout the food chain. Methyl





mercury poisoning can cause loss of vision, numbness of limbs, uncontrollable shaking, and chronic neurological disease. By 1990, some Cree elders had twenty times the level of methyl mercury in their bodies that the World Health Organization considers safe. A 1984 survey of people residing in Chisasibi showed that 64 percent of its people had elevated levels of this toxin in their bodies. The Quebec government responded to these findings by telling the Crees not to eat fish, one of their main sources of protein.

The flooding also caused one-quarter of the Crees' caribou herds, about 12,000 animals, to drown in the first phase of the project. However, the human problems brought on by James Bay I were not limited to the flooding of forestland and increasing discharge of toxins. The arrival of many non-Natives, drawn by large-scale construction projects (including road building), was linked by Coon Come and other Cree leaders with rising levels of substance abuse, violence, and suicide in their communities. All of these changes contribute to the breakdown of traditional family patterns and ways of making a living.

Coon Come and the Crees enlisted international support in their ultimately unsuccessful legal battle against the first phase of the James Bay project. In their efforts to stop the second phase, the Crees forged alliances with environmental groups around the world, with special emphasis on the Northeastern United States, where a large proportion of the project's power would be sold. In 1993, New York State dealt a grievous blow to the project by withdrawing from agreements to purchase power from Hydro-Quebec.

The James Bay projects, as previously planned, were not single dams across single rivers that flood valleys between mountains. They were massive earth-moving projects across an area as large as the state of Oregon. According to Coon Come:

A project of this kind involves the destruction and rearrangement of a vast landscape, literally reshaping the geography of the land. This is what I want you to understand: it is not a dam. *It is a terrible and vast reduction of our entire world.* It is the assignment of vast territories to a permanent and final flood. The burial of trees, valleys, animals, and even the graves [of the Crees] beneath tons of contaminated soil. All of this serves only one purpose: the generation of more electricity to get more revenue and more

temporary jobs and to gain political power [emphasis added] (Coon Come, 1992, 82).

In 1994, Coon Come was awarded the Goldman Environmental Prize for his activism against the James Bay projects. It carries a \$60,000 stipend. In November of that year, Hydro-Quebec announced that it was shelving the second phase of the James Bay project indefinitely, a major victory for the Crees. The project later was revived, but in a scaled-down form to accommodate the Crees.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Assembly of First Nations; Canada, Indian Policies of; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Environment and Pollution; Hazardous Waste; James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement; Water Rights.

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## Cooper, James Fenimore

The twelfth of the thirteen children of Elizabeth Fenimore and William Cooper, the Father of American Literature was born James Cooper (1789–1851) in Burlington, New Jersey, on September 15, 1789. He added Fenimore to his name in 1826, as his literary career was taking off.

When James was one year old, his father William, a land speculator, moved the family to a large tract of land around Otsego Lake in upstate New York. Although the Iroquois were not actually done using the land themselves, this land transfer is usually presented as a sale, because the Iroquois had been too devastated by U.S. genocidal attacks during





James Fenimore Cooper authored the classic *Last of the Mohicans*, among many other works. (Library of Congress)

the American Revolution to put up a struggle. His land deed in hand, William next set up Coopers-town, with himself as its local gentry, becoming a Federalist judge. The backwood setting around Cooperstown was to serve Fenimore's pen well in his famous *Leatherstocking Tales*. Critics regard *The Pioneers* (1823), with its unethical Judge Temple and townlet of Templeton, as Cooper's borrowing from his family history, while the generous Elizabeth Temple is often regarded as a tribute to Fenimore's beloved elder sister, Hannah, who died at twenty-three after falling from her horse.

Cooper's youth was troubled. He was obviously bright, but his passionate and forthright nature, which was to anger those around him throughout his life, kept him from following an easy path. He spent time in a boarding school in Albany before entering Yale College in 1803, where he lasted only until 1805, when he was summarily expelled for blowing up a fellow student's door. For his grand finale, he planned to run away to sea in 1806, but his father's pretensions would not allow a son of his to become an ordinary sailor. Instead, William purchased a commission for Fenimore in the fledgling

U.S. Navy, a career from which Fenimore drew heavily in his sea novels.

In 1810, Cooper met Susan Augusta De Lancey, a child of wealth from Westchester, New York, falling in love with alacrity and marrying by year's end. Between 1811 and 1824, the (from all accounts) happy couple produced five daughters—Elizabeth (1811), Susan Augusta (1813), Caroline Martha (1815), Ann Charlotte (1817), and Maria Francis (1819)—as well as two sons—Fenimore (1821) and Paul (1824)—of whom Elizabeth and Fenimore died as toddlers.

Within five months of marriage, Fenimore resigned his naval commission, on the plea of marriage, but the dates of the marriage (New Year's Day in 1811) and resignation (May 6, 1811) struck Fenimore's enemies as suspicious, especially in light of the De Lancey family's Tory stand during the American Revolution. By mid-1811, the War of 1812 was obviously looming with England, so Cooper's enemies darkly charged him with cowardice, disloyalty, and/or desertion, but the death of William Cooper in 1809, as well as Susan's champagne tastes, probably factored the most heavily into the decision.

Far from authoring books, the young Fenimore anticipated life as a wealthy country squire, after inheriting the family estate following the early and unexpected deaths of *all* of his elder brothers. This turn of events was only superficially fortunate. William had left the estate in deep legal trouble over the true ownership of the land (which was then being contested by other settlers, not the Iroquois). In addition, the War of 1812 caused a major economic depression in the United States, deflating the value of the estate even more significantly. On top of that, Cooper not only inherited the family estate, but also the responsibility of caring for the now widowed families of his deceased brothers. Clearly, he needed to find a source of income.

At first, in 1819, he attempted to invest in whaling, financing a ship, *The Union*, but after soaking up Cooper's investment, the venture failed to produce much revenue. By 1820, Cooper was nearly desperate. He knew he needed to scare up a regular source of income, so he was on the lookout for opportunities, although it is unlikely that writing crossed his mind. In fact, family stories claim that he loathed and avoided writing chores.

A charming family legend has Cooper's career as an author starting on a dare. In those days before videos, Ipods, televisions, or radios, families read aloud to each other for entertainment. With his wife





lying on the couch, feeling unwell, Cooper began reading a new book to her. After the first couple of chapters, Fenimore threw the book down in disgust, declaring, "I could write you a better book than that myself!" His wife erupted in laughter at the thought of a man whom wild elephants could not drag to the writing desk composing a whole book. Always passionately stubborn, especially when challenged, Fenimore stuck by his declaration until he had no choice but to put up or shut up; so he put up, immediately writing the opening chapters of his first novel, *Precaution* (1820). A rather dreadful imitation of his favorite authors, Jane Austen, Sir Walter Scott, and Amelia Opie, *Precaution* soon slid into obscurity, but Fenimore's new career had been born.

Cooper's writing improved dramatically once he began writing according to his own lights, not someone else's. His next novel, *The Spy: A Tale of the Neutral Ground* (1821), established patterns he was to use thereafter. Harvey Birch, his protagonist, was a man of marginal social status and lowly calling, for at the time spying was despised as unworthy. The novel was set during the American Revolution and ran violently about in the backwoods while posing large political questions. Here was Cooper's material in spades: warfare, political illegitimacy, lower-class actors, thrills, chills, and a lot of violence. The novel was a blockbuster of sorts, held up as proving to Europe that Americans could produce world-class literature. While praising Cooper's efforts, W. H. Gardiner, a literary reviewer for the *North American Review*, famously urged Cooper in 1822 to turn his talents to the "howling wilderness" and "the long struggle of civilization, encroaching on the dominion of barbarism" (Gardiner, 1822, 254–255).

Seeing the possibilities, Cooper immediately took this advice, but he did not rush headlong into his topic without research. For a while, he cast about, looking for a good source on Native North America. Two contenders came to his attention. First, there was John Heckewelder, the Moravian missionary who had been adopted by and lived with the Lenápes for forty-nine years, counting many as close friends. Heckewelder had produced *History, Manners, and Customs*, along with many other writings, both published and unpublished. He is still regarded as the best primary source for his place, time, and topic of all early Indian ethnographers. Second, there was General Lewis Cass, known to Ohio Native oral tradition as The Butcher and to his settler contemporaries as a man who wanted to be president. As part of orchestrating his political ambitions, he had pro-

duced a pamphlet on Natives, *Inquiries*, that was really no more than a racist creed viciously promoting genocide. Cass has since fallen into the deep oblivion he deserves.

At first, as Cooper confessed to his bookseller, Charles Wiley, that he felt as bewildered by the choice between the open-minded, Native-boosting Heckewelder and the racist murderer Cass as "an ass between two locks of hay," adding that Cass "condemns all that his rival praises, and praises all that his rival condemns" (Cooper, 1959, xxv). However, studying both sources and drawing on his own sense of political justice, Fenimore soon realized that Heckewelder was the informed author of the two.

Using Heckewelder while slighting Cass was a step that Cass never forgave or forgot. Writing anonymously for the conservative *North American Review*, Cass did his best to smear Cooper's and Heckewelder's reputations. Unfortunately, since Cass's reviews are easily pulled up today, most literary critics still read them, without also reading (or often even knowing) the entire history of Cooper's choice or that he was politically attacked for it. Literally, to the end of his life, Cooper defended his choice of Heckewelder, praising him in the 1850 preface to his collected *Leatherstocking Tales* as "ardent" and "benevolent" (Cooper, 1982, x). Also, literally to the end of his life, Cooper was hounded and attacked by political enemies, Cass among the number with his coterie in tow, including Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, whose racist and fraudulent "studies" Cass promoted over Heckewelder's.

Using Heckewelder's ethnographic information, Cooper created his most famous works, the five so-called *Leatherstocking Tales*: *The Pioneers* (1823), *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), *The Prairie* (1827), *The Pathfinder* (1840), and *The Deerslayer* (1841). Ironically (since he was very class conscious), the *Leatherstocking Tales* powerfully feature Hawkeye, or Natty Bumppo, a natural man living on the far fringes of settler society whose closest friends were Lenápes and whose standards of morality were far above those of the undoubtedly white cohorts around him. Although the racist attitudes that permeated Cooper's milieu dribbled in around the edges, Cooper broke ranks with settler expectations of "savages" to present humanized Native Americans, whom he showed as deserving of civil and land rights. At the time, his thematic commentaries on race and class sat on the liberal end of the political scale, angering conservatives and hawks.





In addition to his “Indian stories” (which include some not in the Leatherstocking Tales series), Cooper added lively sea adventures to the pantheon of American fiction, including *The Pilot* (1823), *Red Rover* (1828), *The Water Witch* (1830), and *The Sea Lions* (1849). In his time, these were as celebrated as his Leatherstocking Tales. Never one to suffer yokels gladly, Cooper also bitingly satirized American provincialism, managing to offend, and quite deeply, many in his American audience with such offerings as *The Monikins* (1935), about a country of monkeys trying to imitate British culture. The damage was not ameliorated by his forays into didactic writing with such painful offerings as *The American Democrat* (1838), in which he unwittingly contradicted the libertarian values of his own novels, and *A Letter to His Countrymen* (1834), which dispensed with satire in favor of diatribe against rusticity. In a less bitter mood, Cooper penned naval histories of some worth.

All of this writing was accomplished in a boggling supernova of creativity that few today could match, even using computers. Cooper pumped out books, sometimes two a year, covering a wealth of subjects. Between 1820 and 1850, he produced thirty-six novels, sixteen nonfiction works, a volume’s worth of reviews, countless letters, and journals. The youth who detested writing was long gone.

In 1826, as his name and fame were rising, Cooper took his wife and children for a seven-year sojourn in Europe. European, especially French, readers held Cooper in high esteem, so that, even after his enemies and his own sharp commentary had nicked his reputation at home, it continued to fly high in Europe. The Coopers toured extensively, polishing their manners to a sheen that was taken for arrogance once they came back home.

Upon returning to the United States in 1833, Cooper saw, and ferociously criticized, the sudden drop in the elegance of the customs and manners around him. As critics flailed away at him over this new affront, he also launched two one-man crusades: one to force ethics and standards of truth on American journalism, whose political right was libeling him with breathtaking abandon; the other to force his New York neighbors to respect his property rights, which they were violating flagrantly in a de facto seizure of his land. Cooper was a veritable dynamo in these causes, ultimately winning all of his lawsuits (seventeen by one count).

The victory was Pyrrhic, however, in that it cost Cooper financially just when he could least afford it.

By this point, Cooper was almost entirely dependent on royalties to keep him solvent, and the sales of his books were falling, with the international depression of 1837 driving them down as much as the shameless attacks by his political enemies. However, not even his enemies could entirely destroy the general public’s appreciation of his adventure yarns. Cooper’s book sales in the 1840s roughly matched those of the 1820s; so while his finances limped, they never crashed.

Cooper died on September 14, 1851, in Cooperstown, hailed on both sides of the Atlantic as America’s premier author. Although his critical reputation took a nosedive in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a new generation of critics at the beginning of the twenty-first century is beginning to appreciate the intricately layered and often surprisingly progressive commentaries, especially on race relations, lacing his best novels.

Barbara Alice Mann

See also Democracy and Native American Images Among Europeans.

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## Copway, George

Born a Mississauga-Ojibwa in 1818 near the Trent River in upper Canada (Ontario), George Copway (Kahgegahbowh) died in Lac-des-Deux-Montagnes (Oka), Quebec, in 1869. Copway worked as an interpreter, teacher, and preacher for the Methodists, as well as an author, lecturer, herbal doctor, Union Army recruiter, and Catholic convert. He is best remembered for his autobiographical and historical work on the Ojibwas as well as numerous writings that appeared in newspapers throughout Canada and the United States.

By his own account, Copway lived a traditional life with his parents until they encountered Methodist missionaries. He enrolled at the Rice Lake School and in 1830 his dying mother convinced Copway to convert to Methodism. After his 1831 conversion, his teacher James Evans convinced Copway by 1834 to work among the Lake Superior Ojibwas under the auspices of the American Episcopal Methodist Church. He served at these missions until 1838, at which time he was permitted to enroll in the Ebenezer Manual Labor School in Illinois. After graduating in 1839, Copway returned to Canada and married Elizabeth Howell, a white woman, in 1840. The couple spent from 1840 to 1842 working at Methodist missions in Wisconsin and Minnesota.



Although not born in the United States, George Copway, also known as Kahgegahbowh (He Who Stands Forever, or Stands Fast) spent much of his life there as an early Indian missionary and writer. (Library of Congress)

From 1842 to 1846, Copway worked for the Wesleyan Methodist Canadian Conference in Canada West (Ontario). In 1846 Copway was briefly imprisoned and expelled from the church after being accused of embezzlement by the Rice Lake and Saugeen Indian bands.

In 1847 he moved to the United States, where his autobiography was published and he entered the lecture circuit. During his lectures, Copway spoke of his conversion and the Indian's plight as well as advocating the creation of an Indian state on the northeast side of the Missouri River. This territory, called Kahgega after himself, was submitted to Congress but was never discussed. In 1850 and 1851, he published three more books, a newspaper titled *Copway's American Indian*, and an epic poem, *The Ojibway Conquest*. (The poem actually was written by





Julius Clark.) Copway's literary and speaking career brought him into contact with historian Francis Parkman, ethnologists Lewis Henry Morgan and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, as well as authors Henry W. Longfellow, James Fenimore Cooper, and Washington Irving. His fame brought Copway to the 1850 World Peace Conference in Frankfurt Germany, although by this point it was becoming obvious that his lecture career was winding down. It was during this time 1849–1850 that Copway lost three of four children to disease.

By the late 1850s, the New York papers advertised his lectures, but a brief arrest for not paying his rental of a hall indicated that he was having difficulty making a living. He volunteered in 1858 to convince the remaining Florida Seminoles to relocate to Indian Territory in Oklahoma. By 1864, Copway worked as a Union Army recruiter in Canada, where he managed to enlist a few Indians. In 1867, Copway surfaced in Detroit working as an Indian healer. The following year, Copway's wife Elizabeth and their last surviving child abandoned him. Venturing to Oka, Quebec, he enjoyed some success and influence among the Iroquois and Algonquins as a healer. After informing a Sulpician priest that he was a pagan healer and wished to convert to Catholicism, his influence among the Iroquois declined. He was baptized on January 17, 1869 as Joseph-Antoine and died several days later.

Since the 1970s renewed interest in Copway's work has been spurred by scholars and Natives alike seeking an authentic Native voice. Copway's works are by no means unproblematic. They are in English, his second language, probably heavily edited by his wife, written with a Western audience in mind by an individual attempting to fit solely into the white world.

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## Cornplanter

Cornplanter (John O'Bail, ca. 1735–1836) was a major Seneca leader during the late eighteenth century who figured prominently in the shifting alliances that accompanied the American Revolution. He became a personal friend of George Washington through the Tammany Society, a fraternal order that adopted some Native costumes and rituals and which observed the fusion of European and Native American cultures in America.

Cornplanter's father was a white trader, John O'Bail (sometimes Abeel). Some sources contend he was Irish; others say he was Dutch. All agree, however, that he was one of the biggest sellers of liquor to the Senecas. O'Bail had been heard to boast that his trade had a profit margin of 1,000 percent. While some Englishmen detested O'Bail, they relied on his intelligence about the French, gathered from Indians with whom he did business.

Cornplanter was raised by his Seneca mother; he knew his father only slightly, having met him a few times as a child. In 1780, Cornplanter led a raiding party in the Schoharie Valley that took a large number of prisoners, his father included. Cornplanter released his father, who still made his living by bartering guns, rum, and other goods for furs. Cornplanter invited O'Bail to join his Seneca family in his old age, but the elder O'Bail chose to return to his European-American family at Fort Plain, New York.





As an ally of the French in the French and Indian War (1754–1763), Cornplanter's warriors raided several British settlements. He may have been part of the French force that defeated British General Edward Braddock and his aide George Washington at Fort Duquesne (now Pittsburgh).

During the American Revolution, the Iroquois Grand Council could not reach consensus on alliance. Cornplanter generally favored neutrality. Joseph Brant spoke eloquently about the necessity of going to war in alliance with the British, stating that neutrality would lead to disaster and that the Americans or the British might turn on the Confederacy with a vengeance. Red Jacket and Cornplanter argued against Brant. They insisted that this quarrel was among the whites; interfering in something they did not fully understand was a mistake. As the meeting broke up in a furor, Brant called Cornplanter a coward. The people gathered at Irondequoit divided into two camps and discussed the issue of going to war. In general, the Senecas were disposed to neutrality. However, the words of Brant stung the ears of the Senecas, who could not bear to be called cowards. Finally, after lengthy discussion, the Senecas were swayed along with other wavering groups to take up the British cause.

After the Revolution, Cornplanter secured for his people a tract of land along the Allegheny River. He brought in Quaker teachers and helped sustain a prosperous agricultural community that included large herds of cattle. Cornplanter signed several treaties on behalf of the Senecas, including those concluded at Fort Stanwix in 1784 and others at various locations in 1789, 1797, and 1802. Through his many associations with Euro-Americans (including a trip to England), Cornplanter sometimes wore English clothing and displayed English mannerisms. On one occasion, fellow Senecas tore off Cornplanter's English clothes, greased his body, and dressed him in traditional attire.

In April 1786, the Tammany Society welcomed Cornplanter and five other Senecas to Philadelphia. In a remarkable ceremony, the Tammany sachems escorted the Senecas from their lodgings at the Indian Queen Tavern to Tammany's wigwam on the banks of the Schuylkill River for a conference. Within a few days, Cornplanter and the Senecas proceeded to New York City to address Congress.

In Philadelphia on May 1, 1786, St. Tammany's Day was marked with the usual celebrations and feasts, after which a portrait of Cornplanter was presented. More than a dozen toasts were given,



*Seneca chief Cornplanter took part in negotiating the treaties signed at Fort Stanwix in 1784 and Fort Harmar in 1789. However, he did not actually sign either document. (Getty Images)*

including: "The Great Council Fire of the United States—May the 13 fires glow in one blended blaze and illumine the Eagle in his flight to the stars," "Our great grand sachem George Washington, Esq.," "Our Brother Iontonkque or the Corn Plant—May we ever remember that he visited our wigwam and spoke a good talk from our great-grandfathers," and "The Friendly Indian Nations—our warriors and young men who fought, bled and gave good council for our nation."

Later in his life, Cornplanter lost some of his prestige among the Senecas because of his easy agreement to land cessions. He retained enough influence, however, to bring the Senecas to the American side in the War of 1812. Shortly before he died in 1836, Cornplanter had a dream that indicated his friendship with all Euro-Americans had been mistaken. After the dream, he destroyed all the presents that had been given him by non-Indians.

Cornplanter's people occupied the 1,300-acre piece of land along the Allegheny River that had been given them by George Washington until the





midtwentieth century, when the Army Corps of Engineers decided that the land better suited the public convenience under water. The scope of the Army's engineering projects had grown grandiosely since Washington himself helped survey the mountains that now comprise West Virginia, long before the pursuit of electricity became a legally valid reason for the state to seize land. In 1964, the bones of Cornplanter's people were moved from their land to make way for rising waters behind the Kinzua Dam. In the valleys at the Western Door, Senecas still ask sardonically if George Washington had ever asked Cornplanter if he knew how to swim.

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*See also* American Revolution, Native American Participation; Brant, Joseph; French and Indian War; Red Jacket; Tammany Society.

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## Costo, Rupert

From the 1930s to the 1950s, Rupert Costo (Cahuilla, 1906–1989) was active in national and tribal politics, serving both as a vocal critic of the Indian New Deal in the 1930s and as tribal chairman of the Cahuillas in the 1950s; later, Costo became an important figure in Native American publishing.

As a football player in the 1920s at Haskell Institute and Whittier College (where he played with the future President Richard M. Nixon), Rupert Costo early in life demonstrated his athletic and intellectual aptitudes to the Indian and non-Indian world.

During the 1930s, California was a major center of opposition to Collier's Indian New Deal, and Costo was one of the principal leaders of the opposition. Costo believed that the Indian New Deal was a device to assimilate the American Indian; he believed that the Indian Reorganization Act was

being used to colonize Native Americans because, in his view, genocide, treaty making and treaty breaking, substandard education, disruption of Indian culture and religion, and the Dawes Allotment Act had failed. Costo knew that partial assimilation already had taken place in Native societies through the use of "certain technologies and techniques," but he knew that total assimilation, which meant fading into the general society with a complete loss of culture and identity, was another thing altogether. Costo called the IRA, "The Indian Raw Deal" (Mails, 1990, 146).

For most of his working life, Costo was employed by the state of California in the Highway Department as an engineer. Upon his retirement, Costo and his wife, Jeannette Henry Costo (Eastern Cherokee,) founded the San Francisco-based American Indian Historical Society in 1964. The organization was often in the forefront of American Indian issues such as the protection of American Indian cemeteries and American Indian human remains, as well as the correction of American Indian textbooks. The Costos sought to develop publications that accurately reflected the historical role of Indians in American society.

Initially, the American Indian Historical Society published three journals: *Wassaja*, a national Indian newspaper; *The Indian Historian*, a respected academic journal; and the *Weewish Tree*, a national magazine for young Indian people. Rupert Costo coedited all three publications with his wife. In 1970, the society founded another publication arm, the Indian Historian Press, an American Indian-controlled publishing house that published fifty-two titles. Some of the well-known titles were Rupert Costo, ed., *Textbooks and the American Indian* (1970) and Donald A. Grinde, Jr. (Yamasee), *The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation* (1977).

Through his editorial column in *Wassaja*, Costo advocated increased sovereignty for Native American nations in order to enhance land and water rights. He also worked tirelessly for the protection of American Indian civil, social, and religious rights.

At the end of his life, Costo endowed the Rupert Costo Chair in American Indian History at the University of California, Riverside. Costo and his wife also established the Costo Library of the American Indian at the University of California, Riverside, one of the most comprehensive collections of American Indian books in the United States. In 1994, the University of California, Riverside, renamed its Student Services Building as Costo Hall





in honor of the outstanding contributions of both Costos to the university.

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*See also* Indian Reorganization Act.

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## Council of Energy Resource Tribes

The Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT) was founded in 1975 by representatives from twenty-five Native American tribes and nations that own substantial reserves of energy and other natural resources. The Denver-based CERT, by 2005 a consortium of fifty-seven American and Canadian Indian polities, works to help Native Americans recognize, protect, and exploit energy-related wealth on their lands. A. David Lester has been CERT's executive director nearly since the nonprofit group's inception. CERT pursues a cooperative relationship between private industry, particularly in the energy sector, and American Indian governments. CERT also has become a notable lobbying force for Native American energy interests within the federal government, including Congress and the Interior Department.

Native lands in the CERT consortium produce 380 billion cubic feet of natural gas annually and contain 2 trillion cubic feet of proved gas reserves. Properties overseen by CERT also hold 30 percent of the United States' coal reserves, 5 percent of its oil, and significant amounts of uranium. CERT is governed by the elected tribal leaderships of fifty-three federally recognized Indian tribes in the United States and four Canadian bands. Its members have been working toward self-management of their energy resources, from negotiating agreements, to protecting the environment, to verifying revenue payments.

CERT played a role in the North American Energy Summit that was held April 14–16, 2004, in Albuquerque, New Mexico. This event included state, provincial, Native, and national leaders from three countries and involved diverse interests seeking to develop a secure, affordable, and environmentally responsible energy system. The conference included presentations by Governors Bill Richardson

of New Mexico, Bill Owens of Colorado, Janet Napolitano of Arizona, Frank Murkowski of Alaska, Dave Freudenthal of Wyoming, John Hoeven of North Dakota, and Mike Rounds of South Dakota, as well as Canadian Premiers Ralph Klein (Alberta), Gary Doer (Manitoba), and Joseph L. Handley (Northwest Territories).

Summit participants considered a number of topics: capitalizing on renewable energy resources; improving energy efficiency; determining the future of nuclear energy and fossil fuels; providing a reliable and efficient electricity grid; financing infrastructure and making it more secure; and achieving needed international collaboration. The Summit also included an Energy Futures Expo, which featured cutting-edge technologies, systems, and alternative-fuel vehicles.

CERT has supported legislation that would allow Native American governmental entities to submit "tribal energy resources agreements" covering energy and right-of-way leases to the Interior Department that, when approved, may enable agreements to proceed without prior secretarial approval. This stripped-down version of the current process could accelerate energy development on Native American lands. While the proposal has widespread support from Republicans, some Democrats fear it could dilute environmental restrictions on oil and gas drilling on Indian land and weaken the Interior Department's trust responsibilities. In addition, the hydroelectric language in the energy bill would create a licensing process that favors power providers to the detriment of Native governments, their treaty rights, and the general public, according to a position paper Senate Democrats released at a 2004 Native American forum on Capitol Hill. Instead, the Democrats favor proposals to promote transmission development on Indian lands and creating tax incentives for renewable energy that are favorable to Native governments.

Tex Hall, as president of the National Congress of American Indians, has gone on record in support of CERT's assertion that incentives will be required for Native cooperation in exploitation of energy resources residing on Native lands. Hall would like to see the Congressional Budget Office analyze how much money the energy bill would allocate for development of Native American energy resources. He also wants the U.S. Department of Energy to provide a number of \$1-million to \$2-million grants for wind energy demonstration projects on land with significant potential, such as the Blackfeet nation in





Montana or Hall's own Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara nation in North Dakota. Federal utilities, military bases, and government agencies also should include preferences for energy supplied by Indian tribes and nations in their procurement contracts, Hall believes.

Through its representatives in Washington, D.C., CERT also has lobbied the U.S. government for simplification of many arcane tax laws and regulations that discourage the development of energy resources on Native lands. The organization also has been pressing Congress to pass a measure that would allow private producers of energy to receive credits on their federal tax returns for tax payments to a given state for Native energy development. In addition to making the exploration and production of new oil wells on tribal lands more attractive, such a change would encourage more production through the exploitation of existing wells, Lester has said.

CERT has encouraged Global Energy Decisions to inventory energy resources. This consulting firm has produced a wall map portraying the West's production, transmission, consumption, and land use patterns. The map contains references to coal mines, oil and natural gas wells, pipelines, railroads, power plants, and transmission lines, as well as public lands (Indian reservations, national parks, national forests, and Bureau of Land Management districts).

In addition to its energy-related activities, CERT also plays a major role in raising money for Native American education. By 2005, CERT had raised nearly \$6 million through its American Spirit Award Dinner. On June 21, 2005, CERT and the Morongo Band of Mission Indians hosted the twenty-fifth annual American Spirit Award Dinner at the \$250 million Morongo Casino, Resort and Spa. The dinner was part of a three-day Indian Energy Solutions 2005 conference focusing on current Indian energy policies, economic development, market trends, alternative and renewable energy, and Native utility formation. More than 500 energy industry officials, state and federal elected leaders, Native representatives, and press attended the event.

The CERT Tribal Internship Program provides students with opportunities to work alongside senior CERT staff, Native leaders, and energy companies on technical and scientific issues, policies, and projects. Past projects have focused on reservation water quality studies, cooperative planning on environmental issues with state and local govern-

ments, hazardous waste operations training, and biodiversity.

CERT also operates a Tribal Institute for Sustainable Energy and publishes *Red Earth Magazine Online*.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Economic Development; Hazardous Waste; Indian Mineral Leasing Act; MacDonald, Peter; Mining and Contemporary Environmental Problems; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Tribal Sovereignty; Uranium Mining.

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## Crazy Horse

Crazy Horse (Tashunka Witco, Oglala Lakota, ca. 1842–1877), a daring military strategist, was a major Lakota leader in the last half of the nineteenth century, during the final phases of the Plains Indian wars. Alone among Native American leaders at this time, he never signed a treaty with the United States. Crazy Horse also repudiated the idea of reservation life until his violent death in a hand-to-hand struggle with Anglo-American captors at the age of about thirty-five. Crazy Horse never wore European-style clothing, and his photograph was never taken. To Oglala Lakota and to many other Native people generally, his memory has become the essence of resistance to European colonization. Alvin Josephy, Jr. wrote, "To the Sioux, he is the greatest of all their leaders" (1961, 259).

"Crazy Horse" is an old name among the Oglalas that had been handed down generation to generation for several centuries. Crazy Horse's ancestors kept historical records for the Oglalas on buckskin, a method of historical record keeping related to the winter counts of other Sioux tribes. Crazy Horse married a Cheyenne, and thus cemented the alliance that bound both during the final phases of the Plains Indian wars. He also was a son-in-law of Red Cloud.





Crazy Horse was born about 1842 on the site of what would later become the city of Rapid City, South Dakota. His father was an Oglala spiritual leader, and his mother was a Brûlé Sioux. As a youth, Crazy Horse was called the Light-Haired One or Curly, for his relatively light, wavy hair, which was unusual among the Lakota. He received the name "Crazy Horse" from his father after a battle with the Arapahos in 1858, at about sixteen years of age.

Crazy Horse was described as having been of average height, with a complexion that was lighter than most other Lakota. He was known to wander away from his village, with the detachment of a poet, after a battle. After attaining "shirt wearer" rank in 1865, he attended leadership meetings but rarely spoke. Introverted and eccentric, Crazy Horse was shot in the face and relieved of the shirt of rank in 1870 following an attempt to steal another man's wife.

From an early age, Crazy Horse was a master of the psychological aspects of Plains warfare. He often rode into war naked, except for a breechcloth around his loins, "his body painted with white hail spots, and a red lightning streak down one cheek. . . . His battle cry was 'It's a good day to die!'" (Waters, 1992, 152). Crazy Horse was never seriously injured in battle, and he made a point of never scalping anyone he killed.

In 1874, Crazy Horse and other Lakotas learned that George Armstrong Custer had led an expedition into their sacred Black Hills and found gold at French Creek. Hordes of prospectors followed, ignoring the fact that the Black Hills had been guaranteed to the Lakotas by the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868. Crazy Horse and others rejected government edicts that sought to keep them on the Great Sioux Reservation, arguing that all the land guaranteed to them under the 1868 treaty was theirs to use.

Several allied Native peoples, including bands of Lakotas and Cheyennes, converged at the Little Bighorn in southeastern Montana in the spring of 1876. On June 17, Crazy Horse and an estimated 1,500 warriors engaged a force under General George Crook in the valley of the Rosebud in Montana. The fight was a standoff, but Crazy Horse prevented Crook from a planned rendezvous at the Little Bighorn with two other armies.

The Indian camp at the Little Bighorn, perhaps containing as many as 5,000 people and including roughly 2,000 warriors, was scattered along the river for about three miles. The elite Seventh Cal-

vary under Custer had expected only 1,000. Even after his scouts told him that the camp was much larger than he expected, Custer decided to attack the Indians on their home ground. That decision resulted in his death, as well as the demise of his entire force of about 225 men. A furious, hour-long assault led by Crazy Horse and Gall dismembered Custer's force.

After the battle of the Little Bighorn, Native peoples who remained free of reservations were hounded relentlessly by reinforced U.S. Army troops, who turned Custer into a martyr. The Lakota who had defeated Custer were pushed onto the Great Sioux Reservation, band by band. As he watched his people suffer due to the destruction of their buffalo-based economy, Crazy Horse's defiant will began to soften. On May 5, 1877, Crazy Horse and his contingent of 800 Oglalas, in 145 lodges with 1,700 ponies, formed a parade two miles long as they marched into the Red Cloud Agency to surrender. They gave up their horses and guns. Red Cloud met the Oglalas en route and guided them to Fort Robinson, near the agency.

Shortly after the surrender, Crazy Horse's wife Black Shawl became sick with tuberculosis. He asked permission to take her to Spotted Tail's people at the Brûlé Agency, forty miles away, but was denied. He escaped from Fort Robinson anyway. Several dozen soldiers chased Crazy Horse to the Brûlé Agency but failed to catch him. Instead, the Brûlé Indian agent and Spotted Tail himself convinced Crazy Horse to return to Fort Robinson.

Crazy Horse agreed to surrender and return; fifteen miles from the Brûlé Agency, however, he was surrounded by forty of Spotted Tail's Army scouts. Crazy Horse was taken prisoner and escorted back to Fort Robinson. He had heard a rumor that he would be killed or taken in chains to Fort Augustine, Florida, to be imprisoned for life. At Fort Robinson on September 5, 1877, as Crazy Horse was being led toward a stockade, he rebelled at the sight of the prison and tried to escape. Little Big Man and several other Indians grabbed Crazy Horse, as Private William Gentles ran his bayonet through Crazy Horse's body.

On his deathbed, Crazy Horse recalled why he had fought:

I was not hostile to the white man . . . We had buffalo for food, and their hides for clothing and our tipis. We preferred hunting to a life of idleness on the reservations, where we were





driven against our will. At times, we did not get enough to eat, and we were not allowed to leave the reservation to hunt. We preferred our own way of living. We were no expense to the government then. All we wanted was peace, to be left alone. . . . They tried to confine me, I tried to escape, and a soldier ran his bayonet through me. I have spoken (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 88–89).

After Crazy Horse's assassination, about 240 Lakota lodges, occupied by people who had supported him, migrated to Canada where they joined Sitting Bull's people in exile. With the Crazy Horse band, Sitting Bull's camp grew to about 800 lodges, before their eventual return and surrender a few months later.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Battle of the Little Bighorn; Fort Laramie Treaty; Great Sioux Uprising; Red Cloud; Spotted Tail; Worldviews and Values.

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## Crook, George

Major General George Crook (1828–1890) was one of the best-known officers of the post-Civil War United States Army. His career spanned the Indian wars of the Pacific Northwest in the 1850s, the Civil



George Crook spent most of his distinguished military career on the frontier and is closely associated with many significant battles, although he also defended Indian rights in the Standing Bear trial of 1879. (Library of Congress)

War, and the campaigns against the Apaches and the northern Plains peoples during the 1870s and 1880s. Crook's military record was good, but inconsistent and well supplied with controversy. His greatest military glory came in the Southwest during the early 1870s with the offensive against the western Apaches and Yavapais. At the time of his sudden death of heart failure in 1890, Crook was among the leading figures of the American military, respected as a fighter, but he was also recognized as an Indian rights advocate.

Crook was born on September 8, 1828, on a farm near Taylorsville, Ohio. He entered West Point in 1848, studied with mediocre success, and graduated thirty-eighth in a class of forty-three in 1852. The young officer saw his first action in the Pacific Northwest and made a favorable impression on his





superiors. Although Crook was “a soldier of the West,” the four years spent in the Union Army shaped his character extensively, bringing him rank (major general of volunteers), experience, and vision. In 1871, as a lieutenant colonel, he received the assignment as the commander of the Department of Arizona. There Crook orchestrated an aggressive offensive by deploying several small converging detachments, which combined regulars and indigenous enlisted men. Troops struck against the parties and camps of Yavapais and western Apaches wherever they could be found and forced them onto reservations. For his exploits Crook won the star of a brigadier general, surpassing several outraged colonels in the process who proved eager to exaggerate Crook’s failures in the future.

After the Arizona campaign, Crook took the field against the Sioux and Cheyennes in 1876 and 1877, suffered a defeat at Rosebud, and managed only mediocre results in other engagements. On the Plains, Crook proved militarily inefficient, uncompromising, and often frustrated. He returned to Arizona in 1882 and again took the offensive aggressively, this time against the Chiricahua Apaches, taking his troops across the international border into Mexico in 1883. Temporary peace was followed by another war. Again Crook sent his troops after the Chiricahuas, but, following a failed peace conference in March 1886, he found his policies in disfavor at Washington. Crook resigned and witnessed General Nelson A. Miles bringing an end to armed conflict in Arizona and New Mexico later that same year. Miles and Crook rushed to claim the glory for ending the Indian conflict in the Southwest and debated over Miles’ decision to exile the Chiricahuan Apaches, many whom had served in the U.S. Army, as prisoners of war into Florida.

During the decades spent in the Trans-Mississippi West, Crook grew increasingly critical of the nature of American conquest and colonization. He saw the reason for armed conflicts in the greed and ruthlessness of white invaders. Anger toward white settlers and an ambivalent federal government filled Crook with a passion for understanding indigenous cultures. He believed that through paternalistic guidance Native Americans could learn to live under the new white order. Individualism, the cash economy, and hard work were the main instruments of Crook’s Indian policy. Crook also appeared in the forefront enlisting indigenous men into the Army. He usually got good results, but discovered that most military officials and policy makers did

not favor indigenous soldiers doing the white regulars job. Increasingly stubborn and uncompromising, Crook became an eccentric outsider in his own army, straining his relations with the Commanding General Phil Sheridan.

Crook was and remains a mystery. He certainly was ambitious, egoistic, eager for recognition, and vengeful toward those he saw as his enemies. Through his skillful aides and political connections, including President Rutherford B. Hayes, Crook was able to promote a public image of himself as a taciturn, honest, civilian-clothed man of action. Certainly, Crook was at times an innovative commander who obtained good military results through heavy dependency on indigenous soldiers, but equally often he met failure, most notably in the Sioux War of 1876–1877. His personal life is inadequately known (he was married for twenty-four years and had no children), and even his professional achievements are clouded in debate. Perhaps Crook was the greatest Indian fighter and thinker in the post-Civil War U.S. Army, or he might have been the ablest self-promoter of mediocrity.

Janne Lahti

See also Apache Wars.

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## Cruz, Joseph de la

A veteran of twenty-five years as president of the Quinault nation, Joseph Burton de la Cruz (1937–2000) gained a national reputation by serving as president of the National Tribal Chairmen’s Association (1977–1981) and as head of the National Congress of American Indians (1981–1985). De la Cruz stepped down from the Quinaults’ leadership in 1994 (having held the position since 1970) to make way for Pearl Capoeman Baller, the tribe’s first female chief in modern times.

At home on the Quinault nation along the Pacific coast of Washington State, de la Cruz played an active role in founding many tribal enterprises, including forestry management, land restoration, housing construction, and seafood processing. Between 1985 and 1988, de la Cruz also became





influential in fisheries management on an international level, as a mediator between the United States, Canada, and Native nations in the Pacific Salmon Fisheries Treaty.

De la Cruz's niece Jennifer Scott's most vivid memory of her uncle was of the day he defiantly drove his truck onto the Chow Chow Bridge near the Washington coast to block logging trucks from entering the Quinault Indian Reservation, in protest of Bureau of Indian Affairs land use practices. "I'll never forget him sitting there on that bridge," Scott said (McGann, 2000). But that action, which helped the Quinaults win compensation for their timber, was only one of many that de la Cruz took for Native Americans. De la Cruz worked for decades to improve Native American health care, to help secure fishing rights, and to obtain other manifestations of sovereignty and economic self-sufficiency.

Randy Scott, a Quinault Indian Tribe lobbyist, called de la Cruz the father of a self-governance policy by which Native American governments exercised line item appropriations from the government instead of getting money through the federal bureaucracy. This policy placed direct, day-to-day control over services such as police, health, land use, and education in the hands of Native governments rather than the Bureau of Indian Affairs (McGann, 2000).

While he headed the Quinaults, de la Cruz was instrumental in incorporating them into the provisions of the Boldt decision, which enforced Native fishing rights in Washington State and provided a national example for such litigation. Asserting that many visitors were not respectful of the area's ecosystem, he also ordered the closure to non-Natives of twenty-six miles of ocean beach on the Quinault Reservation north of Aberdeen.

"Joe was involved in so many issues it's hard to say what his biggest accomplishment was, there's too many to choose just one," said Pearl Capoean-Baller, current president of Quinault Indian Nation. "Everybody turned to Joe de la Cruz. He was there to protect rights for all tribes, not just Quinault. Joe was one of the greatest Indian leaders in the United States, and he worked endlessly for the Quinault people" (McGann, 2000).

On April 16, 2000, at the age of sixty-two, Joe de la Cruz suffered a heart attack and died at Seattle-Tacoma International Airport while en route to an Oklahoma conference. De la Cruz was survived by his wife, Dorothy; his daughters Gayle de la Cruz, Tina de la Cruz, and Lisa Kyle; and his sons

Joe de la Cruz and Steve de la Cruz; as well as seven grandchildren and two great-grandchildren.

"His whole life was dedicated to Indian welfare and Indian concerns," said Bernie Whitebear, of United Indians of All Tribes in Seattle. "The self-governance conference that he was going to was really appropriate. He died with his boots on. A lot of the advances that the tribes are witnessing today in regard to self-governance are a result of his early involvement in that area," Whitebear said. "He was a leader in the indigenous people's efforts throughout the world, including Canada and South America" (McGann, 2000).

Bruce E. Johansen

See also National Congress of American Indians; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Curtis, Charles

Charles Curtis, a man of one-eighth Native blood, served as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives, a U.S. senator, and as vice president of the United States. Born on Indian land that later was incorporated into North Topeka, Kansas, Curtis was the son of Oren A. Curtis, an abolitionist and Civil War Union cavalry officer, and Helen Pappan, who was of Kaw and Osage ancestry. Curtis's mother died when he was three; he was thereafter raised on the Kaw Reservation and in Topeka by his maternal grandmother. Following an attack on Kaw Indians at Council Grove by Cheyenne militants, Curtis departed the Indian mission school on the Kaw Reservation in 1868 and returned to Topeka, Kansas, where he attended Topeka High School. For several years as a young man, Curtis was a jockey; he also worked odd jobs until he met A. H. Case, a Topeka lawyer. Studying the law and working as a law clerk, Curtis was admitted to the Kansas bar in 1881.

Entering politics as a Republican, Curtis was elected county prosecuting attorney in 1884 and





*Charles Curtis, right, with Calvin Coolidge and Mrs. Coolidge. (Library of Congress)*

1886. From 1892 to 1906, he served eight terms in the U.S. House of Representatives. He authored the Curtis Act of 1898 that dissolved tribal governments and permitted the institution of civil government within the Indian Territory, in an attempt to force the assimilation on American Indian peoples. The Curtis Act brought the allotment policy to the Five Civilized Tribes of Oklahoma, who had been exempted from the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887. The Curtis Act empowered the Dawes Commission, which had been created in 1893, to extinguish tribal title to lands in Indian Territory. Once tribal title was eliminated, the Dawes Commission allotted reservation lands to individuals. Curtis's endeavors to foster detribalization, allotment, and assimilation were opposed by many of the tribal leaders of Indian Territory. In essence, the Curtis Act paved the way for

Oklahoma statehood in 1907 by destroying tribal land titles and governments there.

Curtis served in the U.S. Senate from 1907 to 1913 and from 1915 to 1929 as the first U.S. senator of American Indian ancestry. During his tenure in the Senate, Curtis was Republican party whip (1915–1924) and then majority leader (1924–1929). As chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs in 1924, Curtis sponsored the Indian Citizenship Act that made American Indians U.S. citizens but protected their indigenous property rights. After an unsuccessful campaign for the presidential nomination, Curtis ran on the ticket with Herbert Hoover in 1928, serving as vice president from 1929 to 1933. He was a deft politician who used his Indian background for personal advantage, even though his political adversaries called him “the





Injun." Although a fiscal conservative he supported veterans' benefits, farm relief, women's suffrage, and national prohibition.

The Hoover-Curtis ticket's bid for a second term in 1932 was defeated by Franklin Delano Roosevelt. Upon his retirement in 1933, Curtis had served longer in the Congress than any other active politician of his time. After leaving public office, he headed the short-lived National Republican League and practiced law in Washington, DC. Curtis was also president of a gold mining company in New Mexico. In 1936, he died of heart disease.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Assimilation.

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## Deganawidah

The Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy was formed by the Huron prophet Deganawidah (called the Peacemaker in oral discourse, ca. 1100-1180). Deganawidah enlisted the aid of Aiowantha (sometimes called Hiawatha) to spread his vision of a united Haudenosaunee confederacy. Deganawidah needed a spokesman because he stuttered in a culture that relied on verbal elocution. Oral history attributes the Peacemaker's stuttering to a double row of teeth. The Confederacy originally included the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas. The sixth nation, the Tuscaroras, migrated into Iroquois country early in the eighteenth century.

As Hiawatha despaired at his inability to unite the contentious Iroquois, the prophet Deganawidah entered his life and changed the nature of things. Together, the two men developed a powerful message of peace. Deganawidah's vision gave Hiawatha's oratory substance. Through Deganawidah's vision, the Iroquois formulated their Constitution.

In his vision, Deganawidah saw a giant evergreen (Great White Pine), reaching to the sky and gaining strength from three counterbalancing principles of life. The first axiom was that a stable mind and healthy body should be in balance so that peace between individuals and groups can occur. Second,

Deganawidah stated that humane conduct, thought, and speech were requirements for equity and justice among peoples. Finally, he foresaw a society in which physical strength and civil authority would reinforce the power of the clan system.

Deganawidah's tree had four white roots that stretched in the four directions of the earth. From the base of the tree a snow-white carpet of thistle down covered the surrounding countryside. The white carpet protected the peoples who embraced the three double principles. On top of the giant pine perched an eagle. Deganawidah explained that the tree was humanity, living within the principles governing relations among human beings. The eagle was humanity's lookout against enemies who would disturb the peace. Deganawidah postulated that the white carpet could be spread to the four corners of the earth to provide a shelter of peace and brotherhood for all mankind. His vision was seen as a message from the Creator to bring harmony into human existence and to unite all peoples into a single family guided by his three dual principles.

With such a powerful vision, Deganawidah and Hiawatha were able to subdue the evil Tadodaho and transform his mind. Deganawidah removed evil feelings and thoughts from the head of Tadodaho and said "thou shalt strive . . . to make reason and the peaceful mind prevail." The evil wizard became reborn into a humane person charged with implementing the message of Deganawidah. After Tadodaho had submitted to the redemption, Onondaga became the central fire of the Haudenosaunee and the Onondagas became the firekeepers of the new Confederacy. To this day, the Great Council Fire of the Confederacy is kept in the land of the Onondagas.

After Tadodaho's conversion, the clan leaders of the Five Nations gathered around the Council Fire at Onondaga to hear the laws and government of the Confederacy. The fundamental laws of the Iroquois Confederacy espoused peace and brotherhood, unity, the balance of power, the natural rights of all people, and the sharing of resources. It also made provisions for the impeachment and removal of ineffective or inappropriate leaders. Moreover, the blood feud was outlawed and replaced by a Condolence Ceremony. Under this law, a grieving family could forego the option of exacting clan revenge (the taking of the life of the murderer or a member of the murderer's clan). Instead, it could accept twenty strings of wampum (freshwater shells strung together) from the slayer's family (ten for the dead





person and ten for the life of the murderer). If a woman was killed, the price was thirty wampum strings. Through this ceremony, the league reconciled conflict while reducing interpersonal violence. Deganawidah gave strict instructions governing the conduct of the league and its deliberations. Tadodaho was to maintain the fire and call the Onondaga chiefs together to determine if an issue brought to him was pressing enough to call to the attention of the Council of the Confederacy. If the proposed issue merited Council consideration, it would assemble, and Tadodaho would kindle a fire and announce the purpose of the meeting. The rising smoke penetrating the sky is a signal to the Iroquois allies that the Council is in session. The Onondaga chiefs and Tadodaho are charged with keeping the council area free from distractions.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Hiawatha; Iroquois Great Law of Peace.

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## Deloria, Jr., Vine

In the 1960s, a thirty-one year old Hunkpapa Sioux from the Standing Rock Reservation with a long family heritage of social, political, and spiritual leadership descended on the national scene as executive director of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). Vine Deloria, Jr. (1933–2005) served three years as executive director of the NCAI, an experience that profoundly impacted his view of the *tipi sapa*, or sacred black lodge his great-grandfather saw in a vision a century earlier. Shocked by what he saw in Indian Country—and how American Indians were perceived—Deloria realized new tactics were

needed if tribal people were to survive the "chaotic and extreme individualism" of America (Deloria, 1985, 20). Over the next four decades, Deloria's prolific pen would profoundly impact the way Americans and the world viewed American Indians.

Little known outside national tribal leadership and scarcely known among the masses in Indian Country, Deloria "seized the nation by its lapels" with a series of provocative and insightful books in the late 1960s and 1970s. Until that time many Indians were viewed "as ciphers rather than as contemporary people facing issues such as education, jobs, healthcare and civil rights." While Indians were suitable for wall decorations, adorning the nation's coinage, and serving as foils in Western movies, they were viewed as neither modern nor political. "Indians were an unknown quantity," Deloria once observed. "There was a huge gap in how we were perceived by the average citizen and who we actually were" (Porter, 2002, 9).

Deloria poignantly outlined his intellectual and theoretical views in a 1969 book that shook the foundations of academia and religious institutions, challenging worldwide perceptions of American Indians. *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto* set Deloria on the road to national prominence, calling for Indian self-determination within a political and cultural construct that was unique and separate from the larger American political and social constraints. Peoplehood was impossible, Deloria proclaimed, "without cultural independence, which in turn is impossible without land" (Deloria, 1969, 180).

The social and historical context within which Deloria came into prominence took root in the eighteenth century. "As long as any member of my family can remember," Deloria stated in 1969, "we have been involved in the affairs of the Sioux tribe." His intellectual and leadership abilities in the struggle for Indian rights came from carrying "on the leadership qualities of his father, grandfather, and great grandfather" and "stem[med] not only from his formal education and academic position but also from an extraordinary family heritage" (Hoover, 1997, 28). In reflecting on his family, Deloria once wrote that his great grandfather (Saswe), grandfather (Philip), and father (Vine, Sr.) "created a family heritage that has been a heavy burden but that could not have been avoided once Saswe chose the red road [of leadership]" (Deloria, 2000, 84).

Vine Deloria, Jr., was born on March 26, 1933, in Martin, South Dakota, on the Pine Ridge Reservation. After attending elementary school in Martin,





Deloria graduated from St. James Academy in Fari-bault, Minnesota, before serving a three-year stint in the U.S. Marine Corps and attending Iowa State University, where he earned a bachelor's of science degree in 1958. He then earned a master's degree in theology from Augustana Lutheran Seminary in Rock Island, Illinois, in 1963. While he considered following his father's—and grandfather's and great-grandfather's—footsteps into the ministries of the Episcopal Church, Deloria chose a different path that centered on tribalism and traditional religious expressions.

In 1964, Deloria accepted a position with the United Scholarship Service in Denver, Colorado, to develop a scholarship program for American Indians to attend elite eastern preparatory schools. Later that year at the Sheridan, Wyoming, convention, he found himself elected executive director of the NCAI, a position he later said he was naïve enough to accept. Expected “to solve problems presented by tribes from all over the country,” Deloria found the work challenging because of “unscrupulous individuals” who made tasks difficult to solve and accentuated the “great gap between performers and publicity” (Deloria, 1968). Financial concerns always threatened the NCAI and it was more than once on the verge of insolvency. When he left as executive director in 1967, Deloria realized “other tactics would have to be used to further the cause for Indian rights” (Deloria, 1969, 270–273).

Part of the new tactic was training Indian attorneys who could help tribes understand their rights and responsibilities. With this in mind, Deloria returned to school in 1967 and earned a law degree from the University of Colorado in 1970. While still in law school, Deloria wrote *Custer Died for Your Sins*, a book that became his best seller and one that parlayed his family heritage and legacy of leadership into national prominence. From 1970 to 1972, Deloria taught at Western Washington State College, from 1972 to 1974 at the University of California/Los Angeles, and from 1978 to 1990 at the University of Arizona, where he established an Indian policy studies program within the political science department and an American Indian studies program in 1982. Between 1990 and 2000 he was a professor at the University of Colorado, Boulder, where he retired from academia.

Putting action together with his desire to help tribes understand their rights, Deloria was one of three Indian attorneys to establish the Institute for the Development of Indian Law in 1970. This organi-

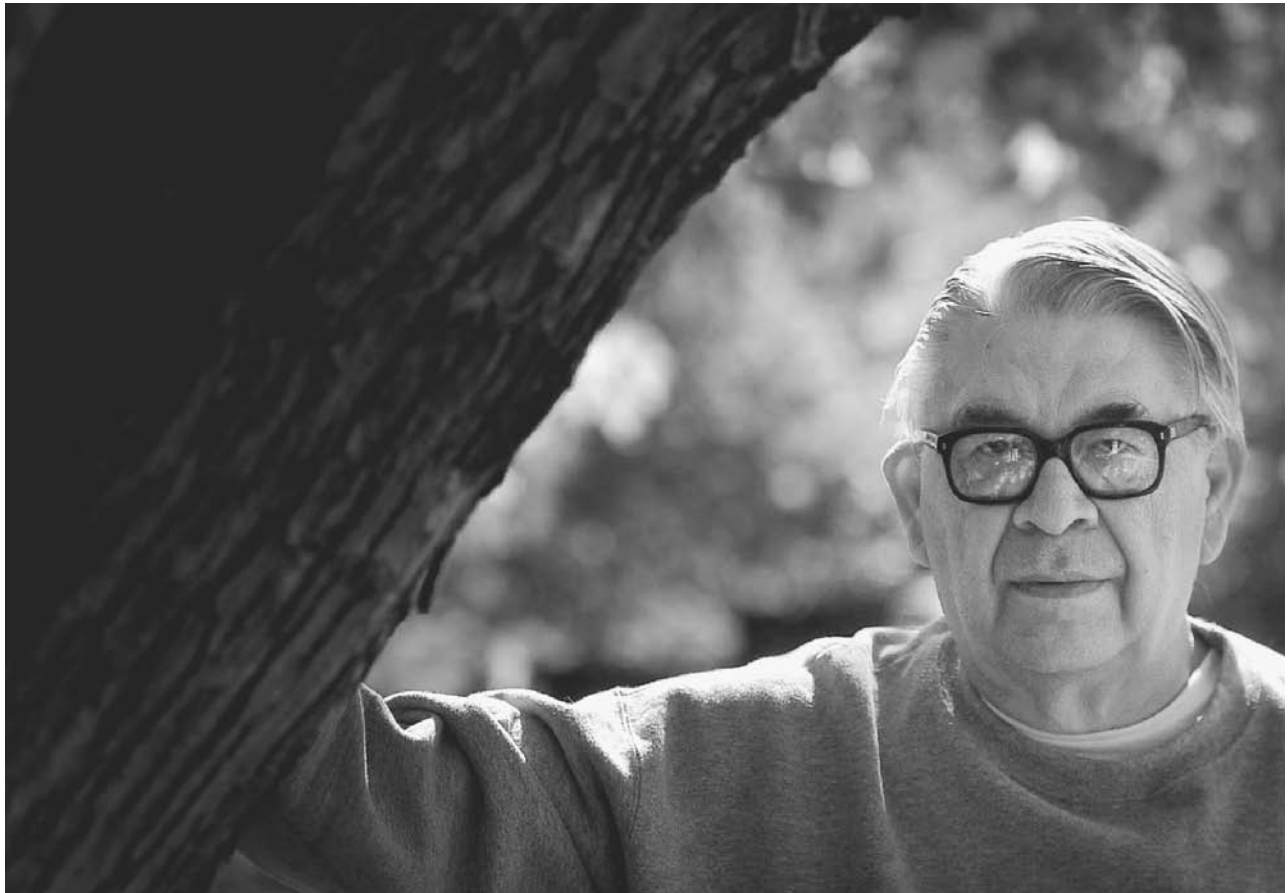
zation provided training and training materials for tribes and educational institutions around the country. He also served in organizations such as the Citizens Crusade against Poverty, the Council on Indian Affairs, the National Office for the Rights of the Indigent, the Indian Rights Association, and the Intertribal Bison Council. He was also a founding trustee on the board of the National Museum of the American Indian. As the preeminent scholar of protecting sacred lands, enforcing treaty rights, and repatriating cultural patrimony and burial remains, Deloria won numerous awards both in and outside of Indian Country.

Among the accomplishments of Vine Deloria, Jr. is a truly extraordinary event that shifted the foundation of an entire academic discipline and, in the process, created a more favorable view of American Indians and Indian tribes. The event was the publication of *Custer Died for Your Sins*, in which Deloria indicted anthropologists and put them on alert that American Indians refused to be imprisoned in their words and writings. In the process, Deloria gave voice to a whole generation of American Indians for the development of a distinct academic discipline of American Indian studies in which Indians themselves would define what was important.

In 1989, the American Anthropological Association convened a session entitled “Custer Died for Your Sins: A Twenty-Year Retrospective on Relations Between Anthropologists and American Indians.” Its purpose was to explore what changes had occurred in Indian–anthropologist relations since *Custer* was first published. Out of this session came *Indians and Anthropologists: Vine Deloria Jr., and the Critique of Anthropology*, which initiated “a new period in relations between American Indian people and anthropologists in particular, between Indians and non-Indians in America generally, and between colonized peoples and the metropolis globally” (Biolsi and Zimmerman, 1997, 4).

Easily the “most influential polemicist” of the latter half of the twentieth century, Deloria “exceeded all others with similar motives” by using the social upheavals of the sixties as his forum to “represent a voice of outrage on behalf of Native Americans” (Hoover, 1997, 31). Those tutored under, and influenced by, Deloria's scholarship have built into their thinking new ethics and morality because of *Custer* and Deloria's subsequent writings. Anthropologist Murray L. Wax once credited “the shape-shifting Deloria—lawyer, priest, political scientist, prophet, educator, and satirist”—with shifting the





Vine Deloria, Jr., a Native American scholar, author, and activist, influenced two generations of leaders, Native and non-Indian. He died in 2005. (AP Photo)

orientation of the anthropologist from a “detached observer” to a “committed and engaged participant, linked to the local community” (Wax, 1997, 59).

Deloria acknowledged progress was made. “Scholars better understand their skills and the degree to which they can assist Indians,” Deloria opined. “We have certainly not found paradise, but we have seen considerable light brought to bear on problems, and we can now make choices we could not make before.” Nonetheless, the social sciences continue to be “a deeply colonial academic discipline.” America has a “state religion,” Deloria observed, “and it is called science,” which controls the process of information about and interpretation of American Indians and their cultural patrimony. Scholars hiding behind the cloak of science will again “raise their voices” against American Indians in the future, Deloria predicts, because the real battle is “over control of definitions: Who is to define what an Indian *really* is?” (Deloria, 1997b, 210–212).

Long committed to the belief of getting “knowledge into the hands of ordinary people,” Deloria spent a lifetime helping tribes and tribal people understand the basis of their existence, stressing the legal and moral basis of tribal political and social life. In *Tribes, Treaties, and Constitutional Tribulations* (1999), he provided an analysis of the U.S. government and how each branch relates to Indian tribes. In *Of Utmost Good Faith* (1971), Deloria provided an anthology of Indian legal papers, including Supreme Court rulings, treaties and agreements, legislative acts, and tribal speeches. In *American Indians, American Justice* (1983), *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century* (1985), *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties* (1974), and *The Nations Within* (1984), Deloria provided a legal and historical framework of tribes in the United States. In *We Talk; You Listen: New Tribes, New Turf* (1970) and *God Is Red* (1973), he expounded on his theoretical framework that tribalism was the only alternative to modern life.





Deloria's recent books focused on the ideological foundations of Western science and its fallacies. *Red Earth, White Lies* (1995), *For This Land* (1999), *Spirit and Reason* (edited by his wife Barbara Deloria in 1999), and *Evolution, Creation and Other Modern Myths* (2002) all assailed Christianity and the religion of Western science while advocating a return to tribal ways. Tribal philosophies, Deloria theorized, were superior to both Western scientific interpretations and religious dogmas. Believing the real battle for survival was ideological, Deloria spent a lifetime educating Indians and non-Indians on spiritual matters that define ideology. For these efforts, *Time* magazine recognized Deloria as one of the ten most influential religious thinkers of the twentieth century.

In toto, Deloria's writings provide an insightful, scholarly and, at times, witty view of the nature of tribes and their dealings with the United States, demonstrating how and why at a philosophical level tribalism and tribal ways are superior to mainstream Western American ways. Tribal groups, Deloria once observed, "recognize the value of relations," which creates "a society of responsibility." To belong to a tribe, one had to "feed the poor," "take care of the orphans," and "provide for the elders." In short, tribalism was relational rather than institutional and hierarchal. American Indians, Deloria wrote in 1997, must "redefine their understanding of leadership to reflect traditional Indian ways." The key to returning to traditional leadership is to return to tribal ways, including the use of storytelling to help young people "feel they belong to something of their own" (Deloria, 1997a, 2, 4).

Deloria passed away November 13, 2005, at age seventy-two, in Golden, Colorado, after surgical complications. University of Colorado professor Charles Wilkinson called him "probably the most influential American Indian of the past century. He was also a wonderful human being, brilliant, bitingly funny, and profoundly warm and compassionate, always willing to lend a hand or raise a spirit" (Johansen, 2005, 7-B).

David H. DeJong

See also National Congress of American Indians; Tribal Sovereignty.

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## Deskaheh

Born in 1872, elevated to the position of *royaner* (hereditary chief) of the Cayuga nation under the name Deskaheh in 1917, Levi General died June 27, 1925. He is buried at the Cayuga Longhouse in Sour Springs. Deskaheh is well-known for his unsuccessful efforts between 1921 and 1925 to stop Canadian interference in Six Nations affairs by obtaining international recognition, through the League of Nations, of Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) sovereignty.

After 1918, the Canadian government, particularly the Department of Indian Affairs and its director Duncan Campbell Scott, refused to recognize the sovereignty of the traditional Six Nations' gover-





nance system at Grand River, Ontario. Adamant that the 1784 Haldiman Treaty had confirmed Haudenosaunee independence, Deskaheh traveled to England in 1921 with a petition for King George V. The petition was received by the colonial secretary, Winston Churchill, who returned the document to Canada.

Deskaheh and his American Lawyer, George Decker, then traveled to Geneva in 1923, where they convinced the Netherlands to lay Iroquois grievances before the League of Nations. Deskaheh, as a representative of the Six Nations, approached the Dutch based on a seventeenth-century mutual aid agreement.

On April 26, 1923, the Netherlands requested that the Iroquois petition be placed before the League of Nations Council. Following Britain and Canada's response, written largely at Scott's direction, the secretariat of the League presented the petition but failed to place it on the agenda for discussion. At this point the Netherlands withdrew its support. Much to the shock of Canada, Deskaheh twice requested, on August 7 and September 4, 1923, that the League grant the Six Nations formal membership as a state. Without the support of a member nation, however, Deskaheh's application was referred until September 27, when Ireland, Panama, Persia, and Estonia requested that the petition be presented to the League and the case for Iroquoian independence be brought before the International Court. Nonetheless, by 1924 Britain convinced Deskaheh's supporters to cease interference in an internal Canadian matter.

Meanwhile, in Canada, a federal order-in-council dissolved the Six Nation's Confederacy Council and created a democratically elected government subject to the Indian Act. Once elected, members of the democratic council, at the direction of their Indian Agent Colonel Morgan, proclaimed that Deskaheh was not an official representative. Also in 1924, in a dispute over land tenure between the traditional Council and Indian Affairs, an Ontario court ruled in *Garlow v. General* that Deskaheh's lands and possessions be confiscated and sold at auction. Colonel Morgan, after the Brant County sheriff refused to interfere because his authority did not extend to the Six Nations, auctioned Deskaheh's goods.

In the fall of 1924, Deskaheh returned to England to petition the king, an effort that failed. Deskaheh finally left Europe in January 1925, gave

his last speech on Iroquois and Indian rights on March 10, and, after learning that his healer had not been allowed to cross the border, died on June 27. His funeral, three days later, was well attended by Haudenosaunee and the ever-watchful Royal Canadian Mounted Police. Canadian officials hoped that with the "troublemaker's" death the sovereignty issue would disappear. At the funeral, according to Iroquois customs, his brother Alexander General was elevated to *royaner* with the name of Deskaheh.

During his visits to Europe, many reporters, diplomats, and visitors were disappointed that Deskaheh failed to live up to their stereotype of a typical Indian chief. Much to Deskaheh's credit he refused to lower himself by playing Indian. Instead, he usually wore a simple brown suit and kept regular company with his lawyer, although photographs do exist of him in traditional garb.

While seeking to promote his people's sovereignty, Deskaheh's petitions and speeches form a wonderful corpus of material on indigenous rights and their trammeling by colonial powers. The most readily available materials by Deskaheh are the *Redman's Appeal for Justice* and his final speech on March 10, 1925.

Karl S. Hele

See also Democracy and Native American Images Among Europeans.

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## Dodge, Henry Chee

Henry Chee Dodge (Hastiin Adiits'a'ii, "Man Who Interprets," ca. 1857–1947) was an influential leader





of the Navajo Nation for more than half a century, serving as the reservation government's chairman from 1923 to 1928 and from 1942 to 1946. Fluent in both English and Navajo when few were, Dodge played an influential role as a translator and political leader, working to expand the size of the Navajo Nation.

Dodge was born shortly before the Navajos' Long Walk to Fort Sumner, and his mother and father died when he was very young. Indian Agent W.F.M. Arn took an interest in young Dodge upon his return from the Long Walk, because he believed him to be the son of a former Indian Agent Henry Dodge. His father probably was more likely a captive Mexican, however. Upon returning from Fort Sumner, Dodge attended school for a short time in Fort Defiance. By 1882 he was serving as the official agency interpreter, and, having shown courage several times, he was put in charge of the Navajo police force and named head chief by the Indian agent. Dodge also made the first of eight trips to Washington, D.C., accompanying a delegation of Navajos to Grover Cleveland's inauguration in 1884. On his last trip in his eighties, he asked for more schools, hospitals, land, and irrigation facilities for the Navajos.

In 1890, Dodge invested in a partnership and bought the Round Rock Trading Post, which he comanaged. In 1892, when Agent David Shipley was surrounded and beaten at Round Rock while recruiting students for the Fort Defiance Boarding School, Dodge helped rescue and defend him for three days until soldiers came to the rescue. During the 1890s, Dodge also became a successful rancher at Crystal, New Mexico, and by 1907 he was a wealthy prominent Navajo headman.

In 1914, Dodge wrote the Secretary of the Interior stressing the need for more schools so that Navajo children could learn to speak English. He also stated that the allotment of the Navajo reservation would hurt most Navajos and that state governments had no interest in helping Navajos. In 1940 Dodge criticized day schools and the teaching of the Navajo language and asked for more boarding schools.

In 1922, Dodge was appointed a member of a three-man Navajo business council to sign oil leases by the U.S. government, and in 1923 a twelve-member Navajo council was elected and chose Dodge as chairman. He worked to get the money from the oil leases to benefit all Navajos, even those

living off the reservation, rather than just those from the region where the oil was located.

Indian agents for the Navajo called for stock reduction because of overgrazing as early as the 1880s. The increasing Navajo population and their livestock impinged on their neighbors, including the Pueblo Indians. Dodge worked to get more land for the Navajo by cooperating with the demands of the federal government. In the 1920s, Jacob Morgan rose to prominence as Dodge's opponent, representing young assimilated Christian Navajos educated in boarding schools. Morgan questioned whether Dodge was really a Navajo and as a fundamentalist Protestant opposed Dodge's sympathy toward Catholics, the Native American Church, and traditional Navajo religion. Another strike against Dodge was his practice of the Navajo tradition of polygamy for wealthy Navajos, having over his lifetime eight wives, four of whom were sisters, and six children.

Dodge's son Thomas, an attorney, became tribal chairman in 1932, and in 1935 he was appointed assistant superintendent for the Navajo agency in an attempt to gain Navajo support for the Indian Reorganization Act, which the Navajos voted against. When John Collier became Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1933 he pressured Thomas to implement stock reduction to protect Navajo lands from eroding away and filling up the newly built Boulder (now Hoover) Dam on the Colorado River. Increasing Navajo discontent toward stock reduction and the council's complicity led Thomas to resign the chairmanship in 1936.

Riding the antistock reduction sentiment of most Navajos, Morgan became tribal chairman in 1938 but was defeated by Dodge in 1942. Dodge's son Ben and his daughter Annie Wauneka, a respected health educator, also served on the Navajo tribal council.

Jon Reyhner

*See also* Economic Development.

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## Dull Knife

The harrowing march of Dull Knife and his Cheyenne compatriots from U.S. Army captivity toward their homeland in present-day Wyoming is described in Mari Sandoz's *Cheyenne Autumn* (1953). Dull Knife (ca. 1810–1883), as he was called by the Lakota, also was called Morning Star by the Cheyennes. Dull Knife, with Little Wolf, led the trek after their exile to Indian Country (Oklahoma today) late in the 1870s and 1880s.

Dull Knife and Little Wolf were among the Cheyennes who allied with the Lakota and other Native nations who defeated George Armstrong Custer at the Little Bighorn on June 25, 1876. The Army, reinforced with fresh troops, then pursued the Lakota and their allies. By 1877, U.S. Army troops chased Dull Knife into the Bighorn mountains near the head of the Powder River. The Cheyenne were then arrested and sent to Oklahoma, where, during the next several months, many of them died.

During mid-August 1878, the Cheyennes asked Indian Agent John Miles to let them leave Oklahoma for home. Miles, on superiors' orders, refused. The Cheyennes, who lacked food, took matters into their own hands, escaping homeward on foot. Early the next day 300 surviving Cheyennes started a march to their homelands in the Powder River Country, several hundred miles away. The next day, cavalry caught up with them on the Little Medicine Lodge River. The Cheyennes refused to surrender and continued their trek, repelling other attacks. They crossed the Arkansas and South Platte rivers. At White Clay Creek, Nebraska, they split into two groups. Dull Knife led 150 people to Red Cloud Agency, where they surrendered. Little Wolf and another 150 people hid in the Nebraska Sand Hills.

Little Wolf's band surrendered to Lieutenant W. P. Clark and an Army unit of Cheyenne and Lakota scouts the following March.

Back in Nebraska, Dull Knife's band arrived at the Red Cloud agency and found it abandoned, so they marched to Fort Robinson. Dull Knife's band lived at the fort two months. Officers at the fort then were ordered by superiors to force the Cheyennes back to Oklahoma. Dull Knife refused to go. Captain Wessells, the commanding officer, locked the Cheyennes in a freezing barracks with no food or water for three days. They refused to surrender.

On January 9, 1879, the Cheyennes broke out again. Fifty of them died that evening under fire by



*Dull Knife and fellow chief Little Wolf led several hundred of their people in an epic march from Oklahoma toward their homelands in Montana during 1878. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

troops; twenty more died of wounds and exposure. Most who survived, fewer than 100 survivors, were directed back to Fort Robinson under guard.

Dull Knife, his wife, and son then escaped once again, traveling eighteen nights on foot, resting by day, to Pine Ridge. They ate bark and their own moccasins to survive. At the Pine Ridge agency, Bill Rowland, an interpreter, housed the family. Thirty-one other warriors also escaped Fort Robinson. Troops followed them to Hat Creek Bluffs, where they called upon the warriors to surrender. The Cheyennes answered the command with their last three bullets. More shooting followed, killing twenty-eight Cheyenne. The last three survivors





stood up, using their empty rifles as clubs, and charged the 300 soldiers, who killed them.

John Ford, the well-known director of Westerns, released a film version of *Cheyenne Autumn* in 1964, his last Western film. Some reviewers believed that Ford's film was an apology for the excessive cruelty displayed toward Native peoples in his earlier films (Crowther, n.d.). Set in 1887, the film recounts the defiant migration of 300 Cheyennes from their reservation in Oklahoma territory to their original home in Wyoming. They have done this at the behest of Chiefs Little Wolf (Ricardo Montalban) and Dull Knife (Gilbert Rolands), played as "peaceful souls who have been driven to desperate measures because the U.S. government has ignored their pleas for food and shelter" (Crowther, n.d.). In the *New York Times*, reviewer Bosley Crowther described the film as a cinematic elegy—not only for the beleaguered Cheyennes, but for John Ford's fifty years in pictures" (Crowther, n.d.).

The bones of the dead Cheyennes later were turned over to the U.S. Army Medical Museum for scientific study. On October 8, 1993, the remains were returned to a delegation of sixteen Cheyennes in Washington, D.C., for reburial under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Relocation.

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## Dumont, Gabriel

Born in 1837 at Red River, Rupert's Land (Manitoba), Gabriel Dumont (Métis) died May 19, 1906, at Bellevue (St.-Isidore-de-Bellevue), Saskatchewan.

Dumont is best-known for his role as a military leader in the 1885 Riel Rebellion. Prior to 1885, he was a community leader, bison hunter, ferry operator, store owner, and farmer. After 1885, Dumont worked seasonally in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show (1886–1888), and became a symbol for Quebec nationalists (1888–1889). He returned in 1893–1894 to Batoche, Saskatchewan. Dumont married Madeline Wilkie at St. Joseph (Wahalla, North Dakota) in 1858. Madeline died in North Dakota in the spring of 1886. The couple had no children.

Dumont grew up on the Plains with his parents and extended family. He was involved in the 1851 battle between the Métis and Yankton Dakota at Grand Coteau. Dumont rose to the position of hunting leader in the Fort Carleton region (Saskatchewan) by the 1860s. In 1872, Dumont opened a ferry service and store on the Fort Carleton Trail. He was elected head of a council of eight in 1873. This council sought to govern the St. Laurent Métis community until the Northwest Territorial government established itself. In 1874, the North West Mounted Police (NWMP) investigated the council after the Fort Carleton Hudson's Bay Company factor charged the Métis government with sedition. While the NWMP cleared the council of the allegations, it ceased to function.

From 1877 to 1884, Dumont supported Métis petitions that requested land surveys and grants, representation on the Northwest Territories governing council, as well as assistance for schooling and farming. In 1878–1879, the river lot and square lot systems were surveyed in St. Laurent. Dumont and others demanded a resurvey according to the traditional river lot system. The Métis river lot system, drawn from their French heritage, consisted of narrow strips of land that fronted a river and extended inland. The house constructed beside the river at the front of the lot, allowed for easy access to the river and gave the Métis access to farm land as well as a wood lot at the back. The square lot system, derived from the standard grid pattern township surveys, would arbitrarily cut across the river lots. The proposed solution to the issue, through the subdivision of the square lots into smaller sections that could then be pieced together to match the river lots, was complicated, confusing and appeared unnecessary to the Métis since they already had a viable system of land allotment. Instead, after delaying the decision, the Canadian government in Ottawa offered an awkward method





of legal subdivision of the square lots to mimic the river lot layout.

By 1884, survey and treaty issues in Saskatchewan created a tense atmosphere in which non-Native immigrants, Indians, and Métis were dissatisfied with the Canadian government. While discussing further petitions in March 1884, Dumont suggested that Louis Riel, based on his success in negotiating with the Canadian government during the 1869–1870 Red River Incident, be asked for assistance. Dumont and four others returned with Riel from North Dakota in July 1884. After eight months of lobbying Ottawa, Dumont and Riel concluded in February 1885 that Métis concerns would never be addressed. Dumont's unwavering support of Riel convinced many Métis to support the declaration of a provisional government and armed rebellion.

Hostilities commenced at Duck Lake when a Métis force led by Dumont defeated approximately 100 NWMP and 200 English-speaking settler volunteers who were attempting to arrest rebel leaders. Dumont forced Major-General Frederick Middleton to halt his advance toward Batoche for two weeks after a battle at Fish Creek. Following this engagement the Métis withdrew to defensive positions at Batoche, where they were defeated after a four-day battle (May 9–12). Dumont fled to the United States on May 27 upon hearing of Riel's surrender. American authorities arrested and later released Dumont after crossing the border. While in North Dakota, Dumont attempted to raise money and a force to liberate Riel from the Regina, Saskatchewan, jail.

While working in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, Dumont met members of New York's French community and began speaking about the 1885 rebellion. After giving a single lecture in Quebec, which shocked the nationalist French Canadian audience with its anticlerical tone, Dumont's planned speaking tour was cancelled. He remained in Quebec until the 1890s and dictated his rebellion experiences during the winter of 1889. In 1893, Dumont applied for scrip in Winnipeg, and resettled at his Batoche homestead. His death, while visiting a favorite nephew (Alexis Dumont) in 1906, passed unnoticed by Canada.

Dumont's role in the 1885 rebellion has been represented by scholars as either secondary or equal to that of Riel. Historians basing their work on Dumont's dictation of his experiences have focused on Riel's interference in military matters to explain why the Métis lost. According to Roderick C.

Macleod (2004), documents and events indicate that neither Dumont nor Riel sought a far-reaching military campaign and engaged Canadian forces only when they entered Métis lands. Moreover, the Métis would have eventually been defeated regardless of Dumont's military acumen.

Karl S. Hele

*See also* Riel, Louis.

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## EchoHawk, Larry

Nationally distinguished for his work as a lawyer, legislator, and attorney general, Larry EchoHawk (Pawnee, b. 1948) started out on this path when the Shoshone-Bannock tribes of the Fort Hall Reservation hired him as their chief general counsel in the late 1970s. Over the next few years he won a seat in the Idaho Legislature, held the post of prosecuting attorney for Bannock County, and in 1991 was elected as attorney general of the state of Idaho. In 1994 he ran for governor of the state but lost. Since that time he has served as a law professor at Brigham Young University.

EchoHawk was born to a full-blooded Pawnee father and a German mother who raised him in Farmington, New Mexico. His father was an alcoholic. In elementary school he learned that Indians were dirty, savage heathens. He wasn't quite sure what to think of the fact that his legendary great-grandfather had fought on the side of the cavalry during the Indian Wars. During this time he struggled with his identity. At age fourteen he joined the Mormon Church. After reading the Book of Mormon he no longer felt inferior and found renewed pride in his heritage. He began to set goals and soon





excelled in high school athletics. As a child he had never expected to attend college, but when Brigham Young University (BYU) offered him a football scholarship in 1966 he accepted.

At BYU, EchoHawk excelled both on and off the football field. He was named to the Western Athletic Conference All-Academic football team in 1969 and prepared, upon graduation, to become a coach and educator. His older brother, John EchoHawk, persuaded him to change his career plans. John was soon to become the executive director of the Native American Rights Fund. He told Larry that attending law school would give him the power to change people's lives. Larry believed him and obtained his JD from the University of Utah in 1973.

After graduation, Larry spent a few years in Oakland working for California Indian Legal Services. In 1977 the Shoshone-Bannock tribes hired him as their attorney. He spent nine years in this position. In the 1980s he served two terms in the Idaho House of Representatives, during which he was named the best freshman legislator. In 1991 he made a bid for the position of state attorney general. Political analysts in Idaho figured he faced three disadvantages: He was a Mormon, a Democrat, and an Indian. On the national scene, however, his prospects looked quite promising. During the campaign he became the first Native American to head a state delegation at a national political convention. He prevailed and became the first American Indian in U.S. history to win a statewide election to a state constitutional office. However, not everyone viewed this as an unqualified victory for Native peoples.

Larry EchoHawk upset Idaho tribal leaders when he proposed an antigambling amendment to the state constitution. EchoHawk insisted early on that he was carrying out his obligations to uphold the state's laws. His Mormon upbringing undoubtedly was another reason for his opposition to tribal gaming. This stance cost him the support of Idaho tribes, who argued that tribal sovereignty and congressional legislation provided the necessary legal authorization for their casino operations. However, these local issues did little to stop EchoHawk's rise to national prominence. *Newsweek* named him one of twenty People to Watch in the West. In 1992 he served as a principal speaker at the Democratic national convention. EchoHawk's political fortunes began shifting two years later. Although he easily won the Democratic gubernatorial nomination, several Idaho tribes were reluctant to support him. Even though he had led his opponent in all the polls, on

election day EchoHawk experienced his first loss in politics.

Since 1994, EchoHawk has served as a professor at the Brigham Young University J. Reuben Clark Law School. He has also become a stake (administrative office) president in the Mormon Church. In recent years he has called for greater tribal sovereignty and changed his stance on Indian gaming, finding it important to the economic development of tribes.

Sterling Fluaharty

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## Edwards, J. R.

"Junior" Edwards (Mohawk, 1958-1990) was killed during the early hours of May 1, 1990, during the culmination of firefights over commercial gaming that wracked the Akwesasne Mohawk (St. Regis) Reservation. Mathew Pyke also was killed that night, before police agencies from the United States and Canada occupied the area the next day. The body of Edwards, thirty-two, was found roughly six hundred yards from where Pyke had been killed, along the River Road in an area of Akwesasne called Snye. Edwards had been killed by a blast to the stomach.

Harold Edwards Sr., father of Edwards, said that the young man had been an innocent victim most of his life. The younger Edwards lived alone in a house owned by his father near Snye, drew welfare, and "at times, drank too much." While the younger Edwards did not overtly support gambling interests (the senior Edwards said his four other sons were gambling supporters), he was impressionable, and he sometimes associated with gaming sympathizers.

Edwards laid the blame for his son's death with the people who had brought the guns to Akwesasne. "Whoever killed my son, I don't blame them as much as the people bringing in the weapons in the first place," he said. "It's some other people who are bringing them in, and giving them to the Warriors,





and then they go crazy. I want the police to get the people who are bringing in the guns and the dope, even if they have to search every house to do it" (Johansen, 1993, 94).

Edwards' murder remains unsolved. Doug George-Kanentiio, an Akwesasne newspaper editor and antigaming activist, was charged with the murder by Quebec authorities, but was exonerated before a trial by a judge who said the charge was baseless.

*Bruce E. Johansen*

*See also* Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

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## Eliot, John

A Puritan missionary, translator, and writer in early colonial New England, John Eliot (1604–1690) became known as the Apostle to the Indians and is

among the most famous early Anglo-American colonists. Little is known about Eliot's early life in England. Born in Widford, Hertfordshire, in August 1604, he was raised in Nazing, Essex. After enrolling at Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1618, Eliot received his baccalaureate in 1622. Eliot worked as Thomas Hooker's assistant at a Puritan academy in Essex until its closure in 1630. In 1631, Eliot arrived in Boston on the *Lyon*, a ship that also carried well-known colonists Margaret Winthrop and her stepson John Winthrop Jr. Eliot immediately took a position at the Boston church, moving in 1632 to become the teaching elder at the church in Roxbury, a position he held until 1688, two years before his death. Eliot outlived nearly every prominent first-generation Massachusetts Puritan (Cogley, 1999, 46).

Eliot is best-known for his mission work among the Algonquian-speaking peoples of Massachusetts. Around 1646, he began learning the Wôpanâak (Massachuset) language of southern New England. At this time, Eliot began the instruction of indigenous peoples in Christianity. In 1647,



*A Puritan missionary, translator, and writer in early colonial New England, John Eliot became known as the Apostle to the Indians. (Library of Congress)*





he began publishing a series of promotional tracts in England, aimed at generating financial support for proselytizing in the Massachusetts Bay colony. After some initial success with conversions among the Massachuset people, Eliot decided to establish “praying towns “ where Christianized Natives could become fully assimilated to English and Christian ways of life in an atmosphere that he believed to be the key to lasting conversions.

In October 1650, Eliot and several proselytes chose the site of Natick along the Charles River as the site of the first praying town, a place where Christian Natives would live away from the influence of their unconverted friends and relatives. In total, the Puritans set up fourteen praying towns, which resembled the “reduction” type missions used in New France and Latin America, meant to remove Native people from their traditional cultures. In the praying towns, Natives adopted English dress and hairstyles, took up agriculture, and abandoned their traditional ways of life. Eliot preached to the Massachuset peoples in their Native language but stressed literacy as one of the keys to “civilizing” them. With the help of Native translators, Eliot translated and compiled what became the Indian Library, a series of pamphlets and devotional literature in the Wôpanâak language. Eliot’s *A Primer or Catechism* appeared in 1654, and his translation of the entire Bible in the Native language—the first *Bible* printed in the Americas—was published in 1663. One of Eliot’s famous booklets, *The Indian Dialogues* (1671), which consisted of fictional dialogues between Christian and non-Christian Natives about the benefits of conversion, illustrates the significance of literacy in the praying towns, as well as the divide in Native society that resulted from Eliot’s missionary zeal.

George Tinker, an Osage religious studies scholar, suggests that Eliot’s well-intentioned explicit goal—assimilating the indigenous population into English/Christian lifeways—was a significant aspect of European cultural genocide in the Americas. According to Tinker, the praying towns separated indigenous peoples from their families and community networks and were thus a major cause of social breakdown and alienation. According to Tinker, the creation of new economic, social, and government systems in the missions led to indigenous dependency on the English (Tinker, 1993, 21–41). Tinker writes: “In spite of his good intentions toward Indian peoples and his hopes for their conversion to Christianity, Eliot must be held histori-

cally accountable for the resulting cultural genocide of these peoples” (Tinker, 1993, 40).

Eliot’s praying towns became weakened and were subsequently dismantled during Metacom’s uprising (King Philip’s War) against the English (1675). A census of the towns in 1674 reveals a population of 1,100 Christian Natives (Lepore, 1998, 370). During the bloody uprising, many indigenous peoples rejoined their communities to fight against the colonizers. John Eliot’s mission work continued outside the praying towns, as he continued publishing and preaching up to his retirement in 1688.

Daniel Morley Johnson

*See also* Praying Villages of Massachusetts.

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## Emathla, Charley

Born a Creek in Georgia, Charley Emathla (Creek and Seminole, ca. 1790–1835) moved to Florida during the late 1820s, where he would become identified with the Seminole as an opponent of Osceola. Although many of the Georgia Creeks were forcibly relocated west of the Mississippi, Emathla settled on a small farm near Fort King (near Tampa, Florida) with a herd of cattle. He subsequently assumed a leadership role among the Seminoles. As a signatory of the Treaty of Payne’s Landing in 1832, Emathla agreed to relocate to Indian Territory (later called Oklahoma). While accompanying a Seminole delegation to inspect the new lands promised in Indian Territory, he also signed the 1833 Treaty of Fort Gibson.

In June 1835, Indian Agent Wiley Thompson imprisoned Osceola, a leader of the Seminoles who opposed relocation. Having decided to resist the plans of Emathla and his supporters to leave for Oklahoma, Osceola pretended to change his posi-





*Emathla, a Creek chieftain, was killed by Seminole Chief Osceola. (Library of Congress)*

tion. He asked Emathla to intercede for him. Emathla, convinced of Osceola's sincerity, agreed to help. Osceola was released only after he promised to use his influence in favor of emigration.

Instead, Osceola met with other chiefs who were hostile to the move, and all agreed that death was the only appropriate penalty for any Seminole who sold his stock or otherwise prepared to leave. At this news, four hundred and fifty Indians who had agreed to emigrate fled to Fort Brooke for protection. Emathla continued to defy Osceola and openly sold his possessions. As Emathla was returning from the sale with his money, on December 18, 1835, he was ambushed and killed by Osceola's band. Some accounts say that Osceola threw the cattle money over Emathla's dead body as he awaited burial. Others say that he scattered the money to the four winds.

Osceola's faction then killed Agent Thompson on December 28, while another party massacred a military command under Major Francis Dade, after whom Dade County, Florida, is named. Their actions provoked the Second Seminole War (1835–1842).

*Bruce E. Johansen*

*See also* Osceola; Seminole Wars.

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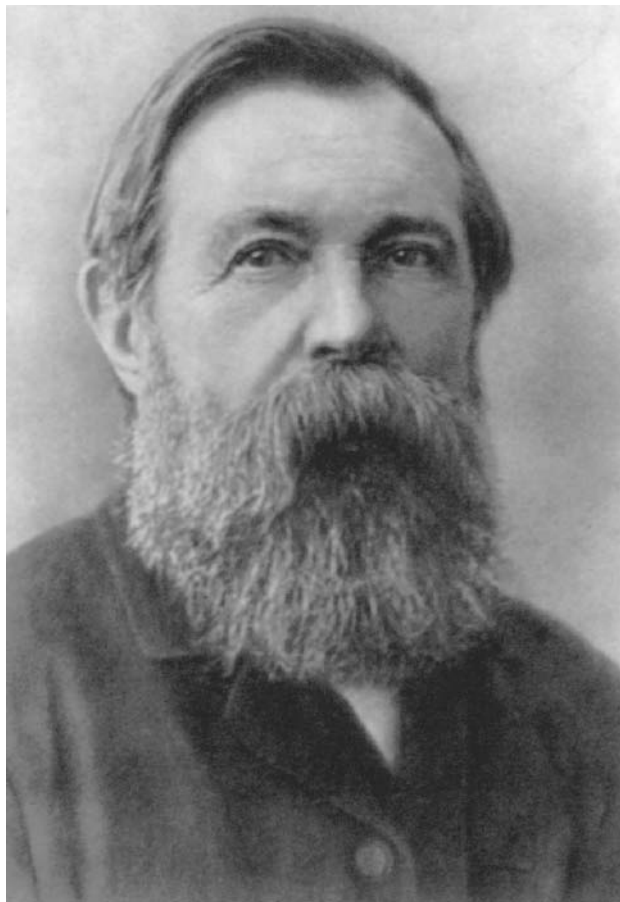
## Engels, Friedrich and the “Mother-right gens”

Karl Marx discovered the work of Lewis Henry Morgan during the late 1870s. Morgan's work contributed to American feminists' and European socialists' beliefs that one could improve society by looking back to the original state of humankind—the same sort of mirror on antiquity that Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine had used in their analysis of American Indian societies a century earlier. In the nineteenth century as in the eighteenth, the image of the Indian served to provide antagonists to the European status quo with an alternative example of how societies ought to be organized and operated. The Iroquois Confederacy, a center of diplomatic activity in the eighteenth century, became the focus of Morgan's work in the nineteenth and so retained its pivotal position in the communication of these images between cultures.

Engels inherited Marx's copious notes on Morgan's *Ancient Society* (1877) and, after Marx's death in 1883, authored *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* in 1886. Studying Morgan's account of “primitive” societies, with the Iroquois being his cornerstone, Engels provided what he believed to be an egalitarian, classless model of society that also provided justice between the sexes. In his work, Engels cited approvingly Morgan's assertion that “Democracy in government, brotherhood in society, equality in rights and privileges, and universal education, foreshadow the next higher plane of society to which experience, intelligence, and knowledge are steadily tending. It will be a revival, in a higher form, of the liberty, equality, and fraternity of the ancient gentes” (Grinde and Johansen, 1991, 230).

Engels' tone seemed to indicate that he had seen the future reflected in the past, and it worked. In this future, just as in Iroquois society, “Everything runs smoothly without soldiers, gendarmes, or police; without nobles, kings, governors, prefects, or judges;





Friedrich Engels was strongly influenced in his work on societal theory by Native American models. (Library of Congress)

prisons, without trials. All quarrels and disputes are settled by the whole body of those concerned . . . not a bit of our extensive and complicated machinery of administration is required. . . . There are no poor and needy. . . . All are free and equal—including the women" (Grinde and Johansen, 1991, 230).

Without making a specific citation, Engels evoked an image of Native American (likely Iroquois) society that was strikingly similar to Franklin's, a century before him: "All of the Indians of North America not under the dominion of the Spaniards are in that natural state, being restrained by no Laws, having no Courts, or Ministers of Justice, no Suits, no Prisons, no Governors vested with any Legal Authority. The Persuasion of Men distinguished by Reputation of Wisdom is the only Means by which others are govern'd or rather led—and the State of the Indians is probably the first State of all Nations" (Grinde and Johansen, 1991, 231).

Likewise, Jefferson wrote that American Indians had never "[s]ubmitted themselves to any laws, any coercive power or shadow of government. The only controls are their manners, and the moral sense of right and wrong. . . . There is an error into which most of the speculators on government have fallen, and which the well-known state of society of our Indians should have corrected. In their hypothesis of the origin of government, they supposed to have commenced in the patriarchal or monarchical form. Our Indians are evidently in that state of nature which has passed the association of a single family, and not yet submitted to authority of positive laws, or any acknowledged magistrate" (Grinde and Johansen, 1991, 231).

The "error" was the same one Marx and Engels had made in the first edition of *The Communist Manifesto*. Beholden to their own times and perceptions, Marx and Engels in 1848 had yet to shed their Eurocentric notions that history had begun with patriarchal, monarchical governments. Imagine how the discovery of societies that operated differently must have fascinated Marx, Engels, and the early feminists—much as it earlier had intrigued some of the United States' major architects, whose intellectual heritage we can trace back, in remarkably similar words, to Montaigne, Locke, Rousseau, among others, as well as to the American Indian confederacies (among other non-European societies), which provided the raw observational material for the philosophers and the instigators of Enlightenment-era revolutions.

Having rediscovered the "mother-right gens," Engels could scarcely contain himself: "It has the same significance for the history of primitive society as Darwin's theory of evolution has for biology, and Marx's theory of surplus value for political economy. . . . The mother-right gens has become the pivot around which this entire science turns" (Grinde and Johansen, 1991, 231).

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Democracy and Native American Images among Europeans; Marx, Karl, and Native American Societies.

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## Episcopal Church

The Episcopal church, a Protestant denomination, played a major role in the implementation of the Peace Policy to assimilate Indians into American society during the late nineteenth century.

The Episcopal Church of the United States of America was established in 1783 as the church for American Anglicans after the achievement of independence from Great Britain. The key features of this denomination are its governance by a General Convention selected by members and the reliance on bishops to define the work of the church in their individual geographic areas, known as dioceses.

International Anglican missionary organizations were of little consequence in the United States because the church developed its own organization for foreign and domestic missions in 1820. Episcopal mission work with Indians had the twin goals of Christianization and assimilation of Native Americans achieved through the development of Indian clergy and reservation-based schools. The emphasis on education also was a part of the church's foreign missions and its outreach to freedmen in the post-Civil War South.

Approximately two-thirds of the Episcopal church's Indian work has been and remains in South Dakota, with missions to the Navajo the most prominent of its other efforts. The focus on the Sioux of South Dakota was the result of the work of Bishops H. Benjamin Whipple of Minnesota in the 1860s and William Hobart Hare, who was named Bishop of the Niobrara District in 1873 and made responsible for all Episcopal missions to the Sioux within the Great Sioux Reservation.

The Right Reverend Mr. Whipple gained national recognition for his humane response to Indian needs following Sioux attacks on Minnesota towns in 1862. His comments helped people to distinguish between active participants and innocent Indian neighbors in the face of the general tendency to classify all Indians as hostile. Episcopal missionaries fostered by Whipple in the years before this conflict accompanied the Indian communities when they were removed to new reserves along the Missouri River. These events made it logical for the administrators of President Grant's Peace Policy to assign the Episcopal church a major role among the Sioux in the trans-Missouri West.

The church responded to the new U.S. policy by creating the Niobrara jurisdiction to administer its work with the Sioux. William Hobart Hare, who was

serving as secretary for the committee overseeing foreign missions, was consecrated Bishop of the Niobrara in 1873 after Bishop Whipple rejected the extension of his ongoing responsibilities to a new region.

Bishop Hare continued the effort of Bishop Whipple to develop Indian clergy to minister to Native people. In addition, he elevated the role of the Episcopal church among the Friends of the Indians. His invitation to Herbert Welsh, an artist and social reformer, and Henry Pancoast, a lawyer, in 1882 provided a stimulus to the creation of Indian Rights Association. Hare's writings appeared in national publications and his voice was heard during meetings of the Lake Mohonk Conference. His advocacy for assimilation included support for the breakup of the Great Sioux Reservation into smaller reserves and the allotment of Indian land into individual holdings. His term of service ended with his death in 1909.

The onset of the twentieth century ended the heroic age of Episcopal missionary work among Indians. Financial support from the federal government for sectarian schools began to decline in the late nineteenth century; local and denominational sources of funds could not make up the difference. Furthermore, national attitudes toward race turned against assimilation around the start of the twentieth century. A shift toward racism occurred in the wake of American imperial ventures overseas and the onset of segregation in the South. At the same time, growing national support for cultural pluralism reduced support of assimilation by emphasizing the need to respect cultural differences. Government policies that reduced or eliminated the use of tax dollars for mission schools hit the Episcopal church's missionary work harder than the later passage of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which sought to restore the traditional spiritual perspectives of Indians.

The evaluation of the missionary efforts of the Episcopal church in the early twenty-first century is mixed. Data suggest many American Indians are rejecting Christianity and turning more to traditional expressions of spirituality. Within the church are now a number of Indian clergy; in the years since the consecration of Harold Jones as the first bishop of Indian heritage, the number of Native bishops has grown. A series of face-to-face meetings connect Bishop Jones directly to the efforts of the Indian clergy created by Bishops Whipple and Hare.

The national archives of the Episcopal church are located on the campus of the Episcopal Theological





Seminary of the Southwest in Austin, Texas. Each diocese has its own archives whose locations have been determined locally.

David S. Trask

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## Erasmus, George Henry

George Henry Erasmus, born in 1948 in Rae-Edzo, North West Territories, is widely known as a Canadian crusader for Native rights and self-government. Erasmus, who holds seven honorary doctorate degrees, came into public prominence in Canada during the early 1970s as the leader of the Indian Brotherhood of the North West Territories. He went on to become the president of the Dene Nation, the national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, and cochair of the historic Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. All his life he has fought for the rights of Native peoples to control their own lives and their own lands.

A Dene raised in Yellowknife, Erasmus witnessed the impoverished plight of his people and has fought to break the cycle of alcoholism, poverty, and dependence on government handouts by advocating political sovereignty. Erasmus became a leader in the NWT Indian Brotherhood, and, at twenty-eight, he became president of the Dene Nation, a position he held for seven years. He voiced crucial environmental and land title concerns on behalf of the Dene people during the Berber pipeline inquiry in 1974, when a pipeline was being proposed to carry oil through the Mackenzie River Valley in the North West Territories. In 1975, Erasmus advocated for the historic Dene Declaration, which declared the sovereignty of the Dene Nation.

In 1985 Erasmus was elected as national chief of the Assembly of First Nations, Canada's largest Native organization. The Assembly of First Nations was born out of the National Indian Brotherhood and represents 630 First Nations communities in Canada. His goals were to unite the First Nations of

Canada with the Métis and Innuits and to negotiate with the provincial and federal governments on behalf of all Native peoples in the country.

As national chief, Erasmus participated in the First Ministers Conferences on constitutional matters directly affecting aboriginal peoples of Canada. He became known there as Canada's eleventh premier. At the final conference, in 1987, the federal and provincial governments unanimously failed to recognize the inherent right of self-government for aboriginal peoples. Despite this roadblock, Erasmus and the Assembly of First Nations won support from some of the provinces and accomplished a heightened awareness of issues affecting Native peoples. Under Erasmus the public profile of the AFN rose to new heights.

Erasmus was reelected as national chief in 1988 and served until 1991. During this time he brought many aboriginal issues to the attention of the Canadian public. In one speech he expressed the frustration and anger of Native peoples toward government inaction. He warned that, if politicians did not seek peaceful solutions with his generation of leaders, the next generation may resort to violent political action. In 1990, his warning was realized in the Oka Crisis, a violent political standoff between Native peoples and the government over a proposed golf course expansion on Mohawk burial grounds.

In 1991, Erasmus was appointed as cochair to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples along with Judge René Dussault to hear from aboriginal peoples in Canada and recommend solutions to ongoing problems. After five years of hearings and studies, the Commission recommendations included that a distinct body of aboriginal government should exist within the Canadian government, that aboriginal nation governments should be given province-like power, and that the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs should be abolished and replaced with a Department of Aboriginal Relations and a Department of Indian and Inuit Services. Critics in the Canadian government rejected the recommendations as too costly and unrealistic.

Despite government inaction on issues he advocates, Erasmus is a highly respected leader. He was made an officer of the Order of Canada in 1999, after being appointed as a member in 1987. He has also been the Canadian delegate to the World Council of Indigenous Peoples.

In 1998, Erasmus became the head of a new organization, the Aboriginal Healing Foundation. The multimillion-dollar fund for the foundation was





the result of a contribution from the Canadian government as a statement acknowledging its role in inflicting damage on Native peoples through the residential school system. The purpose of the foundation is to address the legacy of physical and sexual abuse suffered by the students of the residential schools.

Aliki Marinakis

See also Assembly of First Nations; Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples.

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## Erdrich, Louise

Louise Erdrich is an international writer of fiction, poetry, and nonfiction, and she presently resides in Minneapolis, Minnesota. As the oldest child, she was born in Little Falls, Minnesota on June 7, 1954, and named Karen Louise by her father, with an Anglicized form of her German grandfather's name [Ludwig Erdrich (1895–1962)]. Since she was a girl, her name was Americanized to Louis and feminized to Louise. Her parents are Rita Gourneau and Ralph Louis Erdrich, who still reside in Wahpeton, North Dakota. She is an enrolled member of the Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewas residing at the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota, just south of the international border between Canada and the United States. Members of this community include Anishinabe (Ojibway or Chippeway), and Cree/Métis people. Erdrich's father is a first-generation German American, and her mother is of

Anishinabe/Cree/Métis descent. This family history informs Erdrich's writings, and her stories come from these places and the families who reside there.

To date, Erdrich's life can only be described as meteoric and tragic, greatly influenced as she was by her marriage in 1981 to another German American (who was also of Irish descent), Michael Dorris (1945–1997). Dorris was raised by his mother and her two sisters, named Burkhardt, in Kentucky after his father apparently died in Germany as an American serviceman in 1945. Dorris was Erdrich's teacher and collaborator in the 1980s and 1990s, and eventually he became her literary agent. A writer as well as professor and chair of the Native studies program at Dartmouth College, Dorris was separated from Erdrich in the mid-1990s and subsequently committed suicide in April 1997. He left his three older adopted children and his three young daughters from his marriage with Louise.

Erdrich's literary works include both fiction and nonfiction, poetry, and children's books, as well as eleven collections of stories in the form of novels: *Love Medicine* (1984, republished with additional material in 1993), *The Beet Queen* (1986), *Tracks* (1988, with Michael Dorris), *The Crown of Columbus* (1991), *The Bingo Palace* (1994), *Tales of Burning Love* (1996), *The Antelope Wife* (1998), *The Last Report on the Miracles at Little No Horse* (2001), *The Master Butchers Singing Club* (2003), *Four Souls: A Novel* (2004), and *The Painted Drum, A Novel* (2005). Her poetry has been published in the following volumes: *Jacklight: Poems* (1984), *Baptism of Desire: Poems* (1989), and most recently *Original Fire: Selected and New Poems*. The last provides the images and part of the German family history, which finds its way into her *The Master Butchers Singing Club*. Her nonfiction writings include *Route 2* (1991, with Michael Dorris), *The Blue Jay's Dance: A Birth Year* (1995), and most recently *Books and Islands in Ojibwe Country* (2003). She has also published children's books: *Grandmother's Pigeon* (1996), *The Birchbark House* (1999), and *The Game of Silence* (2005). She illustrated the latter two works. Many other stories have been published in literary and other magazines and then often republished in the collections of fiction noted above. Erdrich has two clans on her mother's side of her family, both of which are significant. On her Anishinabe side, Erdrich is a Be-nays, a bird of the Great Blue Heron (Crane) Clan. In the Anishinabe clan system, the birds are spiritual leaders. On her mother's side of the family, she is also Cree/Métis of the Bear Clan. Erdrich has described her family





history in her autobiography of a birth year, *The Blue Jay's Dance*. Her great-grandmother on her mother's side was a "pure Canadian" named Virginia Grandbois (literally "Virginia of the large forest"). She reported on her family history that in 1782 "All land west of the Appalachians was still Indian territory and the people from whom I am descended on my mother's side, the Ojibwa or Anishinabe, lived lightly upon it, leaving few traces of their complicated passage other than their own teeth and bones. They levered no stones from the earth. Their houses, made of sapling frames and birchbark rolls, were not meant to last." There was no international border between Canada and the United States. In 1882 things had been altered: "The last of the Indian treaties were signed, opening up the West. Most of the Anishinabe were concentrated on small holdings of land in the territory west of the Great Lakes. The Turtle Mountain people wore trousers and calico dresses, drove wagons, spoke their own language, but also attended Holy Mass." More than one hundred years later, her maternal grandfather Patrick Gournau, a former tribal chair, passed away. Erdrich then went home to Turtle Mountain—always border country inhabited by the Anishinabe, Cree, and Métis—for the funeral at St. Ann's Church. She described the graveyard: "The graves of Ojibwa, Cree, and Mitchif Catholics, guarded by statutes of cast concrete and plastic, march up a windy hill. Our Catholic great-great-grandparents are buried behind the church, and the pagans, the traditionals, lie yet in another graveyard, where the uneven markers are crowded by sage and wild prairie rose." In the section entitled "Three Photographs," Erdrich provides a brief glimpse into the richness of the mother's family history. "Mary Lefavor," my grandmother—Ojibwa, French, and Scots [and certainty Métis/Cree], perhaps a descendent of the Selkirkers of Rudolph's land (Canada)—stand beside a fellow first communicant."

As a youngster growing up in Wahpeton, North Dakota, Erdrich was influenced by her father, who paid her a nickel for each story she wrote. Ralph Erdrich taught at the Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school in the town, and thus none of the family's children were allowed to attend that school. Louise and her brothers and sisters went to the local schools in Wahpeton in what has been described as a fairly diverse community of German-Americans, Norwegian-Americans, and Native Americans residing along the banks of the Red River. After completing

high school, Erdrich worked at many small short-term jobs in the American West, and these experiences have found their way into her works of fiction. At the age of twenty-eight, she applied to Dartmouth College and became one of the first women admitted to the first coeducational class in the history of that college. (The same year [1972] Dorris came to Dartmouth and began the Native studies program.) After graduation, Erdrich returned home and spent some time teaching poetry in the local community. Returning to the East, she entered the graduate writing program at Johns Hopkins University in 1976, and, upon graduation, remained in the eastern United States writing poetry and working at various writing jobs. She returned to Dartmouth in 1979 to give a poetry reading and to renew her acquaintance with Dorris. For the next few years, Erdrich was a resident at New Hampshire's Macdowell Colony and then a visiting fellow and writer in residence at Dartmouth College. After her marriage, Erdrich moved from the writing of poetry to fiction, taking the images and the characters from her poetry and writing stories that were initially published in various literary magazines.

Her breakthrough came in 1981 when she won the Nelson Algren fiction contest with her story "The World's Greatest Fisherman," which is a central story in her first novel, *Love Medicine*. This work began her North Dakota series of fictional works, which have often been described as novels. In fact, her fictional works are in the form of interconnecting stories about aboriginal and nonaboriginal people that intersect for the most part with aboriginal places. Erdrich's writings can be roughly and rather arbitrarily divided into two phases, which include those published prior to 1996 and those published thereafter. The former were published in various forms of collaboration with Dorris before they were separated. The latter include those published since that time. All of her fictional collections have a dominant theme of Earth, Water, Air, or Fire.

Ute Lischke and David T. McNab

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## Erickson, Leif

Two ancient Norse sagas, *Erik's Saga* and *The Greenlanders' Saga*, describe the lives of Leif Erickson and his father, Erik the Red. Erik the Red was a notorious outlaw, who, when banished from Norway for murder, moved to Iceland where he started a family. His oldest son, Leif, was born in Iceland at the end of the eighth century. When Leif was a child, Erik was once again tried for murder and banished. Leaving his family in Iceland, Erik set out to explore the western sea. One thousand miles to the west of Iceland, he encountered a large landmass with good pasturage along its southern coast and inner fjords. He spent three years in this new land before returning to Iceland. Upon his return, he organized a group of colonists, including his family, to establish a colony in the new land, which he called Greenland.

Despite its name, Greenland has a harsh and unforgiving climate. When the settlers arrived, they found only a few wind-stunted trees and more than 80 percent of the land covered with ice year-round.

As leader of the Greenland settlement, Erik chose the best farm site for himself. He established a farm, Brattahlid, on the southern tip of the island. Erik's four children grew up at Brattahlid, where they learned the skills necessary to survive in the far north. Eventually, Leif married and had a son. After his father's death, Leif took over management of Brattahlid.

To survive in Greenland, the medieval Norse exploited all possible means of subsistence. They trapped, gathered wild plants, fished, and hunted. When wild resources were scarce, their farms helped sustain them. Considering the difficulty of life in Greenland, it is easy to understand why the Norse Greenlanders continued to search for other lands to colonize.

Around the year 1000, Leif outfitted a ship with more than thirty oarsmen and set out to explore lands to the west of Greenland. The sagas contain such a detailed description of this voyage that they have allowed modern scholars to retrace Erickson's path. His ship most likely traveled north up the western coast of Greenland, then crossed the Davis Strait to Baffin Island. Leif and his men rowed a small boat ashore on the Baffin coast, but, finding the land unsuitable, they returned to the ship and headed south to Labrador, and ultimately to a land Erickson named Vinland, which scholars believe was located on the Canadian island of Newfoundland.

*Erik's Saga* tells us that Erickson and his men found Vinland so appealing and hospitable that they built a large sod house there where they spent the winter. The sagas recount that Erickson named the land Vinland, meaning "land of wine," because he found grapes growing there. This element of the sagas has been hotly debated, however. Although the ruins of a Norse settlement that conforms closely to saga accounts have been discovered on Newfoundland, the ruins lie nearly 1,000 miles north of today's vines. Several theories have been offered to explain this inconsistency. The historian Helge Ingstad has suggested that the name *Vinland* is derived not from the Old Norse term for "wine," but from a similar Norse word meaning "meadow." According to this theory, the story about the grapes was a late addition to the sagas, inserted to explain the origin of Vinland.

Though they likely intended to do so, the Norse Greenlanders were not able to establish a permanent Vinland settlement. This was due at least in part to conflict between the Norse and the Native Newfoundlanders. Artifacts excavated at the L'Anse aux





Meadows Norse settlement site in Newfoundland indicate that Beothuk Indians and Dorset Eskimos occupied the area at the time of the Norse settlement. The sagas tell of conflicts between the Norse and the Natives. The Norse, who feared the Natives, were known to attack with little provocation. This resulted in vengeance attacks by the Natives, who vastly outnumbered the settlers.

Although archaeologists cannot prove that the ruins at L'Anse aux Meadows are the remains of Leif Erickson's Vinland settlement, it is clear that the Norse visited North America 500 years before Columbus. Yet Columbus and the Norse saw their discoveries in a completely different light. Unlike Columbus, the Norse did not know that they had discovered a new continent, and they received neither fame nor lasting wealth from their discovery.

Amy L. Propps

See also L'Anse aux Meadows Viking Settlement;  
Norse Exploration of North America.

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## Eskiminzin

A leader of the Arivaipa Apache band in the late nineteenth century, Eskiminzin guided his people through the turbulent first years of American colonialism in southern Arizona. Known by various names, including Es-kin-in-zin and Skimmy, "Eskiminzin" is an approximation of the Apache name, Haské Bahnzin (Anger Stands Beside Him). Haské Bahnzin lived a remarkable and difficult life, not only as a leader of a Native community threatened from every corner, but also as a farmer, warrior, husband, diplomat, rebel, father, and prisoner.

Although Haské Bahnzin was born into the Pinal band of western Apaches, he married into the closely related Arivaipa band, or *tcéjiné* (Dark Rocks People), who farmed and gathered along Arivaipa Creek and the San Pedro River in southern Arizona. Even decades after his death, Haské Bahnzin was remembered as a generous man, who welcomed rel-

atives to gather in the San Pedro Valley. Despite the abundance of the land, Apache lifeways were not entirely tranquil. Haské Bahnzin certainly participated in the violence of war and raiding that pitted Apaches against the Mexican and American empires throughout the 1800s.

In February of 1871, after an especially harsh winter, Haské Bahnzin arrived at Camp Grant, a U.S. Army installation on the San Pedro River, asking for peace. Several months later, more than 400 Apaches had surrendered to the Army and were living peacefully at *gashdla'á cho o'aa* (Big Sycamore Stands There), five miles from Camp Grant. Nearby Chiricahua Apaches continued raiding and Tucson leaders mistakenly believed those camped at *gashdla'á cho o'aa* were responsible. In a surprise attack on *gashdla'á cho o'aa*, the Tucsonans and their Tohono O'odham allies killed more than 100 Apaches and took close to thirty children as slaves. Haské Bahnzin lost most of the Arivaipa band, as well as his own wife and children, in the Camp Grant massacre.

In the wake of the massacre, Haské Bahnzin returned to a life in the mountains. During the months that followed, people accused him of committing murders and attacks; however, none of these accusations have been convincingly proven. In 1872, he and his fellow tribesmen returned to Camp Grant, this time to have peace talks with government authorities, Tucson businessmen, and Tohono O'odham leaders. From these discussions, Eskiminzin agreed to move north and settle along the San Carlos River.

Life at San Carlos was not altogether uneventful for Haské Bahnzin. In 1874, he was arrested as a prisoner of war. Later released, he began a farm and continued to mediate among Apaches and government officials. John P. Clum, an Indian agent at San Carlos, befriended Haské Bahnzin and took him across the continent to Washington, D.C., in 1876. He made the trip east again in 1888 to meet President Grover Cleveland.

In 1877, Haské Bahnzin moved to *nadnliid cho* (Big Sunflower Hill), now the town of Dudleyville, in the San Pedro Valley. There he settled down to a successful life as a farmer and rancher. Shortly after he built a home, three or four additional Apache families joined him, also erecting houses and fences and cultivating the land. However, later that year, an Indian agent warned Haské Bahnzin that 150 armed citizens were coming to kill him. With the memory of the massacre at Camp Grant, he fled. He later said Tucsonans stole 513 sacks of grain, 523 pumpkins,





and thirty-two cattle. After his escape, Haské Bahnzin was asked if he might return to San Pedro but replied, “I would not be safe there and would feel like a man sitting on a chair with some one scratching the sand out from under the legs” (Clum 1929, 22).

Haské Bahnzin went back to San Carlos and tried to begin a new life. Several years later, he was arrested due to vague accusations of aiding Apache fugitives. Sent to Mount Vernon Barracks, Alabama, in shackles, he was eventually released with the help of his old friend, John Clum. But only a year after gaining his freedom, on December 16, 1895, Haské Bahnzin died of chronic stomach pain in obscurity and poverty. The site of his grave remains unknown today.

*Chip Colwell-Chanthaphonh*

*See also* Apache Wars; Camp Grant Massacre.

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## Franklin, Benjamin, Native American Influences

Beginning nearly two generations before the Revolutionary War, the circumstances of American diplomacy were such that opinion leaders of the English colonies and of the Iroquois Confederacy were able to meet to discuss the politics of alliance and the nature of confederation. Beginning in the early 1740s, Iroquois leaders strongly urged the colonists to form a federation similar to their own. The Iroquois’ immediate practical objective was the unified management of the Indian trade and prevention of fraud. The Iroquois also stressed that the colonies should have to unify as a condition of alliance in the continuing “cold war” with France.

At a 1744 treaty council in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Cannasatego (tadadaho, or speaker, of the Iroquois Confederacy) told colonial delegates: “Our wise forefathers established Union and Amity between the Five Nations. This has made us formidable; this has given us great Weight and Authority with our neighboring Nations. We are a powerful Confederacy; and by your observing the same methods our wise forefathers have taken, you will acquire



*Benjamin Franklin achieved worldwide renown as a writer, scientist, statesman, and diplomat. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

such Strength and power. Therefore whatever befalls you, never fall out with one another” (Van Doren and Boyd, 1938, 75).

Franklin probably first learned of Canassatego’s advice as he set his words in type. Franklin’s press issued Indian treaties in small booklets that enjoyed a lively sale throughout the colonies. Beginning in 1736, Franklin published treaty accounts on a regular basis until the early 1760s, when his defense of Indians under assault by frontier settlers cost him his seat in the Pennsylvania Assembly. Franklin subsequently served the colonial government in England.

While Franklin first read the Iroquois’ urgings to unite as a printer of Indian treaties, by the early 1750s he had become directly involved in diplomacy. Early in a distinguished diplomatic career that would later make him the United States’ premier envoy in Europe, Franklin attended a 1753 treaty





council at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. At this meeting with the Iroquois and Ohio Indians (Twightees, Delawares, Shawnees, and Wyandots), Franklin absorbed the rich imagery and ideas of the Six Nations at close range. On October 1, 1753, he watched the Oneida chief, Scarrooyady, and a Mohawk, Cayanguileguoa, condole the Ohio Indians for their losses against the French. Franklin listened while Scarrooyady recounted the origins of the Great Law to the Ohio Indians.

Even before the 1754 Albany Conference, Benjamin Franklin had been musing over the words of Canassatego. Using Iroquois examples of unity, Franklin sought to shame the reluctant colonists into some form of union in 1751, when he engaged in a hyperbolic racial slur (subsequent evidence shows that Franklin had a healthy respect for the Iroquois): "It would be a strange thing," he wrote in 1751, "if Six Nations of Ignorant savages should be capable of forming such an union and be able to execute it in such a manner that it has subsisted for ages and appears indissoluble, and yet that a like union should be impractical for ten or a dozen English colonies . . ." (Smyth, 1905, 3: 42).

At about the same time, Franklin became an early, forceful advocate of colonial union. All of these circumstantial strings were tied together in the summer of 1754, when colonial representatives, Franklin among them, met with Iroquois sachems at the Albany Congress to address issues of mutual concern and to develop the Albany Plan of Union, a design that echoes both English and Iroquois precedents and that would become a rough draft for the Articles of Confederation a generation later.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Albany Congress, Native Precedents; Canassatego; Carlisle Treaty Council; Hendrick.

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## Geronimo

The legendary war leader and medicine man Geronimo was born a Bedonkohe Apache in the 1820s at a site near the upper Gila River on the Arizona–New Mexico border (Debo, 1976, 7–9). Named Goy-athlay or Goyahkla, he was the chief's grandson and, although not specifically groomed to become a chief, his future activities would haunt American history. "Geronimo" is Spanish for St. Jerome, the Catholic saint of lost causes, whom Mexican troops were said to have invoked when faced with raiding parties led by him.

Young Geronimo followed established customs: He learned how to run far and fast, how to carve bows and arrows, how to hunt small game, and, importantly, how to survive. He served an apprenticeship on four hostile expeditions, becoming a horseholder for his mentor, taking care of the warriors' horses, fetching water and wood, cooking, and acting as a sentinel. Once he was accepted into the warriors' circle, Geronimo married Alope, his long-time love. Three children were born into their marriage.

Because the Bedonkohe were a small group, they frequently allied with the Mimbres Apaches under the leadership of the great Mangas Coloradas who, in 1850, led a trading venture to Janos, Mexico; Geronimo participated. While the men were away, Mexicans stole up to the encampment and killed everyone, including Geronimo's mother, Alope, and the three children (Debo, 1976, 35). His burning hatred of Mexicans never abated and motivated revenge killings for the rest of his life.

Geronimo may have participated in the Battle of Apache Pass in 1862, and certainly took part in other conflicts during those years. Other Apache leaders, such as Mangas Coloradas, Cochise, Juh, and Victorio, overshadowed Geronimo but he became more and more skilled at warfare and lived among Cochise's followers. In May 1871 he had a hand in a





fierce Arizona battle where Lieutenant Howard B. Cushing was killed (Thrapp, 1991, 548).

In 1877, Geronimo, by now notorious, joined Victorio's band on the Ojo Caliente Reservation in New Mexico. He was arrested there and put in irons by the agent, John Clum. With his followers he was moved to the San Carlos Apache Reservation, beginning a series of breakouts and surrenders that continued until the final capitulation in 1886. One year later, 1878, Geronimo was once again in Mexico and a party to raids conducted by Juh, chief of the Nednhi Apaches. The group, including Geronimo, settled for a time on the San Carlos Reservation. Breaking out in late 1881, Juh and Geronimo took their followers south into the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico, where they remained for one year. A sensational raid back to San Carlos, planned by Juh and Geronimo, occurred in 1882 when they extracted the Native leader Loco (at rifle point, it was said) along with several hundred of his people, and then fought with them during several skirmishes with Mexican troops. Geronimo voluntarily surrendered in early 1884 but left San Carlos about seventeen months later, by which time his reputation as a fearsome war leader had solidified. Led by Cochise's son, Naiche, and Geronimo, the group remained free until late March of 1886 when increasing military pressure caused the Apaches to yield to the Americans, instead of the Mexicans, who had promised to kill them on sight. During the arranged submission to General George Crook at Cañon de los Embudos, a site just south of the international border, Geronimo spoke twice. His poignant words have been recorded and are now summarized:

There is one God looking down on us all. We are all children of the one God. God is listening to me. The sun, the darkness, the winds, are all listening to what we now say. I surrender myself to you . . . Once I moved about like the wind. Now I surrender to you and that is all . . . (Debo, 1976, 262).

However, a Tombstone, Arizona, liquor dealer named Tribolett entered the Apaches' encampment and supplied enough whiskey to intoxicate Geronimo and others (Debo, 1976, 264). Worried that the Apaches' absence from the Southwest would cause a drop in his profits—5,000 thirsty soldiers would be removed from the area if the Indians surrendered—Tribolett was only acting in his own self-interest. Also, he lied to Geronimo and said the



*Geronimo was a legendary Apache war leader and medicine man. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

soldiers would kill them at dawn unless they fled immediately.

Believing Tribolett and drinking their fill, the Naiche/Geronimo people left Embudos and remained free for the next six months, continuing to raid across the Southwest but U.S. military activity in the same region took its toll. The water holes were guarded, the wild animals killed, and the hunt for the Apaches continued relentlessly. The Indians were hungry, sick, and weary of running when, in September 1886, Geronimo sent word to Fort Bowie that he was ready to surrender. By this time General Crook had been replaced by General Nelson Miles, who agreed to meet Geronimo, Naiche, and their followers in Skeleton Canyon, Arizona. On September 4 the Apaches put down their guns for the last time. Miles quickly separated Naiche and Geronimo from their followers (Debo, 1976, 293).

The next morning, six Apaches were missing, having escaped during the night. Everyone else





remained with Naiche and Geronimo at Fort Bowie until September 8 when, along with a military guard, they rode their horses to Bowie Station and boarded a train for Florida. At Jacksonville, the men were separated from their women and children and transferred to a shuttle that took them to Pensacola. Put into boats, the seventeen warriors landed on Santa Rosa Island and were marched to Fort Pickens while their families joined other imprisoned Apaches at Fort Marion, 300 miles to the east. The promise by the American government that the Apaches would be reunited with their previously incarcerated friends and relatives was disregarded.

Fort Pickens had been abandoned for years and was in disrepair, a condition the Apaches were ordered to fix. Geronimo labored beside the warriors, weeding the parade ground, yanking grass out of the walls, cutting trees, digging latrines and cisterns, and walking on the beach under guard to collect firewood (Stockel, 1993, 105). The men cooked over fireplaces inside cavernous casemates with sandy floors, and slept on bags of old straw. Aided by their loyal friend, interpreter George Wratten, the men communicated with their families through letters including one from Geronimo to his wives and children.

How are you at Fort Marion? How do you like it there? Have you plenty to eat, and you sleep and drink well? Send me a letter and tell me all the news. I am very satisfied here but if I only had you with me again I would be more so . . . As sure as the trees bud and bloom in the spring, so sure is my hope of seeing you again . . . Do what is right no matter how you may suffer. Write me soon a lovely letter (Skinner, 1987, 151).

In response to the many deaths at Fort Marion, on April 27, 1887, the prisoners of war were put on trains to be transferred to Mount Vernon, Alabama, about twenty-seven miles north of Mobile. Joined in May 1888 by the men from Fort Pickens, families were at long last together again. Geronimo became a justice of the peace, earning about \$10 per month to enforce discipline. With proper instruction from the military, the former terror of the Southwest became mellow and sympathetic, conducting his office in a professional manner. He even cooperated with missionaries, allowing an organ to be placed in the breezeway between the two parts of his cabin.

As a consequence of public pressure regarding the continuing large number of deaths among the Alabama prisoners of war, the government relocated the surviving Apaches to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1894 where they began the slow climb back to health. Under the guidance of Dutch Reformed missionaries, many Apaches adopted the Protestant religion, but Geronimo resisted until one day in the summer of 1902 when he sat in the front row of a camp meeting, listening intently and carefully considering the minister's message. In January 1903 he sat through another sermon, jumped up at its conclusion and said, "The Jesus road is good. Go right into it (Stockel, 2004, 192)." After studying catechism and participating in the requisite religious exercises, Geronimo became a Christian.

Early in February 1909, at about age eighty, he rode his horse into the nearby town of Lawton and convinced a white man to purchase a bottle of whiskey for him. Drunk, he fell on the way back to Fort Sill and lay under a tree. A heavy rain soaked him to his skin, resulting in pneumonia. Found by a military patrol early the next morning, Geronimo lived for three more days. He is buried in the Apache Prisoner of War Cemetery at Fort Sill.

H. Henrietta Stockel

See also *Apache Wars*; Cochise.

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## Gorman, R. C.

Rudolph Carl Gorman is one of the best-known Navajo (Diné) painters, famous for his paintings, lithographs, serigraphs, painted pottery, and sculptures of graceful female figures. He is a member of the *Clauschii'* (Red Bottom People) Clan and born into the *Dibé lizhíni'* (Black Sheep People) Clan. Born





*R. C. Gorman was a famous Navajo painter and sculptor. (Dave G. Houser/Corbis)*

on July 26, 1931, in Chinle, Arizona, he was the eldest son of Carl Nelson Gorman, a Navajo code talker, and Adella Katherine Brown. His mother and maternal grandmother, Zonnie Maria Brown, raised him at Black Mountain, Arizona, along with his five siblings. Gorman learned Navajo traditions, songs, prayers, and respect for the land from Brown. He also followed in the footsteps of his father, who was one of the first painters to break away from the 1930s studio school. Like him, R. C. Gorman developed his own unique artistic style and opened the door to a generation of painters who followed him.

Gorman began painting at age three and was later encouraged by a teacher at the Presbyterian Mission School, Jenny Lind, to pursue a career. He attended Northern Arizona University from 1950 to 1951 and from 1955 to 1956, studying literature and art, but never received an undergraduate degree. Between his periods of study, he served for four years in the U.S. Navy during the Korean War. He

later studied art in Mexico (1958), where studying the works of Diego Rivera and Rufino Tamayo changed his vision and style. In 1962 he moved to San Francisco to promote his artistic career, before moving permanently to Taos in 1968. Gorman steadily gained an international reputation over the last fifty years; his works have been widely collected and can be seen in over 100 museums in the United States, Asia, and Europe.

Gorman painted in a number of genres (watercolor, etchings, acrylics, oils, paper casts, silk-screens, stone lithographs), depicting several highly stylized subjects and producing abstracts: landscapes, nightscapes, animals, spiritual beings, and people. His distinctive themes reflect important places and beings in Dinétah, the Navajo homeland, as well as times of the day and seasons reflecting and commenting on central Navajo values. His best-known works are of the female figure, often portraits of friends and relatives who are generously





proportioned, barefoot, and draped in flowing traditional dresses, robes, and blankets common to the Navajo and Rio Grande pueblos. They are all women of strength and action. "I revere women. They are my greatest inspiration," he told an Associated Press interviewer in 1998 (Navajo Nation, 2005). This sentiment is appropriate for a member of a matrilineal society; Gorman depicts what is at the heart of Navajo society and culture: women. Gorman uses his grandmother as the focus of many of his early paintings and prints. Art lovers and many art critics say that his figures have mystique, character, strength, and lyricism and that he represents Native women in a positive manner, almost universalistic in intent. Other critics, however, dismiss Gorman's subject matter and painting style, with its warm, flowing lines and saturated colors, as unusually commercial, market driven, and stereotypical. They also dismiss Gorman himself as being interested in selling quantities of paintings rather than in pursuing innovative work. Gorman, in turn, satirically dismisses these later critics in his books and essays, poking fun at the pretentiousness of art criticism and connoisseurship.

Gorman in his later life was a prolific author and penned essays on Mexican art, petroglyphs, and cave paintings. He wrote an autobiography (Gorman, 1992) and a series of books on cooking and art, and he documented his genre in a series of books with several coauthors. He also revealed in his self-defined life style that some have called "bohemian"—complete with headbands and custom-tailored Hawaiian shirts (Obituary, 2005).

During the later half of his life, Gorman made his home in El Prado, New Mexico, near Taos and owned a gallery there, R. C. Gorman Navajo Gallery, in Taos, as well as the Nizhoni Gallery in Albuquerque, which sold his posters, lithographs, and publications. His great success as a businessperson provided him with the means to help others. In 2003 he gave his extensive library of over 1,200 books and a large collection of his art to Diné College to fulfill its guiding principle, *sa'ah naaghíí bik'eh hózhóón*, and to help preserve Diné culture, language, and history. The College of Ganado and Northern Arizona University presented him with honorary doctorates of humane letters.

Gorman passed away on November 3, 2005, at age seventy-four. In remembering him, Navajo Nation President Joe Shirley, Jr. called him the "Picasso of the Southwest" and "a child of the Navajo . . . He afforded us the opportunity to talk

about ourselves to the world. When they talked about him, they talked about us" (Navajo Nation, 2005, 1).

Nancy J. Parezo

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## Great Lakes Intertribal Council

The origins of the Great Lakes Intertribal Council (GLITC) are rooted in the collective American Indian response of the early 1960s toward the federal policies of the 1950s. In 1945 the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI) was founded to help American Indian groups make effective use of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. By 1960, however, the NCAI had concentrated its efforts against Congress's 1950s termination policy and the related Voluntary Relocation Program of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). In response to that policy and in collaboration with the late Sol Tax (1907–1995), then an anthropology professor at the University of Chicago, the NCAI organized a forum open to any and all American Indians in an effort to redress the intent and collective effect of these policies.

In June 1961 the American Indian Chicago Conference (AICC) was hosted on the campus of the University of Chicago, culminating with the consensual document, "The Declaration of Indian Purpose." While reflecting the moderate perspective that American Indians should work within the existing federal system, it emphatically opposed the federal policies of the 1950s, upheld sovereignty,





asserted treaty rights as interpreted by Supreme Court Justice John Marshall, and spoke up on behalf of unrecognized and underserved American Indian groups. The AICC Declaration was later presented to President John F. Kennedy in a ceremony on the lawn of the White House.

Organizations such as the NCAI and the model for intertribal cooperation afforded by the AICC motivated Indian groups throughout the United States to form cooperative, regional organizations and associations to provide administrative support and to promote social, economic, and political ties. It was in the wake of the AICC that the GLITC emerged as a community action agency under the auspices of the recently established federal Office for Economic Opportunity (OEO). Still in its formative stage, the GLITC responded to the request of the OEO to serve as a vehicle for the delivery of services and programs to its member reservations and the rural Indian communities of Wisconsin.

As part of President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty, the OEO, although a new and innovative agency committed to grassroots development, found it difficult to overcome former bureaucratic tendencies. Generally speaking, however, the OEO provided the GLITC and its membership with a useful if sometimes frustrating lesson in dealing with federal agencies besides the BIA, as well as beneficial instruction in accessing sources of nongovernmental funding.

Operating under a mission statement to support its membership "in expanding sovereignty and self-determination," the GLITC now functions as a consortium of federally recognized American Indian groups that advocates for and provides services and assistance to its membership in Wisconsin, Michigan, and Minnesota. The consortium includes the Bad River Band of Lake Superior Chippewa (Wisconsin), Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior Chippewa (Wisconsin), Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians (Wisconsin), Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa (Wisconsin), Sokaogon Chippewa Community (Mole Lake, Wisconsin), St. Croix Band of Lake Superior Chippewa (Wisconsin), Forest County Potawatomi Community (Wisconsin), Oneida Nation (Wisconsin), Ho-Chunk Nation (Wisconsin), Stockbridge-Munsee Band of Mohican Indians (Wisconsin), Menominee Indian Tribe (Wisconsin), and the Lac Vieux Desert Tribe (Michigan).

The GLITC is administered by a board of directors composed of a respective chair for each member,

along with representatives designated by each chair. The board conducts its business at regularly scheduled meetings once every other month at sites selected at previous meetings, usually held on a rotating basis at one of the membership headquarters. The day-to-day administrative and financial operations of the GLITC are conducted at the central office located in Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin, where services are also coordinated.

As the respective local governing bodies of the GLITC membership have developed effective administrative capacities and continued the push for self-determination, they have also assumed increased responsibility for the administration and delivery of services to their own communities. The role of GLITC has therefore shifted from the direct delivery of services to its membership to supplementing and assisting local governing bodies in the administration and delivery of services, including health, aging, education, and economic development, and to political action including policy advocacy and intergovernmental relations. This is in keeping with the GLITC's mission to expand the sovereignty and self-determination of Native peoples as a collective entity comprised of independent members who are committed to gather in a self-governed forum to address, discuss, and resolve issues that require intertribal attention.

Timothy J. McCollum

See also Confederacies; National Congress of American Indians.

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## Handsome Lake

Before he became a visionary, Handsome Lake (Sganyadaí:yoh, Skaniadario, 1734–August 10, 1815) led the life of a typical, well-born Seneca man with family connections to other high-status individuals. His brother (called his half brother by many non-Native scholars) was the Seneca Gaian't'waka (Chief Cornplanter), while his nephew was Sagoyewatha (Red Jacket), the famed Seneca women's speaker to the men's Grand Council. Tradition states that Sganyadaí:yoh was born into the Wolf Clan at





Conawagas, a Seneca town on the Genesee River in New York located outside modern-day Avon. A sickly child, he was unlikely to have been nominated to any lineage title due to his poor health. However, the women of the Turtle Clan took pity on him and adopted him into their clan, promising titles. Sganyadaí:yoh means “beautiful” (i.e., handsome) “lake,” a reference to Lake Ontario. The term is not a personal name, but a position title of one of the Haudenosaunee Grand Council lineage (hereditary) chiefs of the Senecas.

### Evolution of a Leader

As a youth, he became beloved of all, especially the women, whom he tirelessly protected, and the children, for whom he always had a story and a pouch filled with nuts bathed in maple syrup. A young woman quickly singled him out as husband material and asked her mother to arrange their marriage. As a responsible married man, he became even more popular, renowned for his good heart and strength of character. When a lineage sachem of the Wolf Clan died, the Wolf Clan Mothers quickly nominated him as successor, with the joyful permission of the Turtle Clan Mothers. To the astonishment of the Wolf and Turtle men, Handsome Lake assumed the title of the fabled sachem, Sganyadaí:yoh.

Before this stunning promotion, however, Sganyadaí:yoh was a “young man” (sometimes mis-termed “warrior” in non-Native texts), also a position to which men were appointed by the women. Sganyadaí:yoh was selected to participate in the French and Indian War (1754–1763), fighting with the British–League alliance against the French. Immediately after this war, he took part in the Pontiac resistance movement that opposed the British. As more Europeans poured onto the continent, squeezing the original inhabitants, the resultant crowding made for internecine Native strife over who was to occupy the ever dwindling lands of the East. Sganyadaí:yoh fought with his Seneca brothers against the Cherokees and Choctaws of the South, as the Haudenosaunees and the Algonquins were forced by the non-Native invasion to compete for land.

When the American Revolutionary War broke out in 1776, the Continental Army, knowing that it would not be able to fight on two fronts, urgently courted all eastern Native nations, begging them to remain neutral in this “family fight” with their “bad father,” King George III. In the summer of 1777 at the

annual meeting of the men’s Grand Council in Oswego, Sganyadaí:yoh sided with his brother, Gaiant’waka, in calling for neutrality. Eventually, however, after numerous lethal and unprovoked depredations against them by the colonial militias, the Senecas decided to go to war against the colonists. Sganyadaí:yoh submitted to the consensus, once more fighting for his people.

One morning in 1799, listening to his daughter sing a medicine song as she shelled the beans, Sganyadaí:yoh felt his consciousness slipping away. Staggering to the longhouse door, he collapsed into the arms of his relatives as his spirit wandered out of his body, floating out of the cabin and on to Sky World. Thinking her father dead, his daughter called her uncle Gaiant’waka and the rest of the village. Everyone was saddened by the news. His daughter dressed him in his burial robes, and notice went abroad that he was to be raised up (i.e., his lineage title was to be conferred upon a successor). Just then, a sachem and nephew of Sganyadaí:yoh, Taa’wonyas (the Awl Breaker), examined the body and refused to believe that Sganyadaí:yoh’s spirit had departed for good.

### Handsome Lake as Visionary

Around noon the next day, Sganyadaí:yoh came out of his coma, telling his rejoicing relatives that his spirit had been visited by the Four Messengers of Sky World bringing to him the “four words” (or “matters”): *onega*, *gutgont*, *onoityeyende*, and *yondwiniyas swayas*. These four matters became the cornerstone of the Gaiwí:yo, and they consisted of prohibitions on the people. *Onega* means alcohol, the use of which was forbidden. *Gutgont* (okton) was the use of the negative spirit power, which, in the hands of the inept, did harm. (It is commonly, though inaccurately, given in English as “witchcraft.”) It, too, was outlawed. *Onoityeyende* was said by some to be the practice of poisoning enemies in secret, although others more benignly rendered it “love medicine,” while *yondwiniyas swayas* was “cutting the child off in the womb” or the use of birth control techniques, including abortion. These, too, were prohibited by the Gaiwí:yo.

In addition to this foundation, many more teachings came to Sganyadaí:yoh, including the condemnation of Christian missionaries. Notwithstanding this overt unfriendliness to Christian missions, Sganyadaí:yoh incorporated many Christian pre-





cepts, values, and attitudes into his Gaiwí:yo, including monotheism, sinfulness and public confession, and the submission of wives to husbands. How many of these ideas he consciously borrowed is unknown, although it is known that Sganyadaí:yoh had learned the mores and precepts of Christianity from his nephew, Henry Obail (Obeal), who had studied the Christian Bible under the Quakers in Philadelphia. However, unlike Jesus, Sganyadaí:yoh made no pretense of being a messiah or “son of God,” but rather claimed to be the speaker of “the Creator.”

Given the oppressive nature of his message for Haudenosaunee women—who had always controlled their own fertility, held their own councils, filled the majority of the positions as shamans, and owned all the fields and ran the clans—it is not surprising that the Clan Mothers blocked consideration of the Gaiwí:yo by the men’s council for almost fifty years. Its initial reception by the people in general was quite negative. Handsome Lake was particularly opposed by Sagoyewatha (the women’s speaker) and by his brother, Gaian’t’waka, who heckled his teachings and put as many obstacles in his way as possible. Sagoyewatha, speaking for the Clan Mothers, denounced Sganyadaí:yoh as an imposter passing off assimilation as tradition. Stung, Sganyadaí:yoh replied that the four messengers had just revealed to him that Sagoyewatha was scheming to sell off more Iroquoian land (an attack on the Clan Mothers, who owned the land).

From that point, tensions escalated between the Clan Mothers and the followers of Sganyadaí:yoh. Around this same time, the federal government of the United States granted the Quakers the de facto power to run the New York reservations in an early program of forced assimilation. Under this program, some people gradually became so culturally desensitized to Christian proselytizing that they stopped recognizing it at the base of the Gaiwí:yo, accepting the teachings as familiar. Others regarded the Gaiwí:yo as the lesser of two evils. It was clear that the missionaries and the occupying government would forcibly prevent the older religions from being practiced, whereas the Gaiwí:yo did retain numerous traditional elements that would otherwise have been lost, such as the annual round of ceremonies, many of the older oral traditions, a masculinized version of the clan kinship, the old marriage rites, the principle (although vitiated) of reciprocity, and ecological concepts with their attendant respect for nature.

The U.S. government had reorganized the councils, installing a new system so that new elections took place. Sganyadaí:yoh was reelected to his position on the Seneca council in 1801. His election emboldening him, Sganyadaí:yoh set out to destroy his critics, actually accusing Sagoyewatha (and by implication the Clan Mothers) of witchcraft. This foolhardy accusation quickly dashed much of his growing popularity. Along with his stance against birth control, this tactic greatly outraged the women and their numerous male supporters. Sganyadaí:yoh began losing face among the people. The strength of the reaction to his attack on Sagoyewatha caused Sganyadaí:yoh to backpeddle on the issues of birth control and witchcraft, emphasizing instead popular issues related to land rights and alcohol issues.

In 1802, Sganyadaí:yoh was among a delegation of Onondaga and Seneca representatives visiting the Capitol to meet President Thomas Jefferson. He lobbied hard for an end to the sale of liquor to the Haudenosaunees, as well as for an end to fraudulent land-grabbing. He was far more successful with the administration on temperance than on land retention. Jefferson prompted his Secretary of War (the department charged with Indian affairs) to write Sganyadaí:yoh a rather patronizing letter of support on behalf of the president on the issue of his temperance work. Sganyadaí:yoh was clearly acceptable to the Euro-American overlords, if not to the Clan Mothers and their supporters.

One of the women’s supporters was Gaian’t’waka, at whose town (Cornplanter’s Town) Sganyadaí:yoh had been living. The people at Cornplanter’s Town did not care how many letters of support he had from presidents and Quakers. By 1810, his detractors had become so numerous, and the situation so tense, that Sganyadaí:yoh was forced to move to Cold Spring, where he continued alienating people. Early in 1812, he moved to Tonawanda, taking along his chief supporters and his family, among whom was his grandson Sos’heowa, grandfather of Ely S. Parker, the first Indian Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Sos’heowa was to become Sganyadaí:yoh’s successor on the Grand Council upon his death in 1815.

### Handsome Lake’s Final Years

During his four years at Tonawanda, he reflected on the great hostility that many had shown his teachings; being kicked out of two towns in rapid





succession preyed on his mind. Many say that he turned away from his own teachings during this time. It is certain that he had grown reluctant to tell about his visions or teach any more, distancing himself and, at times seeming to disclaim, his own revelations.

In his fourth year at Tonawanda, Sganyadaí:yoh was invited by the Onondagas to describe his “third call,” a death song. He was hesitant to comply with this invitation, because his third call was his quivering song. His spirit guides returned to him, however, and advised him to go. Based on this vision, he predicted his death just as he set off for Onondaga. As word spread of his death vision, many joined his trek. Sganyadaí:yoh became increasingly depressed as he approached Onondaga; he seemed almost smitten by fear. Before the assembly he was to address, he broke down, unable to sing and denying that a spiritual meeting was in progress at all. “We are just sitting around the fire,” he said (meaning that it was just a family gathering) and refused to teach. To cheer him up, the people played lacrosse, but Sganyadaí:yoh declined to watch and, again insisting that he was about to die, left the field.

His supporters took him to an Onondaga longhouse, forbidding all others to enter and swearing themselves to secrecy concerning events that took place within the longhouse. However, an Onondaga was hiding within and reported that, once inside, Sganyadaí:yoh fell into terrible distress, accusing himself of having been laggard in spreading his message and wishing that he had dared to tell *all* of the visions he had been given. (What those untold visions were, he did not reveal.) His spirit then fell quiet, leaving him once more; four days later, his body-soul followed. At eighty-two, Sganyadaí:yoh was dead.

### The Longhouse Religion after Handsome Lake's Death

A half century after his death, Sganyadaí:yoh's legend outstripped his critics' complaints. Elders called a council to gather up his words, which Keepers (oral traditionalists) then committed to memory and knotted into wampum. (Sganyadaí:yoh had, himself, knotted wampum of his Gaiwí:yo.) He began to be called Sedwa'gowa'ne, meaning “our great teacher.” In 1848, a recital of the the Gaiwí:yo by Sos'heowa was taken down on paper for the first time at a mourning council in Tonawanda and translated for

Lewis Henry Morgan by Donehogä'wa (Ely S. Parker). In 1851, it was published in *The League of the Haudenosaunee*. In 1861, the Grand Council heard (accepted) the Gaiwí:yo as legitimate. At the turn of the century, Gawaso Wanneh (Arthur Parker), himself a descendent of Sganyadaí:yoh, published another transcription. In 1994, Chief Jacob Thomas provided yet another version of the Code.

Between Sganyadaí:yoh's death in 1815 and 1900, the Longhouse Religion flowered, garnering many supporters. By the turn of the twentieth century—a nadir for all Native groups—Gawaso Wanneh observed that the teachings of Sganyadaí:yoh were on the wane and that “true believers” numbered only a few hundred (Parker, 1919, 251). By the midtwentieth century, however, the Gaiwí:yo was being recited with great frequency on the New York reservations, and, with the general Native renaissance of the 1970s, many young New York Haudenosaunees began looking into it as a way back to their roots.

Barbara Alice Mann and Bruce E. Johansen

See also Cornplanter; Longhouse Religion; Red Jacket.

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## Harjo, Chitto

A full-blooded Muscogee (Creek) leader who valued communal land holdings and traditional ways above influences of the U.S. government, Chitto Harjo (1846–1909/1911) opposed the dissolution of Creek government allotment dictated by the Dawes Commission and the Curtis Act of 1898. He set himself and his allies against progressive mixed-blood Creeks and land speculators.

Chitto Harjo was born as Bill Harjo in 1846 near present-day Boley, Oklahoma, in what was then exclusively the Muscogee (Creek) nation after the removal of his parents with the Muscogee people from their Georgia and Alabama homelands beginning in 1832. Harjo's name derives from the Muscogee words for "snake" (pronounced "chit-toe") and a word often used as a title for Creek war leaders that translates loosely to "recklessly brave" or "brave beyond discretion" (pronounced "hah-joe"). His followers came to be called the Crazy Snakes, members of the Crazy Snake Movement (McIntosh, 1993).

Beyond his service on the federal side during the Civil War, little is known of Harjo's life until 1899 when he was selected as the speaker of the traditional ceremonial town known as Hickory Ground, a Creek ceremonial center still active in the early twenty-first century. Muscogee tradition dictates that a town's chief (or *meeko*) not speak for himself, but designate someone of status who has the oratorical skills to explain what the chief is thinking or feeling. This status as speaker both confirmed and heightened his status as a leader of, and speaker for, traditional people.

After the 1898 passage of the Curtis Act, which vastly magnified the powers of the federal government over American Indian affairs, Harjo vocalized the sentiment of many traditional Muscogee people that the U.S. government should uphold the 1832 treaty with the Creeks, which provided the terms for removal and also guaranteed the Creeks eternal sovereignty over their nation. The Curtis Act, however, enacted the process by which the tribe's government and courts would be abolished, as well as distributing the collective Creek land holdings to individual tribal members and then opening up the surplus land for sale.

After Hickory Ground's *meeko* became ill during a trip to Washington, D.C., Harjo assumed a leadership role and urged resistance to allotment and Muscogee national dissolution. As the Muscogee

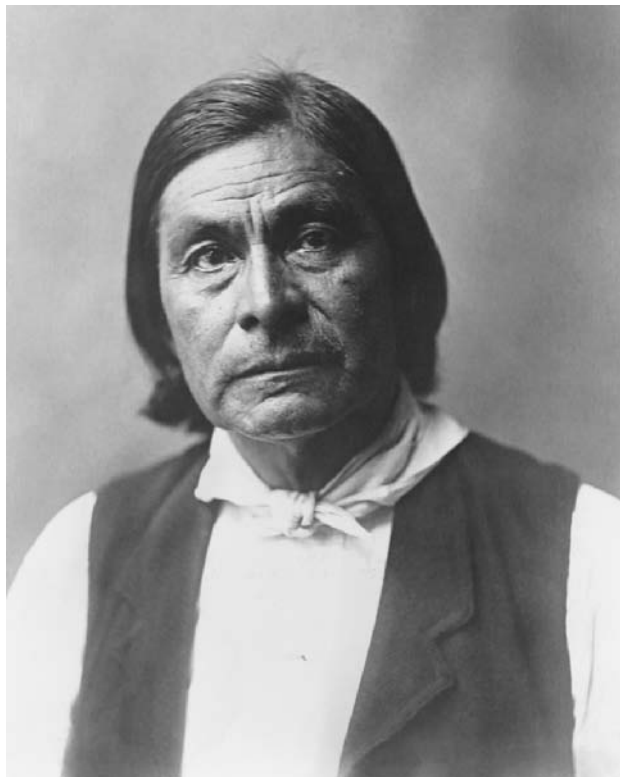
(Creek) Web site noted in 2005, Harjo's efforts "epitomized the view of all Muscogee people that they possessed an inherent right to govern themselves," and for Harjo "it was unimaginable that the Nation could be dissolved by a foreign government" (Muscogee (Creek) Nation, 2005, 38). In 1900, Harjo began traveling to ceremonial grounds throughout the Creek nation, openly advocating the formation of a new government and establishing new laws, some of which included the prohibition of commerce of any kind with European-Americans. Violators were subject to physical punishment by Snake enforcers.

Alarmed by the rebellious faction, the principal chief of the Creek nation, Pleasant Porter, alerted the federal government to the Crazy Snake movement and its anarchic implications. Subsequently, Harjo and about 100 of his followers were arrested by federal troops in January 1901 and imprisoned in Muskogee, but they were freed by a judge who cautioned the Snakes to cease their activities. Harjo continued his outward opposition to allotment, however, and was arrested again in 1902 with nine other Snake leaders. The group was promptly sent to federal prison at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas.

After finishing his two-year sentence, Harjo returned to Indian Territory where he reiterated, "We do not want our lands divided and each one given one hundred and sixty acres. This is the only land left to the Indians, and once he gives up this small strip of fertile land he will be no more" (1904). In 1905, Harjo traveled to Washington to meet with President Theodore Roosevelt but had no success in convincing Roosevelt to stop allotment. By 1906, a select U.S. Senate committee arrived in Tulsa, Oklahoma, to hear how the Creeks and Cherokees felt about allotment. Harjo made an eloquent but unheeded plea to the Senators, urging that the federal government not carve up the earth that was paid for by the relinquishment of Creek lands in Georgia and Alabama (Mann, 2001, 228).

Oklahoma statehood in 1907 ended any hope that the Crazy Snake movement would have any lasting effect on Creek politics, because its government was officially abolished upon creation of the forty-sixth state. Continuing to oppose the entire process of allotment, by 1909 Harjo and the Crazy Snakes created such fright throughout the lower Creek nation that all sorts of crimes were being attributed to them. In March of that year, Harjo was wounded in a shootout with law officers who had





Chitto Harjo, or Crazy Snake, was a Muscogee (Creek) chief. (Library of Congress)

come to arrest him at his home. He escaped, however, and his disappearance led to disagreement about his final resting place. Of several reports, consensus seems to exist that he made it to the Choctaw nation, where he either died soon thereafter from his wounds or lived for about two more years before being buried in the mountains of southeastern Oklahoma.

Hugh W. Foley, Jr.

*See also* Curtis, Charles; General Allotment Act (Dawes Act).

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## Harjo, Joy

Joy Harjo, a Muscogee Creek, poet, writer, musician, and teacher, was born in 1951 in Tulsa, Oklahoma, to a full-blooded Creek father and a Cherokee-French mother. She graduated from the University of New Mexico in 1976, having majored in creative writing, and attended the University of Iowa Writers Workshop in 1978 as part of her master of fine arts degree in creative writing. Her poetry is noted for emotional and mythic intensity in describing and connecting oral tradition to contemporary society, with a focus on identity, justice for the oppressed, and a relationship between landscape and history. Harjo's poetry challenges the contemporary Western concepts of linear time and history with the oral traditional concept of the "spiral" memory of storytelling.

In Joy Harjo's first book of poetry, *The Last Song* (1975), she explores the unwritten aspects of American Indian history. She describes the illusion of history as a past event, depicting it rather as still alive and heavily influencing the contemporary life of American Indians. She describes the past and present connections between people, animals, landscape, and language without the constraints of a linear time line. In her next book of poetry, *What Moon Drove Me to This?* (1980), Harjo continues to explore the issue of American Indian identity, with a concentration in mixed-blood ancestry. *She Had Some Horses* (1983) marks a break from an individual perspective to a more collective consciousness about injustices for oppressed people and cultures.

*Secrets from the Center of the World* (1989) is a chapbook focused on landscape and place, with photographs taken of Southwest landscapes by Stephen Strom. Harjo received an American Book Award and the Delmore Schwartz Memorial Award for her fourth collection of poetry, *In Mad Love and War* (1990). *The Woman Who Fell from the Sky* (1994), which received the Oklahoma Book Arts Award, focuses on the oral traditional story motif in contemporary times. *Reinventing the Enemy's Language* (1997) is a collection of nonfiction essays by Native women, coedited with Gloria Bird. *A Map to the Next World: Poetry and Tales* (2000) and *How We Became Human: New and Selected Poems* (2002) are collections of





poetry that continue to incorporate the oral tradition, with more attention to the movement into new worlds as in many traditional indigenous creation stories. Other written works by Harjo include a children's book, *The Good Luck Cat* (2000) and a screenplay for *Origin of the Apache Crown Dance* (1985).

Joy Harjo is also a saxophone musician who performs her poetry with her band, Poetic Justice. The music in *Letter from the End of the Twentieth Century* and *Native Joy for Real* (2004) is a mix of various sounds: reggae, country, rhythm and blues, jazz, and traditional American Indian song. Her many honors include the American Indian Distinguished Achievement in the Arts Award, the Josephine Miles Poetry Award, the Mountains and Plains Booksellers Award, the William Carlos Williams Award, and fellowships from the Arizona Commission on the Arts, the Witter Bynner Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Arts.

As of 2006, Harjo was an associate professor at the University of New Mexico. Harjo has also been a professor at the University of Colorado at Boulder (1985) and the University of Arizona at Tucson (1988).

DeLyssa Begay

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## Harrison, William Henry

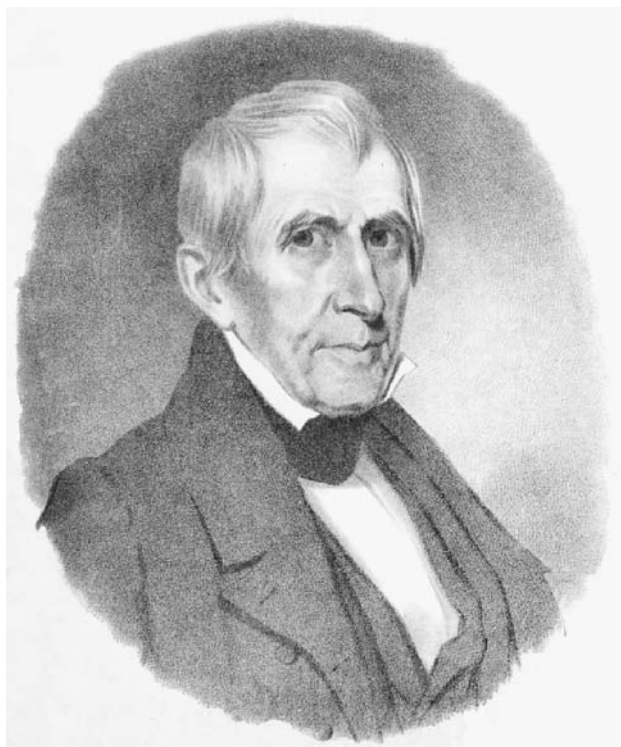
William Henry Harrison (1770–1841) initiated the pivotal expansionist pattern of treaty negotiations of nineteenth-century America. As the builder of Presi-

dent Thomas Jefferson's plan for Indian removal beyond the Mississippi River, Harrison negotiated six treaties between 1803 and 1810, clearing the way for American expansion into the Northwest Territories at a far faster rate than anyone expected. By the end of the War of 1812, much of this territory was prepared for statehood, which swiftly followed for Indiana and Illinois.

Harrison's efforts began in September 1802, when he formed a council at Vincennes with members of the Delaware, Eel River Miami, Kickapoo, Piankashaw, Pottawatomi, and Wea nations to ascertain who owned various lands not covered in the Treaty of Greenville (1795). In a letter to encourage the participation of the various tribes, Harrison likened the Greenville Treaty to a tree whose branches he hoped to see spread over the land under which the European-Americans and the Native Americans could live in "its shade till the end of time" (Esarey, 1922, 52). The attending tribes did not consider this council in any way indicative of a treaty or an agreement of any kind with the United States government, let alone binding. However, Harrison did. Once the council had been held, the minutes note that the purpose was to "adjust" the treaty of Greenville, and, in treaty-like language, the minutes went on to transfer land in and around Vincennes to the United States and to exchange land along the Saline River to the tribes for the exclusive right of salt making. The Delawares objected to the discussions and left. No formal treaty was drafted based on this council.

In a letter dated February 27, 1803, Jefferson sent secret advice to Harrison, wherein the president outlined his plan and vision for the settlement of the Northwest Territory, including how Harrison could help achieve those ends. In this correspondence, Jefferson made no attempt to veil his intentions when he wrote to effect that the U.S. government should promote the Indians, in particular their leaders, to do business with government trading factories (houses) and to run up debt and "be glad" to see them fall into debt. Jefferson believed that, once these important leaders found themselves steeped in debt, they would be willing to "lop them off" by selling their lands to the willing U.S. government. Thus, Americans would encroach farther toward a borderland with the Indians, and the Indians would therefore either have to join with the Americans, becoming "citizens," or be forced to move out of the area completely to some unnamed western location beyond the Mississippi River. Jefferson notes disturbingly,





*William Henry Harrison, the ninth U.S. president, was elected largely on his reputation as an Indian fighter. (Library of Congress)*

"The former is certainly the termination of their history . . ." He ends with a troubling refrain: "[For] their interests and their tranquility it is best they should see only the present [stat]e of their history . . ." (Esarey, 1922, 71–73). Harrison was only too eager to attend to Jefferson's ideas, making sure he obtained treaty after treaty.

The first Treaty at Fort Wayne (1803) sought to secure land ownership for the U.S. government that Harrison believed was not covered in the previous Greenville Treaty. Many leaders of the invited nations—Delawares, Miamis, Shawnees, and Weas—looked on the proceedings with suspicion. To them, the 1795 Treaty of Greenville forever secured the lands north of the Ohio. It was supposed to be a done deal. Suddenly, it appeared not to be. Some tribal leaders refused to attend at all, but others who did come walked out in disgust. Harrison was of the opinion that government Indian Agent William Wells, who was married to a Miami woman, was intriguing behind his back to make things difficult, encouraging the tribal leaders

to dissent. Following a series of setbacks and delays, by June 7 the treaty was secure and those present agreed to give up the lands in question, which were to be found on opposite sides of the territory. One section extended southwest of Fort Recovery in Ohio to just above the Ohio River on the eastern side, and the other section began just above Vincennes up to the Little Vermillion River in what would become Illinois. These two sections began a buffer zone that would cut the Indians off from the Ohio River. This treaty constituted little victory and little gain, but it was the beginning of an aggressive landgrab over the next seven years.

When a couple of Sac Indians arrived in St. Louis in 1805, Harrison wasted little time in sitting them down to negotiate a treaty to obtain a large portion of northwestern Illinois. The Sacs knew little of what they had signed, nor did they become a party to the agreement, but Harrison saw it as another gain. As these men returned to Saukenauk, the major Sac village along the Rock River, they related what had happened with Harrison. The manipulation of these men who did not even represent the tribe infuriated Black Hawk and caused the whole of the nation to be at odds with the United States into the 1830s. But it would not be until the end of the War of 1812 that Americans could take possession of this land.

The most offensive of the treaties was the second Treaty of Fort Wayne, in September 1809. Here, large portions of land filled out the remaining gaps of the buffer zone. By then, a human wall of white settlement would stand in the way of Native American access to the Ohio River. The remaining tribes would dwell in a smaller and smaller area.

Harrison's family background influenced his ends to promote himself in any way possible. Coming from one of the first families of Virginia, Harrison's father lost the family's money, forcing William Henry to end his medical education and seek a military career during the early 1790s. He became an aide to General Anthony Wayne.

It has been said that the treaty of Fort Wayne of 1809 is what tipped off the war in the west in 1812. Tecumseh met with Harrison in 1810 to protest angrily over what he knew Harrison and the U.S. government were doing by negotiating the treaties.

During the War of 1812, Harrison left office as governor to become first a militia general, then a general in the U.S. Army. His campaigns were mainly in the Old Northwest Territories and Ohio, as well as into Canada. His enemies were not just the





British, but also the Indians. The successes he made would one day become the rallying point for his presidential ambitions.

Sally Colford Bennett

See also Black Hawk's War; Northwest Ordinance.

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## Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System

At no time were Native people in America more influential in the politics of Europe than during the middle of the eighteenth century, and at that time no confederacy was more influential than that of the Haudenosaunee. The Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy, sometimes known as the League of the Iroquois, controlled the only relatively level land route between the English colonies and French settlements ringing the Saint Lawrence Valley; the Confederacy maintained alliances with virtually every Indian nation bordering on its clusters of settlements. In this context, as France and Britain wrestled for hegemony in North America, some of the people who would do the most to shape the new United States, Benjamin Franklin the most prominent among them, cut their diplomatic teeth maintaining alliances with the Iroquois and their Native allies.

Thus, in the service of British interest, future revolutionaries such as Franklin were absorbing the Native ideas they would later use to counterpoise British tyranny in the colonies.

Peace among the formerly antagonistic Haudenosaunee nations was procured and maintained through the Great Law of Peace (*Kaianerekowa*), which was passed from generation to generation by the use of wampum, a form of written communication that outlined a complex system of checks and balances between nations and genders. A complete oral recitation of the Great Law can take several days; encapsulated versions of it have been translated into English for more than 100 years, and they provide one reason why the Iroquois are cited so often today in debates regarding the origins of United States fundamental law. While many other Native confederacies existed along the borders of the British colonies, most of the specific provisions of their governments have been lost.

To understand the provisions of the Great Law, one must understand the symbols it uses to represent the Confederacy. One was the traditional longhouse. The Confederacy itself was likened to a longhouse, with the Mohawks guarding the "eastern door," the Senecas at the "western door," and the Onondagas tending the ceremonial council fire in the middle. The primary national symbol of the Haudenosaunees was the Great White Pine, which serves throughout the Great Law as a metaphor for the Confederacy. Its branches shelter the people of the nations, and its roots spread to the four directions, inviting other peoples, regardless of race or nationality, to take shelter under the tree. The Haudenosaunees recognized no bars to dual citizenship; in fact, many influential figures in the English colonies and early United States were adopted into Iroquois nations.

Each of the five nations maintained its own council, whose leaders were nominated for qualities of "good mind" by the clan mothers of families holding hereditary rights to office titles. The Grand Council at Onondaga, drawn from the individual national councils, also could nominate sachems outside the hereditary structure, based on merit alone. These sachems, called pine tree chiefs, were said to have sprung from the body of the people as the symbolic Great White Pine springs from the earth.

Rights, duties, and qualifications of sachems were explicitly outlined, and the women could remove (or impeach) a sachem who was found guilty of any of a number of abuses of office, from





Map showing the territory of the six nations of the Iroquois Confederacy in 1771. The Iroquois were the dominant Native American diplomatic power in northeastern North America until the mideighteenth century. (North Wind Picture Archives)

missing meetings to murder. An erring chief was summoned to face charges by the war chiefs, who acted in peacetime as the peoples' eyes and ears in the council, somewhat as the role of the communication media was envisaged by Thomas Jefferson and other founders of the United States. A sachem was given three warnings, and then removed from the council if he did not mend his ways. A sachem guilty of murder lost not only his title, but also deprived his entire family of its right to representation. The women relatives holding the rights to the office were "buried" and the title transferred to a sister family.

The Great Law stipulated that leaders' skins must be seven spans thick to withstand the criticism of their constituents. The law pointed out that sachems should take pains not to become angry when people scrutinized their conduct in governmental affairs. Such a point of view pervades the writings of Jefferson and Franklin, although it was not fully codified into U.S. law until the Supreme Court decision *New York Times v. Sullivan* (1964) made it virtually impossible for public officials to

sue successfully for libel. Sachems were neither allowed to name their own successors nor carry their titles to the grave. The Great Law provided a ceremony to remove the title from a dying chief. The Great Law also provided for the removal from office of sachems who could no longer adequately function in office, a measure remarkably similar to a constitutional amendment adopted in the United States during the late twentieth century providing for the removal of an incapacitated president. The Great Law also included provisions guaranteeing freedom of religion and the right of redress before the Grand Council, and it forbade the unauthorized entry of homes—all measures that sound familiar to U.S. citizens through the Bill of Rights.

The Iroquois Confederacy is fundamentally a kinship state. The Iroquois are bound together by a clan and chieftain system that is buttressed by a similar linguistic base. However, the League of the Iroquois is much more than just a kinship state. Through the hearth, which consisted of a mother and her children, women played a profound role in





Iroquois political life. Each hearth was part of a wider group called an *otiiianer*, and two or more *otiiianers* constituted a clan. The word *otiiianer* refers to the female heirs to the chieftainship titles of the League; the fifty authorized names for the chiefs of the Iroquois passed through the female side of the *otiiianer*. The *otiiianer* women selected one of the males within their group to fill a vacated seat in the League.

Such a matrilineal system was headed by a “clan mother.” All the sons and daughters of a clan were related through uterine families that lived far apart. In this system, a husband went to live with his wife’s family, and their children became members of the mother’s clan by right of birth. Through practicing matrilineal descent, the Iroquois formed cohesive political groups that had little to do with where people lived or from what village the hearths originated.

The oldest daughter of the head of a clan sometimes succeeded her mother at her death upon the judgment of the clan. All authority sprang from the people of the various clans that made up a nation. The women who headed these clans appointed the male delegates and deputies who spoke for the clans at tribal meetings. After consultation within the clan, issues and questions were formulated and subsequently debated in council.

Iroquois political philosophy was rooted in the concept that all life is unified spiritually with the natural environment and other forces surrounding people. The Iroquois believed that the spiritual power of one person is limited, but, when combined with other individuals in a hearth, *otiiianer*, or clan, spiritual power is enhanced. Whenever a person died either by natural causes or force, through murder or war, the “public” power was diminished. To maintain the strength of the group, the dead were replaced either by natural increase or by adopting captives of war. This practice of keeping clans at full strength through natural increase or adoption ensured the power and durability of the matrilineal system as well as the kinship state.

Child rearing was an important way to instill political philosophy in the youth of the Iroquois. The ideal Iroquois personality was a person who was loyal to the group but who was also independent and autonomous. Iroquois people were trained to enter a society that was egalitarian with power more equally distributed between male and female, and between young and old, than in Euro-American society. European society emphasized dominance and

command structures, whereas Iroquois society was interested in collaborative behavior.

Because Iroquois society prized competence in a protector and provider more than material wealth, Iroquois children were educated to think for themselves and yet also provide for others. The Iroquois did not respect people who cowed to authority and who were submissive. Iroquois culture could be loosely called a “shame culture” because the emphasis was on honor and duty, while European culture was more guilt-oriented, since the emphasis was on an authoritarian hierarchy and advancement through the acquisition of property, status, and material possessions.

With this approach to authority, Iroquois society had none of Europe’s elaborate mechanisms to control and direct the lives of the citizenry. Instead of formal instruments of authority, the Iroquois governed behavior by instilling a sense of pride and connectedness to the group through common rituals. Ostracism and shame were the punishments for transgressions until transgressors had atoned for their actions and demonstrated that they had undergone a purification process.

To sanctify and support Haudenosaunee society, the Great Law of Peace outlined the ways that the councils could function within the Iroquois nations. The origins of the League of the Iroquois arise out of the desire to resolve the problem of the blood feud. Before the founding of the League, blood revenge caused strife. Whenever clans were reduced by murder or kidnapping, relatives were bound by clan law to avenge the death or abduction of their relatives. This resulted in endless recriminations among clans. As long as justice and the control of violence resided in the clans, there was no hope of peace and goodwill.

In establishing the Confederacy, the Iroquois built in checks and balances through the processes of consensus, removal, and public opinion. The Iroquois strictly adhered to the notion of federalism. The hereditary (“hereditary” in the Iroquois sense because the clan mothers “inherited the right” to appoint and remove peace chiefs of the Confederacy) Iroquois sachems were interested only in external matters such as war, peace, and treaty-making. The Grand Council could not interfere with the internal affairs of the tribe. Each tribe had its own sachems, but their power was limited in that they could deal only with their tribe’s relations with other tribes and had no say in matters that were traditionally the concern of the clan.





The procedure for debate in the Grand Council begins with the Mohawks and Senecas (the Mohawks, Senecas, and Onondagas are called the “elder brothers”). After being debated by the Keepers of the Eastern Door (Mohawks) and the Keepers of the Western Door (Senecas), the question is then thrown across the fire to the Oneida and Cayuga statesmen (the “younger brothers”) for discussion in much the same manner. Once consensus is achieved among the Oneidas and the Cayugas, the discussion is then given back to the Senecas and Mohawks for confirmation. Next the question is laid before the Onondagas for their decision.

At this stage, the Onondagas have a power similar to judicial review: They can raise objections to the proposed measure if it is believed inconsistent with the Great Law. Essentially, the legislature can rewrite the proposed law on the spot so that it can be in accord with the constitution of the Iroquois. When the Onondagas reach consensus, the *tadodaho* gives the decision to the *honowireton* (an Onondaga chief who presides over debates between the delegations) to confirm the decision if it is unanimously agreed on by all of the Onondaga sachems. Finally, the *honowireton* or *tadodaho* gives the decision of the Onondagas to the Mohawks and the Senecas so that the policy may be announced to the Grand Council as its will.

This process reflects the emphasis of the League on checks and balances, public debate, and consensus. The overall intent of such a parliamentary procedure is to encourage unity at each step. This legislative process is similar to the mechanisms of the Albany Plan of Union, the Articles of Confederation, and the U.S. Constitution.

The rights of the Iroquois citizenry are protected by portions of the Great Law, which states that, whenever an especially important matter is presented before the League Council threatening their utter ruin, the chiefs of the League must submit the matter to the decision of their people. The people of the League also can initiate impeachment proceedings and treason charges, and they can alert the Council to public opinion on a specific matter. The Iroquois people also have the power to remove sachems of the League’s Council.

Upon the death or removal of a Confederacy chief, the title of the chief reverts to the women in his clan. The women protect this title and determine who will assume the position of chief. As in the power of removal, the women have the first priority

in the installation of a new chief. When a position is vacant, the esteemed women of a clan gather and nominate a male member to be chief. Next, the men of the clan give their approval. After this process, the nomination is then forwarded to the Council of the League where the new chief is installed.

Public opinion is of great importance in the League of the Iroquois. Iroquois can have a direct say in the formulation of government policy even if the sachems choose to ignore the will of the people. The Great Law of Peace provides that the people can propose their own laws even when leaders fail to do so. The Great Law states that if the necessity arises to change the law, the case shall be considered and, if the new beam seems beneficial, the change, if adopted, shall be called “Added to the Rafters.” This provision resembles those for popular initiative in several states of the United States, as well as the mechanism by which the federal and many state constitutions may be amended.

Through the expression of public opinion and debate, the Great Law gives the Haudenosaunee people basic rights in a distinctive and representative governmental framework. The Great Law solved disputes by giving all parties an equal hearing. The Grand Council often functioned like a think tank. Above all, political thought was the activity that went on underneath the Great Tree. For the Iroquois, the more thinkers that were beneath the tree, the better. This process is in marked contrast to European hierarchical political and educational traditions.

The League of the Iroquois a family-oriented government whose Constitution has a fixed corpus of laws that is concerned with mutual defense. Through the elimination of the clan blood feud, the state was given exclusive control over legally sanctioned violence. This process brought peace through a fundamental social contract. The Iroquois are not inclined to give much power to authorities because of the basic psychological attitudes instilled in Iroquois people. Thus, unity, peace, and brotherhood are balanced against the natural rights of all people and the necessity of sharing resources equitably. Unity for mutual defense is an abiding concept in the League. The Iroquois image of unity is a bundle of five arrows tied together to symbolize the complete union of the nations and the unbroken strength that such a unity portrays (Section 57 of the Great Law of the Iroquois). With the strength of many comes peace for future generations.





The Iroquois League accords prestige to the peace chiefs and thus seeks to reduce conflict between war and peace chiefs and the generations. The middle-aged peace chiefs are the firekeepers, encircled by warriors and providers, by women, and finally by the public at large. Although individual nations have unequal representation, this is irrelevant since each tribe votes as one. At the level of the village, the tribe, and the Grand Council, consensus devices are used to obtain unanimity and to report up and down the governmental structure. The League is not able to centralize power in matters other than mutual defense, but it is effective in diminishing friction among the Five Nations. The kinship state with its imagery of a longhouse spread afar is clearly comprehended by the Iroquois people. Iroquois power rests on the consent of the governed and is not coercive in areas of military service, taxation, and police powers. To the colonial Americans chafing under British authority, such a government and attitude toward freedom was a powerful ideal that could be used in resisting British sovereignty and tyranny.

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*See also* Albany Congress, Native Precedents; Iroquois Great Law of Peace; Wampum; Women in Native Woodlands Societies.

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## Hendrick

Tiyanoga, whom the English called Hendrick (ca. 1680–1755), was a major figure in colonial affairs between 1710, when he was one of four Mohawks invited to England by Queen Anne, and 1755, when he died in battle with the French as an ally of the British. In 1754, Hendrick advised Benjamin Franklin and other colonial representatives on the principles of Iroquois government at the Albany Congress.

Hendrick, a member of the Wolf Clan, knew both Iroquois and English cultures well. He converted to Christianity and became a Mohawk preacher sometime after 1700. In England, he was painted by John Verelst and called the Emperor of the Five Nations. Hendrick was perhaps the most important individual link in a chain of alliance that saved the New York frontier and probably New England from the French in the initial stages of the Seven Year's War, which was called the French and Indian War (1754–1763) in North America.

Well-known as a man of distinction in his manners and dress, Hendrick visited England again in 1740. At that time, King George presented him with an ornate green coat of satin, fringed in gold, which Hendrick was fond of wearing in combination with his traditional Mohawk ceremonial clothing. A life-long friend of English Superintendent of Indian Affairs Sir William Johnson, Hendrick appeared often at Johnson Hall, near Albany, and had copious opportunities to rub elbows with visiting English nobles, sometimes as he arrived in war paint, fresh from battle. Thomas Pownall, a shrewd observer of colonial Indian affairs, described Hendrick as ". . . a bold artful, intriguing Fellow and has learnt no small share of European Politics, [who] obstructs and opposes all (business) where he has not been talked to first . . ." (Jacobs, 1966, 77).





*Hendrick was a Mohawk who developed a relationship with the English colonies represented by William Johnson. Hendrick helped keep the Six Nations in the interests of England in its war against France. He is known for his criticism of the English for their failure to defend the Six Nations against the French, and was killed at the Battle of Lake George in 1755. (New York Public Library)*

Hector Saint Jean de Crevecoeur, himself an adopted Iroquois who attended sessions of the Grand Council at Onondaga, described Hendrick in late middle age, preparing for dinner at the Johnson estate, within a few years of the Albany Congress: “[He] wished to appear at his very best . . . His head was shaved, with the exception of a little tuft of hair in the back, to which he attached a piece of silver. To the cartilage of his ears . . . he attached a little brass wire twisted into very tight spirals. A girondole (nose ring) was hung from his nose. Wearing a wide silver neckpiece, a crimson vest and a blue cloak adorned with sparkling gold, Hendrick, as was his custom, shunned European breeches for a loincloth fringed with glass beads. On his feet, Hendrick wore moccasins of tanned elk, embroidered with porcupine quills, fringed with tiny silver bells” (Grinde and Johansen, 1991, 104).

By the time Hendrick was invited to address colonial delegates at the Albany Congress in 1754, he was well known on both sides of the Atlantic, among Iroquois and Europeans alike. Hendrick played a major role in convening the Albany Congress in large part because he wished to see his friend Johnson reinstated as the English superintendent of affairs with the Six Nations. Without him, Hendrick maintained that the Covenant Chain would rust. It was Johnson himself who conducted most of the day-to-day business with the Indians at Albany.

At the Albany Congress, Hendrick repeated the advice that the Onondaga chief Canassatego had given colonial delegates at Lancaster a decade earlier, this time at a conference devoted not only to diplomacy but also to drawing up a plan for the type of colonial union the Iroquois had been requesting. The same day, at the courthouse, the colonial delegates were in the early stages of debate over the plan of union.

Hendrick was openly critical of the British at the Albany Council and hinted that the Iroquois would not ally with the English colonies unless a suitable form of unity was established among them. In talking of the proposed union of the colonies and the Six Nations on July 9, 1754, Hendrick stated, “We wish this Tree of Friendship may grow up to a great height and then we shall be a powerful people.” Hendrick followed that aspiration with an analysis of Iroquois and colonial unity, when he said, “We the United Nations shall rejoice of our strength . . . and . . . we have now made so strong a Confederacy” (Grinde and Johansen, 1991, 105, 107). In reply to Hendrick’s speech on Native American and colonial unity, Acting Governor James DeLancey said: “I hope that by this present Union, we shall grow up to a great height and be as powerful and famous as you were of old” (Grinde and Johansen, 1991, 107). Benjamin Franklin was commissioned to compose the final draft of the Albany Plan the same day.

Hendrick died at the Battle of Lake George in the late summer of 1755, as Sir William Johnson defeated Baron Dieskau. The elderly Mohawk was shot from his horse and bayoneted to death while on a scouting party September 8.

*Bruce E. Johansen*

*See also* Albany Congress, Native Precedents; Canassatego; Franklin, Benjamin, Native American Influences.





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## Hiawatha

As an historical figure, Hiawatha (ca. 1100–ca. 1180) was a Mohawk who lived at a time of great turmoil among the Iroquoian peoples. A brutal civil war had split the Five Nations (Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, Mohawk, and Oneida) into polarized factions. Along with the Peacemaker (Deganawida) and Jigonsaseh (the Haudenosaunee [Iroquois] Confederacy's founding clan mother), Hiawatha helped establish the *Gayansshā'gowa* (Great Law of Peace). Hiawatha is also credited with inventing wampum (freshwater shells strung together), which became vitally important to the day-to-day operations of the Iroquois League. Evolving from the strings of the Condolence Ceremony into larger and more complex belts and based on Hiawatha's original vision of wampum as a container of messages that could be passed meaningfully from person to person, wampum knotting became a form of writing essential to the administration and record keeping of the Five, and later Six, Nations. The beautiful Condolence Ceremony, which wipes the tears from the eyes of the bereaved, makes daylight for them, and covers the graves, was his creation. Hiawatha's special message was one of compassion for human suffering and, as such, was an essential complement to the Peacemaker's message of the nonviolent resolution of disputes.

At the root of the Iroquoian civil war was the blood feud, a constant series of revenge killings that seemingly could never stop. Visionaries among the Iroquois such as Hiawatha, who lived among the Onondagas, tried to call councils to eliminate the blood feud, but they were always thwarted by the evil and twisted wizard, Tadodaho, an Onondaga who used magic and spies to rule by fear and intimidation. Failing to defeat Tadodaho, Hiawatha traveled to Mohawk, Oneida, and Cayuga villages with his message of peace and brotherhood. Everywhere he went, Hiawatha's message was accepted

with the proviso that he persuade the formidable Tadodaho and the Onondagas to embrace the covenant of peace.

Facing despair, Hiawatha met the prophet Deganawidah, who changed the nature of things among the Iroquois. Together, Hiawatha and Deganawidah developed a powerful message of peace. Deganawidah's vision gave Hiawatha's oratory substance. Through Deganawidah's vision, the Iroquois formulated their Constitution.

In his vision, Deganawidah saw a giant evergreen (White Pine), reaching to the sky and gaining strength from three self-counterbalancing principles of life. The first axiom was that a stable mind and healthy body should be in balance so that peace between individuals and groups could occur. Secondly, Deganawidah stated that good humane conduct, thought, and speech were requirements for equity and justice among peoples. Finally, he foresaw a society in which physical strength and civil authority would reinforce the power of the clan system.

Deganawidah's tree had four white roots that stretched to the four directions of the earth. From the base of the tree a snow-white carpet of thistledown covered the surrounding countryside. The white carpet protected the peoples that embraced the three double principles. On top of the giant pine perched an eagle. Deganawidah explained that the tree was humanity, living within the principles governing relations among human beings. The eagle was humanity's lookout against enemies who would disturb the peace. Deganawidah postulated that the white carpet could be spread to the four corners of the earth to provide a shelter of peace and brotherhood for all mankind. Deganawidah's vision was a message from the Creator to bring harmony into human existence and unite all peoples into a single family guided by his three dual principles.

With such a powerful vision, Deganawidah and Hiawatha were able to subdue the evil Tadodaho and transform his mind. In part by combing snakes from his hair, they removed evil feelings and thoughts from the head of Tadodaho and turned his mind toward reason and peace. The evil wizard became reborn into a humane person charged with implementing the message of Deganawidah. After Tadodaho had submitted to the redemption, Onondaga became the central fire of the Haudenosaunee and the Onondagas became the firekeepers of the new Confederacy. To this day, the Great Council Fire of the Confederacy is kept in the land of the Onondagas.





*Hiawatha was a historical figure credited with helping to found the Iroquois Confederacy with Deganawidah (the Peacemaker). Both worked to create a confederacy between the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Seneca nations. (North Wind Picture Archives)*

After Tadodaho's conversion, the clan leaders of the Five Nations gathered around the Council Fire at Onondaga to hear the laws and government of the Confederacy. The fundamental laws of the Iroquois Confederacy espoused peace and brotherhood, unity, balance of power, the natural rights of all people, the impeachment and removal of the abusers of power, and the sharing of resources. Moreover, the blood feud was outlawed and replaced by a Condolence Ceremony. Under the new law, the bereaved family of a murder victim could accept twenty strings of wampum from the slayer's family (ten for the dead person and ten for the life of the murderer himself) in place of the traditional practice of exacting clan revenge. If a woman was killed, the price was thirty wampum strings. Through this ceremony, the control over legally sanctioned violence was enlarged from the clan to the League.

Hiawatha's wampum was long kept as a sacred item. One wide belt, said to have been made by Hiawatha himself, became the symbol of League unity. It contained thirty-eight rows of black wampum with a white heart in its center, flanked on either side by a white square. Everything was connected to everything else by white lines of wampum (white signifying *uki*, peace and goodness). Called the Hiawatha Belt, it was purchased by John Boyd Thatcher of Albany and deposited in the Library of Congress around the turn of the twentieth century.

The Hiawatha wampum belt symbolizes the structure of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy, with four connected squares representing the Senecas, Cayugas, Oneidas, and Mohawks. The tree of peace symbol in the center (an elongated triangle) represents the Onondagas, who tend the Central Council Fire. The belt is presently 10.5 inches wide and 21.5





inches long, but its frayed edges suggest it may have been longer in the past. The white squares and tree of peace symbol are made of purple wampum, against a background of white wampum. The Hiawatha Belt has been dated by the scholar William N. Fenton to the mideighteenth century, but this is probably not an origin date. Belts were repaired and thus replaced bead by bead over time; so they may be several centuries older than the scientific dating of existing belts indicates. A belt may have been repaired several times over the centuries, gradually changing as bead-making technology (such as the introduction of glass beads by Europeans) evolved.

In the nineteenth century, European-American ethnographers started “collecting” various Native oral traditions that, for the most part, they did not understand. Standards of scholarship were much lower at the time, and little heed was paid to the large cultural distinctions among Native American groups. Some very questionable material thus made its way into the Western chronicles, not the least of it from the fallible pen of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft. He freely made up, interpolated, and gutted traditions, mixing and matching them as he saw fit. Native sensibilities mattered little to him. One of his most fanciful and least grounded works, his *Algic Researches* (1839, 1856), contained a fractured “Myth of Hiawatha.” (“Algic” was Schoolcraft’s invented word for woodland cultures.)

Schoolcraft’s tale about Hiawatha bore no resemblance to the historical figure cherished in Haudenosaunee tradition. Schoolcraft turned him into an Anishinabe (Ojibway, also known as Chipewewa) and confused him with the Anishinabe culture hero Nanapush (also known as Manabozho). Schoolcraft knew the difference, but simply liked the sound of “Manabozho.” In addition, probably out of ignorance, Schoolcraft confused Hiawatha with Tarachiawagon, one name for the Peacemaker. Finally, Schoolcraft plagiarized Joshua Clark’s *Onondaga, or, Reminiscences of Earlier and Later Times* (1849), pretending that the research was his own.

The issue was only confounded further when Henry Wadsworth Longfellow used Schoolcraft’s mangled version of tradition as the basis of his epic poem, “The Song of Hiawatha” (1855). Longfellow himself plagiarized the Finnish poem *Kalevala* and lifted lore from the Icelandic epic *Edda* to write his dubious “Song,” creating an Iroquoian nightmare that not only cast Hiawatha as an Anishinabe-Finnish-Iclander, but also turned him into a Christian philosopher as well. Knowing nothing of the

true Hiawatha and hopelessly confusing him with the Peacemaker, Longfellow presented Hiawatha as a fey imitation Jesus. Longfellow’s “Song of Hiawatha” became wildly popular with nineteenth-century Euro-American readers.

Although these Western versions of the Hiawatha story are completely without foundation in Haudenosaunee oral tradition, some modern west-of-the-Mississippi Algonquins reenact Longfellow’s version of “The Song of Hiawatha” at powwows, to the extreme discomfort of Haudenosaunee onlookers. The Iroquoian Hiawatha of history needs to be firmly disengaged from these fantastic nineteenth-century misrepresentations. Hiawatha’s unflagging speakership for the Peacemaker, his message of compassion, his creation of the Condolence Ceremony, his invention of the Iroquoian writing system, and his combing the snakes from the hair of Adodaroh (Tadadaho) are what should be told about him.

Barbara Alice Mann and Bruce E. Johansen

See also Deganawidah; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Wampum.

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## Hooker Jim

In the 1850s, the Modocs traded in Yreka, California, and the traders and townspeople there gave the Indian leaders the colorful and sometimes unflattering names by which they became known. Hooker Jim (ca. 1825–1879) was a name given to a leader in the Modoc War of 1872–1873 who emerged as a rival to Kintpuash (Captain Jack). Although little is known of his early life, Hooker Jim’s name became a household word throughout the United States when hostilities broke out between the Modocs and the U.S. Army. In 1864, the Modocs and Klamaths ceded





most of their land and moved onto the Klamath reservation in southern Oregon. Deeply opposed to the relocation of his people, Hooker Jim persuaded his followers to return to their aboriginal homeland in northern California. These Modocs advocated the creation of their own reservation. In 1870, about 300 Modocs under Kintpuash reestablished a community in their former homeland on the Lost River.

In November 1872, the U.S. Army visited Kintpuash's encampment on the Lost River and ordered the Modocs to the Klamath Reservation. Kintpuash opposed the order, and increasing conflict with non-Natives led to the first battle of the Modoc War. Hooker Jim and his people were living on the opposite side of the river when some ranchers fired on them, killing a woman and a baby and wounding several men. Angered by these actions, Hooker Jim and Curly Headed Doctor raided a neighboring ranch and killed twelve whites. Hooker Jim and his people then fled southward to the Lava Beds, where Kintpuash and his followers were defending themselves.

Kintpuash still believed that a peaceful settlement might be negotiated. However, the Modocs balked at the demands of the Army to hand over the men who had killed the ranchers. At a peace conference set to discuss matters, Hooker Jim and others told Kintpuash that the only way he could prove that he was not a coward would be to kill General Edward R. S. Canby. On April 11, 1873, as the conference started, Kintpuash shot Canby, wounded Indian Superintendent Alfred B. Meachum, and killed a minister.

In the weeks after the abortive conference, Hooker Jim and Kintpuash argued about the appropriate course of action. Hooker Jim deserted the fight in the Lava Beds, surrendered, and subsequently showed the Army where Kintpuash was hiding. At Kintpuash's trial in July 1873, Hooker Jim provided testimony against Kintpuash to save himself. After the trial and the execution of four leaders, Hooker Jim and about 150 other Modocs were sent to Indian Territory. Hooker Jim later died at the Quapaw Agency in Indian Territory in 1879.

*Bruce E. Johansen*

*See also* Captain Jack.

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## **Jackson, Andrew**

Mention "Andrew Jackson" to most Americans, and the phrase "Jacksonian Democracy" may spring to mind. To the descendants of Native Americans who survived the period, however, the first comparative analogy may be to the Bataan Death March of World War II. Among Native Americans, Jackson, the seventh president of the United States, is most closely identified with the Removal Act (1830), which forced at least 100,000 Native people off their traditional homelands into involuntary exile in "Indian territory," now Oklahoma. President Andrew Jackson called Indian removal the "most arduous" of his duties as president of the United States. "I watched over it [removal] with great vigilance," Jackson recalled after he left the presidency (Rogin, 1975, 206).

Jackson was born March 15, 1767, in the Waxhaws area on the border between present-day North and South Carolina, and died June 8, 1845, at The Hermitage, Davidson County, Tennessee. Jackson's career (first as an Army general, then as president) coincided with rapid westward migration into Native lands. The explosion of westward migration after roughly 1800 generated enormous profits in land speculation. Fortunes were made in early America, not usually by working the land, but by buying early and holding large parcels for sale after demand increased dramatically because of non-Indian immigration.

As a frontier lawyer in Tennessee, Jackson acquired immense holdings with which he began a mercantile establishment and bought a plantation, including "an expensive frame house at a time when most people in the same area lived in log cabins, and spent large sums on whiskey, horses, and expensive home furnishings imported from Europe" (Rogin, 1975, 55). Jackson also quickly acquired more than a hundred slaves, making him one of frontier Tennessee's largest owners of human capital. He traded actively in slaves, and occasionally wagered them on horse races in a display of expendable wealth.

Rogin quoted a contemporary source: "Were I to characterize the United States, it would be by the appellation of the land of speculators" (Rogin, 1975, 80). Land, once ownership had been wrested from original Native owners, became the largest "futures market" available at the time, its value determined by its hoped-for future use in a newly evolving non-Indian society. As an Army general and later as president, Jackson represented the values and interests of the land-speculation industry.





Jackson did not seek the removal of the Cherokees and other Civilized Tribes—the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole—because they did not know how to make productive use of the land. On the contrary, four of the five (the exception being the Seminoles, who had escaped to Florida) were called “civilized” by the immigrants precisely because they were making exactly the kind of progress that the U.S. government desired of them: becoming farmers, educating their children, constituting governments modeled on the United States. Immigrants, many of them Scot and Irish, had married into Native families. Some of them owned plantations and slaves. Andrew Jackson strongly encouraged removal because his slaves and plantation placed his interests squarely among those of the races and classes whose members benefited most from Indian removal.

By the time he emerged as an advocate of Indian removal, President Jackson’s name had scorched the memories of Native American peoples for decades as an Indian fighter. As a general in the U.S. Army, Jackson blazed a trail of fire throughout the South, refusing to retreat even when his superiors ordered him to relent. Between 1814 and 1824, before Jackson was elected president, he already had been the main agent for the United States in eleven treaties of cession. The land involved in these treaties included three-quarters of Alabama and Georgia, one-third of Tennessee, and one-fifth of Georgia and Mississippi (as well as smaller areas of Kentucky and North Carolina) (Rogin, 1975, 165).

In a battlefield confrontation with William Weatherford’s Creeks at Horseshoe Bend, Alabama, Jackson imprisoned assistants who advised retreat. For those who retreated in battle without authorization, the penalty levied by General Jackson was harsher: “Any officer or soldier who flies before the enemy without being compelled to do so by superior force . . . shall suffer death” (Tebbel, 1966, 75).

Having subdued the Creeks, General Jackson next received orders to quell what the War Department politely called “troubles” in Georgia, principally among the Seminoles. By 1818, Jackson’s troops were chasing them into Florida, which was still under Spanish jurisdiction (the area would be ceded to the United States in 1821). Having seized several Spanish forts along the way, Jackson withdrew. While he endured a debate in Congress over his cross-border expedition, Jackson also reaped popular acclaim from expansion-minded Americans that swelled his ambitions for the presidency.



*Among Native Americans, President Andrew Jackson is most closely identified with the Removal Act which forced at least 100,000 Native people off their traditional homelands. (Library of Congress)*

The Seminoles, most of whom were descended from Creeks, had elected to ally with the Spanish rather than the United States, an act of virtual treason to General Jackson. Furthermore, the Seminoles were giving shelter to runaway slaves. Inasmuch as the Seminoles and the escaped slaves had intermarried over generations, the pretext of Jackson’s raid was the recovery of “stolen property,” runaway slaves. After the United States purchased Florida from Spain, slave-hunting vigilantes invaded the area en masse, killing Seminoles as well as blacks. During the 1830s, when President Jackson proposed to remove the Seminoles from Florida to Indian Territory, they refused. Moving deep into the swamps of southern Florida (an area that, ironically, was being used as a removal *destination* for other Native peoples), the Seminoles fought 1,500 U.S. Army troops to a bloody stalemate during seven years of warfare. They were never defeated, and they never moved from their new homeland.





After Spain ceded Florida to the United States, General Jackson and other U.S. officials lost any remaining motive for treating the Indians as allies. From then on, they were defined as subjects, to be moved out as Anglo-Americans rushed into the Southeast. Jackson's policy—"move the Indians out"—became the national standard after his election as president in 1828. Alabama had already been created in 1819 from Creek and Cherokee territory; Mississippi was created in 1817 from Choctaw and Chickasaw country. These two states, along with Georgia, passed laws outlawing tribal governments and making Indians subject to state jurisdiction, after which open season was declared on remaining Native lands.

All of this activity violated treaties with the federal government. Confronted with this fact, President Jackson told the Indians that he was unable to stand by the treaties because they raised nettlesome issues of states' rights, an emerging issue in the decades before the Civil War. Instead, Jackson proposed that the Indians be moved westward.

In a message to Congress in December of 1830, in the midst of the nationwide debate over Indian removal, Jackson maintained:

What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12 million happy people, and filled with the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion (Satz, 1975, 44).

Jackson, who as a general told his troops to root out Indians from their "dens" and to kill Indian women and their "whelps," struck the same themes on a slightly more erudite tone as president. In his second annual message to Congress, Jackson reflected on the fact that some white Americans were growing "melancholy" over the fact that the Indians were being driven to their "tomb." These critics must understand, Jackson said, that "true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes as it does to the extinction of one generation to make way for another" (Stannard, 1992, 240).

During the Jackson administration, the United States concluded nearly seventy treaties with Native American nations, more than any other presidential administration. The United States acquired more

than 100 million acres of Native American land during the years Jackson was in office, in exchange for roughly \$68 million (68 cents an acre) and 32 million acres west of the Mississippi River. Forty-six thousand Indians were compelled to leave their homelands and move west of the Mississippi during the same years (Satz, 1975, 97). By such means, observed de Tocqueville, "The Americans cheaply acquire whole provinces which the richest sovereigns in Europe could not afford to buy" (Satz, 1975, 98).

Their basis in U.S. law notwithstanding, Jackson thought that Indian treaties were anachronisms. "An absurdity," he called them, "not to be reconciled with the principles of our government" (McNickle, 1949, 192). He elaborated, before his election to the presidency, in a letter to President James Monroe (another advocate of Indian removal) in 1817:

The Indians are the subjects of the United States, inhabiting its territory and acknowledging its sovereignty. Then is it not absurd for the sovereign to negotiate by treaty with the subject? I have always thought, that Congress had as much right to regulate by acts of legislation, all Indian concerns as they had of territories, are citizens of the United States and entitled to all the rights thereof, the Indians are subjects and entitled to their protection and fostering care (McNickle, 1949, 193).

The confusions of convoluted grammar aside, it is not easy to decipher what General Jackson is saying. Is he declaring the Indians to be citizens? Legally, that was not widely the case until a century later. Is he personally abrogating the treaties, which were signed by parties who had addressed each other as diplomatic peers, nation to nation, barely two generations earlier? Whatever the nature of his rhetoric, the actions of the Jackson administration made clear, especially for the Native American peoples of the South, just what Jackson meant by "protection and fostering care."

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*See also* *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Forced Marches; Genocide; Indian Removal Act; Relocation; Seminole Wars; Trail of Tears; Tribal Sovereignty; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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## Jackson, Helen Hunt

Helen Maria Fiske (1830–1885), who would become known later in life as Helen Hunt Jackson, was born October 15, 1830, in Amherst, Massachusetts, the daughter of Nathan Welby Fiske, a professor of languages at Amherst College. She was described as “a child of dangerous versatility and vivacity” (Mathes, 1990, 21). Variouslly portrayed as brilliant and something of a pest, the young Helen Fiske learned to read and write earlier than most children, drawing from collegiate surroundings, becoming a young woman “with candid beaming eyes, in which kindness contented with penetration,” a “soul of fire,” with the ability to “strongly love, to frankly hate” (Mathes, 1990, 22).

As a girl, Helen became close friends with the poet Emily Dickinson. Fiske, Dickinson, and Emily Fowler (who was briefly well known as an author in her later life) came to be known as the Amherst girls, a group of talented women born to Amherst faculty members. In her own time, Helen was a better-known poet than Dickinson, who spent much of her own life in obscurity.

At the age of eleven, Helen Fiske was sent to the first of several boarding schools where she spent her teenage years. By age nineteen, she had been orphaned; both of her parents died of tuberculosis. Early in her life, Helen determined to support herself as an independent woman, not an easy role in a society in which women were defined as men's property. She decided to make her living as a writer.

First known as a romantic poet, she later expanded her scope to include travel articles, short stories, novels, and books for children. Before becoming famous for her Indian reform work late in her life, she had been “an Army wife, mother, and

woman of society . . . a literary person, a poet and essayist, writer of travel sketches and short stories” (Banning, 1973, xix). She was, according to her biographer Evelyn I. Banning, a woman of contradictions. While some of her writings laughed at fashion, she dressed elegantly, often beyond the station of the junior Army officer, Edward B. Hunt, whom she married at the age of twenty-two. Before the treatment of the Ponca Indians tripped her sense of indignity, Helen Hunt Jackson had been a nearly apolitical person, having taken no published position on women's suffrage or slavery, even as she “burst the bounds . . . [of] the separate sphere assigned to women during the Victorian era” (Mathes, 1990, ix).

Within the fifteen years after she married Edward Hunt, Helen gave birth to two sons and lost both of them, one at the age of one year, the other at age nine. Her husband also died, leaving her nearly alone in the world. She assuaged her loneliness by writing poetry, becoming one of the best regarded poets of nineteenth-century America. Ralph Waldo Emerson often carried her poetry in his pocket to show to friends (Banning, 1973, xx). In 1875 she married William S. Jackson of Colorado Springs, whose name she carried when her Indian reform work became well-known. At the age of forty-nine, she took up the cause of “the Indian” with a fervor that consumed her attention and energies for the last few remaining years of her short life.

Jackson's attention was turned toward the condition of Native Americans during October of 1879, shortly after Judge Elmer Dundy had ruled in *Standing Bear v. Crook*. In Boston, Jackson heard a speech describing the travail of Standing Bear and his band of Poncas who, forced off their land in northern Nebraska, had escaped reservation life in Indian Territory. They had trekked 500 miles northward during the worst of a midcontinental winter to take shelter with the U'mahas (Omahas) near the city of Omaha where, in 1879, Judge Dundy ruled that Standing Bear must be regarded as a human being under the law of habeas corpus.

After the trial, a group of Ponca Indians, including Standing Bear, visited several cities, including Chicago, New York City, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Boston. It was in Boston, however, that support was greatest; \$3,000 of the \$4,000 the Poncas thought they would need to pursue their land claim was raised there (Mathes, 1989, 46). Henry Wadsworth Longfellow played a crucial role in the success of the Poncas' efforts in Boston. The Poncas stayed in Boston several weeks from late October





A successful and prolific author, Helen Hunt Jackson is best remembered for *A Century of Dishonor* (1881) and *Ramona* (1884), books that helped to raise awareness of Native American rights and of their ill treatment at the hands of the U.S. government. (Library of Congress)

into December and were presented at numerous fund-raisers. In early December, more than 1,000 Bostonians gathered at Faneuil Hall to hear Standing Bear speak. After the speeches, more than half the audience crowded the stage to shake hands with him (Mathes, 1989, 47).

After hearing their story, Jackson collected funds for the Poncas and encouraged others to take an active part in their struggles. The mayor of Boston joined a fund-raising committee for the Poncas' legal campaign to win back their homeland. Jackson herself joined Standing Bear, Thomas Henry Tibbles, and Susette "Bright Eyes" LaFlesche on a tour throughout New England. Tibbles credited Jackson's support as being one of the major factors in the Poncas' ultimate victory (Banning, 1973, 150).

Jackson's acquaintance with the Poncas started her down a new literary road. Within two years of

first hearing the Poncas' heartrending story, Jackson published *A Century of Dishonor*. Three years later, with a pledge to write a novel that would become the Native American version of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, she published the best-seller *Ramona*.

*A Century of Dishonor* is a factual sketch of broken treaties and corruption in the Indian Bureau; *Ramona* is a fictional account of the abuses suffered by the Mission Indians of California, based on Jackson's travels in that area shortly after *A Century of Dishonor* was published. Both books were among the best sellers of their time, one more indication of just how many non-Indians sympathized with the Native American victims of westward expansion.

Jackson's books may have been so immensely popular during the 1880s because many people in the expanding United States, finding a need to reconcile the taking of a continent with notions of their own civility, sought to deal with the "Indian Problem" in what they believed to be a civilized and humane manner. Thus, cultural genocide (a late twentieth-century phrase) was advanced in the modulated tones of civility, of doing what was believed to be best for "the Indian."

Jackson's books fueled a national debate over what would become of Native Americans who had survived subjugation by immigrant non-Natives. Most of her books combined condemnation of the government's earlier behavior with advocacy of popular solutions to the Indian Problem, such as religious instruction, boarding schools, and allotment.

After *A Century of Dishonor* was published, Jackson sent a copy of it to each member of Congress at her own expense. She then visited each representative personally to emphasize what she thought must be done to remove the stain of the dishonorable century she had described. Jackson died by the time Congress passed the General Allotment (Dawes) Act in 1887, officially adopting allotment (which she had believed would save Native Americans from extinction), at the same time turning it into a real estate vehicle for homesteaders and corporations (Indians would lose two-thirds of their remaining land base in the fifty years to follow).

*Ramona*, which was reprinted 300 times after Jackson's death, was adapted for stage and screen several times. "Every incident in *Ramona* . . . is true," Jackson wrote. "A Cahuilla Indian was shot two years ago exactly as Alessandro is—and his wife's name was Ramona, and I never knew this fact until *Ramona* was half written" (Mathes, 1986, 43).





By the middle 1880s, Jackson was suffering recurring bouts of malarial symptoms and other health problems, which gradually debilitated her. In 1885, on her deathbed, Jackson wrote of her work, "As I lie here, nothing looks to me of any value except the words I have spoken for the Indians" (Banning, 1973, 224). Her last letter, dated August 8, was written to President Grover Cleveland: "I ask you to read my *A Century of Dishonor*. I am dying happier in the belief I have that it is your hand that is destined to strike the first steady blow toward lifting the burden of infamy from our country and writing the wrongs of the Indian race . . ." (Banning, 1973, 225).

Jackson died on August 12, 1885. Upon hearing of her death, Susette LaFlesche, "shut herself into her room and wept all day long," according to her husband Thomas Henry Tibbles. "For weeks afterward she mourned the loss of this closest of her intimate friends, who had given herself wholeheartedly to save an unhappy race" (Mathes, 1986, 44).

Dickinson penned a verse in eulogy of Jackson:

*Helen of Troy will die,  
but Helen of Colorado, never.  
"Dear friend, you can walk"  
were the last words I wrote her—  
"Dear friend, I can fly"—  
her immortal reply (Banning, frontpiece).*

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Genocide; LaFlesche, Susette Picotte;  
*Standing Bear v. Crook*.

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## Jigonsaseh

"Jigonsaseh" is the position title of the Head Clan Mother of the Iroquois League. Also rendered Jikonsaseh, Gekeasawsa, and Yegonwaneh, the word is variously translated as the New Face, the Fat Face, and the Fat-Faced Lynx. Her titles in English include the Peace Queen, the Mother of Nations, the Fire Woman, the Great Woman, and the Maize Maiden. The position was created when the Great Law of Peace, also called the Constitution of the Five Nations, was established by the Iroquois League in the twelfth century.

Coming out of the Mound Builder era, the Iroquoian people experienced much scattered fighting, as the old male-dominated, hierarchical order fought the newer, more democratic orders then evolving for control of society. The old order valued hunting over agriculture, whereas the new order placed its dependency on planting, especially of corn. The fighting from New York to Ohio became quite ferocious, so that families on both sides lost valued members daily. The Iroquoian peoples north of the Saint Lawrence River and Lakes Ontario and Erie had already developed a democratic government and an economy based on agriculture. Looking south, they trembled at the thought of the fighting spreading north to them.

In the midst of this turmoil, strong spirits returned to the people to aid them in their time of need. Sapling, the Elder Twin of the First Family, reappeared among the Iroquois at the Bay of Quinte as the Peacemaker (whose name, Deganawidah, is not to be spoken). At the same time, his First Family mother, the Lynx (also known as Hanging Flowers), Sky Woman's Daughter, came as the Peace Queen. Traditionally an Attiwenderonk, she also came down from the north to bring methods of corn planting to her southern sisters. Her followers became known as the Cultivators. The Peacemaker and the Peace Queen came separately, but soon met.

Knowing that he was unable to promulgate the peace by himself, the Peacemaker sought out allies in the south, the very first of them being that Great Woman, the Head Mother of the Cultivators. He approached her with respect, urging her to add his message of Peace to her message of Corn, and, after due consideration, she agreed. However, she also insisted that he include the strong political powers of women in his Great Law. In his turn, he agreed. The two forged an alliance, coordinating their efforts thereafter.





Creating the constitutional peace required extensive lobbying over decades, but eventually the Iroquoian nations grew so disgusted with fighting that they inclined their ears ever more openly to the ways of Corn and Peace. Traditions exist of Jigonsaseh traveling tirelessly about, exhorting the people even as she evaded death squads sent by the priests to kill her. The Cultivators were often frightened for her safety on these journeys, but every time they spotted her coming home, paddling her canoe to safety.

As Jigonsaseh and Peacemaker gained followers (including Hiawatha, a formerly formidable foe), the leaders of the older culture lost theirs. Finally, with the decision of the Senecas to join the peace, only one priest obstructed their way. He was Adodaroh, the deeply feared and powerful shaman of the Onondagas, whose snake and cannibal cult had terrorized the people into submission for many years. Now, however, even Adodaroh's [a.k.a. Tadodaho or Tadadaho] once trusted lieutenant, Hiawatha, opposed him.

Representatives of all five nations—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas—gathered at Onondaga to confront Adodaroh once and for all. Deeply angry, the old priest withdrew to an island that could be approached only by canoe. Twice, the Peacemaker and Hiawatha attempted parley, but twice the old man called up the winds to blow their canoe back to shore. Finally, Jigonsaseh gave the pair a powerful medicine song to calm the waters and call the ancestors. Singing her song, the Peacemaker and Hiawatha were able to approach Adodaroh, but, instead of killing or threatening him, they carried Jigonsaseh's message: If he would come over to the side of Corn and Peace, they would make him the first chairman of the Men's Grand Council of the League. Seeing his chance to retain status, the wily old man accepted their proposal.

At that point, Jigonsaseh stepped forward to announce the women's decisions regarding the people's representatives to the Men's Grand Council. She sanctioned each lineage chief, putting the horns of office on his head and announcing his election to office. Establishment of the Clan Mothers also occurred at this time, but the traditions leading to this development are obscure today. Early male anthropologists heard only the men's versions of the traditions, not realizing that there were equally important women's versions as well.

In Iroquoian culture, the names of those who attained greatness become the position titles for those who follow them in those positions. Thus the name "Adodaroh" became the position title for the Chairman of the Men's Grand Council, and the name "Jigonsaseh" became the position title for the Head Mother of the Women's Clan Council. Later Jigonsasehs continued the greatness of the first. In particular, the Jigonsaseh of the 1680s is greatly honored for defeating the Marquis de Denonville, who had been sent by Louis XIV of France along with a mighty army to destroy the Iroquois League.

After the Iroquois League was overrun by the Americans in the Revolutionary War, every attempt was made by settlers and their government to destroy Iroquoian culture. This included massive assaults on the rights and powers of women. The United States attempted to wipe out the office of the Jigonsaseh, abolishing it in 1848. The Iroquois secretly continued granting the office, however. The last recorded incumbent of the position was Gahahno (Caroline Mountpleasant), who held it until her death in 1892. The Mountpleasant family still exists, and many recognize its modern clan descendants' claim to the title.

Barbara Alice Mann

*See also* Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System.

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## Johnson, Emily Pauline

Born March 10, 1861, on the Six Nations reserve, upper Canada, Emily Pauline Johnson (Mohawk) died March 7, 1913, in Vancouver, British Columbia. Johnson, the first aboriginal woman to write in English about Native issues, was famous for her performances, poetry, and short stories. Since her death, Johnson's life has been claimed by a variety of political and cultural interest groups: academic, feminist, nationalist, Nativist, activist, artistic, and imperialist.

To the aboriginal community Johnson is a complex and contradictory figure. She critiqued Canada's racist policies and lamented the loss of Native culture, but she also sold Iroquoian artifacts to collectors and exploited her heritage. Her life and literary work exemplifies living with a mixed heritage in a society that reveled in the exotic while demanding assimilation.

Johnson's father, George Henry Martin Johnson, a nontraditional and proud Mohawk chief from the Wolf Clan, was a temperance advocate, a Christian, and a government interpreter. Her mother, Emily Susannah Howells, was an English-Canadian Quaker raised in the United States. Johnson was largely homeschooled, although she attended the reserve school and Brantford Collegiate Institute. After her father's death in 1884 and the family's relocation to rented accommodations in Brantford, Johnson turned to writing at age twenty-three. In 1886, as a sign of her bicultural heritage and identity, she began signing her work as E. Pauline Johnson and Tekahionwake (her great-grandfather's name). Johnson realized income from her work only after 1892. Her success began when Frank Yeigh, the president of the Young Men's Liberal Club of Toronto, invited Johnson to an evening of poetry. From this initial recital, Johnson undertook over 125 performances across southern Ontario between October 1892 and May 1893.

It was during these initial performances that Johnson began appearing in "traditional" Native costume during the first act and returned for the second in an elegant gown. Her Native costume was a buckskin dress purchased from the Hudson's Bay Company in Winnipeg. With the help of a younger sister, Johnson added a rabbit skin sleeve, bear claw necklace, hunting knife, wampum belt, Huron scalp, red wool blanket, and silver trade broaches. This costume, while reminiscent of representations of Hiawatha's Minnehaha, became Johnson's trademark. In this costume, Johnson criticized the Canadian Indian Act, offered alternative interpretations of Native life, and maintained that Canada's foundation rested on Indian and European cooperation.

From 1894 to 1909, Johnson toured Canada, the American Midwest and eastern seaboard, and she traveled three times to London, England. Although Johnson formed an important friendship with Squamish Chief Joseph Capilano and was briefly engaged to a Winnipeg insurance salesman, she





remained unmarried. In 1909, she retired to Vancouver after falling ill with breast cancer. She was buried in 1913 in Vancouver's Stanley Park.

During her lifetime, Johnson published four collections of poetry. Her first book, *The White Wampum* (London, 1895) emphasized Native topics. The second book, *Canadian Born* (Toronto, 1903), reflected Edwardian Canada's patriotic sentiments. Through the efforts of friends, Johnson's most popular volume, *Flint and Feather* (1912), as well as *Legends of Vancouver* (1912), was published shortly before her death. *Flint and Feather* remains the best-selling book of Canadian poetry. Johnson also published numerous poems, short stories, and travel narratives in a variety of magazines, such as *Mother's Magazine* (Chicago), *Boy's World* (Chicago), *Gems of Poetry* (New York), and *Week* (Toronto). Nonetheless, despite her fame and continued popularity, the English-Canadian literary canon has largely forgotten E. Pauline Johnson.

Karl S. Hele

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## Johnson, William

Sir William Johnson was probably the most influential single Englishman in relations with the Iroquois and their allies during the French and Indian War. From his mansion near Albany, Johnson forayed on Indian war parties, painting himself like an Indian and taking part in ceremonial dances. He was a close friend of Hendrick (Tiyanoga), a Mahican-Mohawk leader, with whom he often traveled as a warrior. Joseph Brant fought beside Johnson at the age of thirteen. Because he successfully recruited a sizable number of Iroquois to the British interest, Johnson was made a baronet, with a £5,000 sterling award.

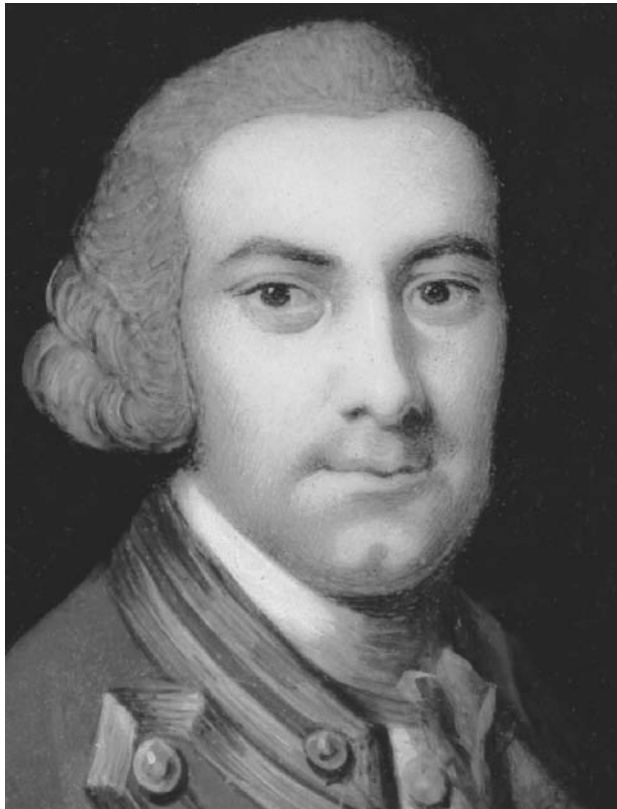
Johnson quickly learned the customs and language of the Mohawks. He had a number of children by Mohawk women, many of them with Mary Brant, a Mohawk clan mother and granddaughter of Hendrick. He generally was well liked among the Mohawks. Hendrick himself had a high regard for the Englishman and expressed his regard when he said, ". . . he has Large Ears and heard a great deal, and what he hears he tells us; he also has Large Eyes and sees a great way, and conceals nothing from us" (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 185).

In June 1760, during the final thrust to defeat the French in North America, Johnson called for men to attack Montreal. About 600 warriors responded. Many Native warriors living in the Montreal area also responded to his call. Johnson reported he was sending gifts to "foreign Indians" who were switching their allegiance from the sinking French Empire. By August 5, 1760, the Native contingent had reached 1,330.

The defeat of the French and their departure from Canada at the end of the war upset the balance that the Iroquois had sought to maintain. Reluctantly, they attached themselves to the British, but they could no longer play one European power against another. The English now occupied all the forts surrounding Iroquois country. Johnson played a key role in pressing the crown to limit immigration west of the Appalachians, but land-hungry settlers ignored royal edicts, intensifying conflicts over land. In the meantime, Johnson became one of the richest men in the colonies through land transactions and trade with the Indians.

In his later years, Johnson agonized over whether to side with the British crown or the revolutionary patriots. At a meeting with the Iroquois on July 11, 1774, at his mansion near Albany, Johnson





William Johnson, British superintendent of Indian Affairs in the American colonies, 1755–1774. Johnson concluded the Treaty of Fort Stanwix with the Iroquois, persuading them to relinquish claims to territory along the frontiers of New York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, clearing the way for European-American immigration in these areas. (National Archives of Canada)

addressed the Iroquois in the oratorical style he had learned from them, summoning them to the British cause in the coming American Revolution. Suddenly, he collapsed. He was carried to bed, where he died two hours later. The assembly of chiefs was stunned by his sudden death, but Guy Johnson, Sir William's nephew and son-in-law, stepped in to fill the breach left by his elder.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Brant, Joseph; French and Indian War; Hendrick.

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## Joseph, Younger

Hinmaton Yalatik (Thunder Traveling to Loftier Heights) was more widely known as Chief Joseph (1840–1904) of the Wallamotkin band of the Nimipu (Nez Percé). He assumed the leadership of his people in 1871 upon the death of his father, Tu-ya-kas-kas (Old Joseph). Probably most famous for his leadership during the flight of the Nez Percé from the United States Army in 1877, Chief Joseph led his people in peace, war, captivity, exile, and confinement to the reservation.

Born in 1840 near Joseph Creek in the Wallowa Valley, Joseph was the second son of Tu-ya-kas-kas, the chief of seven villages in the Wallowa region of northeast Oregon. In 1843, Tu-ya-kas-kas accepted Christianity at the Spalding Mission in Lapwai, Idaho, baptized his entire family, and took the name of Joseph. While accepting Christianity, Old Joseph continued to adhere to Nez Percé religious traditions. During the first seven years of his life, Joseph likely received some rudimentary education at the mission, including Christian training and instruction. After the killings at the Whitman Mission in 1847, Tu-ya-kas-kas and his family refused to visit the missionaries at the Spalding Mission. This distancing from white missionaries did not mean isolation from other Indian communities. While maintaining their ties to their homeland, Joseph's Wallamotkin band traveled to see Nez Percé relatives and also traded, danced, hunted, and fished with many other Columbia Plateau Indian communities.

During the 1840s and 1850s white settlers arrived in the Pacific Northwest in ever-greater numbers and placed pressure on the United States government to "solve the Indian Problem." In 1855, Tu-ya-kas-kas and many other Nez Percé and Plateau people met with Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens at Walla Walla and concluded a treaty that





*Chief Joseph is probably most famous for his leadership during the flight of the Nez Percé from the U.S. Army in 1877. (Library of Congress)*

set aside reservation areas for Plateau communities and opened up broad swaths of land to white settlers. The provisions of the Walla Walla Treaty of 1855 kept nearly all of the Nez Percé land holdings intact as a reservation and therefore insulated them, including Tu-ya-kas-kas's people, from the initial onslaught of white settlement. Old Joseph certainly discussed the Walla Walla council and treaty with his family and probably communicated to Joseph, Ollokot, and his other children the nature of the agreement that existed between themselves and the United States government. Shortly after the conclusion of the treaty, hostilities broke out between Plateau Indian communities and the U.S. government. The Nez Percé remained neutral, but many of their relatives in other Plateau communities suffered great hardship during the so-called Yakama War.

During the 1860s, most white settlers elected to stay out of the Wallowa region and therefore did not pose much of a threat to Joseph's people. When

white miners discovered gold on the Nez Percé Reservation in 1860, the government renegotiated the 1855 Walla Walla Treaty with a small group of Nez Percé led by a lawyer. The lawyer and fifty-one Nez Percé men signed the 1863 treaty, but it did not include all Nez Percé bands and factions. The 1863 "thief" treaty provisions substantially decreased the size of the Nez Percé reservation and left Joseph's people outside the boundaries of the new reservation. From this point on, the Nez Percé were principally divided into treaty and nontreaty factions.

By 1871, the first white settlers began to arrive in the Wallowa region. Tu-ya-kas-kas died in August of 1871 and left the leadership of the Wallamotkin band to Joseph, his eldest surviving son. From the beginning of his role as leader of the Wallamotkin band, Joseph faced the great challenge of attempting to deal with increased white settlement and government efforts to remove his people to the smaller Nez Percé reservation. Despite the tumult of the times, Joseph married a young woman named Wa-win-te-piksat and started a family. Their first daughter, Kap-kap-on-mi, was born in 1865. Joseph had a total of four wives during his life while also raising nine children. All of the children except Kap-kap-on-mi died before they were two.

Joseph and his people consistently argued their case with settlers and the government, reminding all parties that Joseph's father never sold their land and was not party to any agreement that relinquished the Wallowa area to white settlement. Joseph based much of his reasoning and rhetoric on the tenets of the Washani religion, the religion of his people. For adherents of the Washani, ancestral lands were sacred, and they could not be sold or exchanged for goods. Most important, Joseph and other adherents of the Washani faith believed that their lives and the lives of their people were inextricably linked to the land. In other words, selling the land would be tantamount to selling themselves and their heritage.

Despite the vehement arguments of Joseph and his people, settlers in the Wallowa Valley failed to leave. In an attempt to resolve the problem, President Ulysses S. Grant created an executive order reservation, but the boundaries were incorrect and caused further difficulties. The executive order reservation lasted until June 1875. In 1876, the federal government sent General Oliver O. Howard to negotiate the removal of the nontreaty Nez Percé. In councils with Joseph, Ollokot, and other nontreaty leaders, Howard warned that they must move or face military action by the United States. In early





May 1877, Joseph reluctantly agreed to move to the reservation. The government placed the unrealistic deadline of June 15, 1877, on the nontreaty Nez Percé to collect their belongings and animals and move to the reservation.

After their arrival on the Camas Prairie in early June 1877, a group of younger men raided settler homes along the Salmon River. Joseph realized that this meant war and decided to move his people to more defensible positions. In this way, the flight of the Nez Percé began. After defeating the U.S. Army in three separate engagements, the nontreaty Nez Percé decided to elude pursuing forces by traveling to Montana over the LoLo Trail.

After traversing the trail, Joseph, his family, and the other nontreaty Nez Percé camped in the Big Hole Valley. On the morning of August 9, 1877, army units attacked the camp. Many Nez Percé people were killed, but warriors from the camp blunted the attack and eventually drove the Army back to entrenched positions. Joseph and the other nontreaty leaders rallied the survivors and they fled from Big Hole, turning north in an attempt to reach Canada and the camp of Sitting Bull. At the Bear Paw battlefield, the U.S. Army surrounded the remnants of the nontreaty people. Joseph, recognizing the suffering and death of his people, agreed to negotiate for an end to the fighting. He consented to a cease-fire and agreed to relinquish weapons to the Army, all with the understanding that the survivors would be returned to the Nez Percé reservation in Idaho.

The remaining 400 Nez Percé and Palouse survivors were quickly sent not to Idaho but to Fort Keogh (Montana), then to Fort Leavenworth (Kansas), and eventually to Indian Territory, where the U.S. government first placed them on the Quapaw Agency and then settled them on a piece of land on the newly created Ponca Agency. During the year and a half after their surrender, many people died from disease, malnutrition, and depression. The nontreaty Nez Percé called Indian Territory *Eekish Pah* ("hot place"). In 1885, the federal government allowed the exiled Nez Percé to return to the Pacific Northwest but divided the group into two; one group returned to the Nez Percé Reservation in Idaho and the second group, led by Joseph, was forced to settle on the Colville Indian Reservation in northern Washington State.

After 1885, Joseph and the other Nez Percé attempted to adjust to life on the Colville reservation. Joseph traveled to many places, including Washington, D.C., New York, and Seattle to speak

about his experiences and garner support for his people's return to the Wallowa Valley. On September 21, 1904, Chief Joseph died in front of his teepee in Nespelem, Washington, on the Colville Reservation. Nine months later, a large group of Nez Percé and Anglo-Americans joined to rebury Chief Joseph in a ceremony on the Colville Reservation. A large stone monument was placed on his grave and stands to this day as a memorial to Joseph's life.

Robert R. McCoy

*See also* Long March; Yakima.

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## Kicking Bird

Best-known as head of the peace faction during the Kiowa Wars of the 1870s, one of Kicking Bird's (Kiowa, 1835–1875) grandfathers was a Crow captive who had been adopted into the Kiowa nation. The Kiowas called him Watohkonk, meaning "black eagle," as well as Tene-Angpote, "eagle striking with talons" or simply "Kicking Bird." Kicking Bird's one wife was called Guadalupe. At the time of his death, Kicking Bird was a staunch proponent of education and had persuaded Thomas C. Battey, the Kiowa Indian agent, to build a school for Kiowa children.

Kicking Bird became a noted warrior as a young man. Growing older, he began to accept the counsel of Little Mountain (a principal chief of the Kiowas), who asserted that a peaceful approach to relations with the whites was better than military actions. In 1865, Kicking Bird signed the Little Arkansas Treaty, which established a Kiowa reservation that was further described in the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867.

With the demise of Little Mountain in 1866, Kicking Bird became the Kiowas' major leader of the





peace party, with Satanta representing the war faction. To resolve this split in 1866, the Kiowas turned to Lone Wolf as the compromise choice for principal chief. However, Lone Wolf was unable to unite the opposing forces in his nation. During 1870, Kicking Bird was called a coward at a Sun Dance on the North Fork of the Red River. To disprove such allegations, he commanded a war party of about 100 men against a detachment of U.S. troops in Texas. During the resulting battle, Kicking Bird proved his valor by personally charging into a unit of about fifty soldiers, slaying one of them with his lance.

Kicking Bird still could not assuage his peoples' resentment regarding reservation conditions. Brian C. Hosmer wrote in a biography of him that, by late 1873, the war faction was raiding in Texas and Mexico. During these raids two young warriors, one the nephew and the other the son of paramount Chief Lone Wolf, were killed. Motivated by revenge and angered by the continued slaughter of the buffalo, Kiowa warriors attacked immigrants on the frontier. Kicking Bird kept his followers on the reservation, but some Kiowas, including Bird Bow, White Shield, White Horse, Howling Wolf, and perhaps Satanta and Lone Wolf, joined with Quanah Parker's Quahadi Comanches in the unsuccessful attack on Adobe Walls on June 27, 1874 (Hosmer, 2004).

Hosmer continued, describing the end of Satanta's career as a war chief in late 1874 and Lone Wolf's surrender early in 1875. Kicking Bird thus remained the only notable Kiowa leader.

In 1875, to influence the Kiowas, the Army gave Kicking Bird the title "principal chief." Hosmer wrote that, as chief and principal intermediary between the tribe and federal authorities, Kicking Bird was placed in charge of the hostile Indians captured during the uprising of 1874 and 1875. This position allowed Kicking Bird to protect some of his followers from danger, but it also placed him under the influence of the Army (Hosmer, 2004).

Kicking Bird's cooperation with the Army was seen as treason by some of the Kiowas. When officers from Fort Sill gave Kicking Bird a horse, Kicking Bird's reputation as a collaborator was further reinforced. Following Kicking Bird's sudden death on May 4, 1875, at Cache Creek (in Indian Territory), it was widely believed that a cup of coffee he had recently consumed had been poisoned (Hosmer, 2004). Several other Kiowas asserted that Kicking Bird was killed by witchcraft. According to Hosmer, Kiowa lore alleges that Mamanti used his medicinal powers to kill his long-time adversary. Mamanti

himself died shortly after hearing of Kicking Bird's death.

Kicking Bird was buried as a Christian at Fort Sill, Kansas, even though he had never been converted. His grave was marked by a simple wooden cross. After the cross decayed, the exact location of Kicking Bird's remains was forgotten (Hosmer, 2004).

Bruce E. Johansen

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## LaDuke, Winona

Winona LaDuke (Mississippi Anishinabe, b. 1959), whose Ojibwa name, Benaysayequay, means "Thunder Woman," became one of the foremost environmental advocates in Native America during the last quarter of the twentieth century. She lectured, wrote, and pressed authorities for answers to questions on the Navajo uranium mines, on the Hydro-Quebec's construction sites at James Bay, and on the toxic waste sites on Native Alaskan and Canadian land along the Arctic Ocean. She became well-known to non-Indians as Ralph Nader's vice presidential running mate on the Green Party ticket for U.S. president in the national elections in 1996 and 2000. She also was named in 1995 by *Time* magazine as one of fifty Leaders for the Future.

LaDuke is a daughter of Vincent LaDuke, a Native rights activist in the 1950s, and Betty LaDuke, a painter. She was educated at Harvard University in the late 1970s, and in the early 1980s moved to the White Earth Ojibwa reservation in Minnesota, at Round Lake. LaDuke became involved in protests of environmental racism and in the recovery of the Native American land base. With \$20,000 she received as the recipient of the first Reebok Human Rights Award, she founded the White Earth Land Recovery Program, which took action to regain the land base on her home reservation. In the early





*A leading Native American activist, environmentalist, and author, Winona LaDuke works to defend the social, political, economic, and environmental rights of Native Americans. She also ran for vice president on the Green Party ticket with Ralph Nader in 1996 and 2000. (AP/Wide World Photos)*

1990s, the land area of the thirty-six-mile-square reservation was 92 percent owned by non-Indians.

The White Earth Land Recovery Project maintains many other programs. One, called *Mino-Miijim*, delivers wild rice and other traditional foods, such as hominy and buffalo meat, to elderly tribal members who are afflicted with Type 2 diabetes. The program was initiated by LaDuke and Margaret Smith, an elderly former teacher (eighty-seven in 2006). The program is meant to substitute traditional foods for high-fat fast foods and government commodities that contribute to diabetes. "Oh," a tribal member exclaimed to one WELRP intern who accompanied Smith on her monthly delivery route, "[h]ere come the good commodities" (Kummer, 2004, 148).

LaDuke had refrained from electoral politics until 1996, when the Green Party asked her to run

for vice president. At the age of thirty-seven, she said the campaign allowed her a voice to propose "A new model of electoral politics. . . . I am interested in reframing the debate on issues in this society, the distribution of power, and wealth, the abuse of power, the rights of the natural world . . . and the need to consider an amendment to the U.S. Constitution in which all decisions made today would be considered in light of the impact on the seventh generation from now. . . . These are vital subjects which are all too often neglected by the rhetoric of 'major party' candidates and media" (Johansen, 1996, 3). "Until we have an environmental, economic, and social policy that is based on consideration of the impact on the seventh generation from now," said LaDuke, "we will be living in a society that is based on conquest, not one that is based on





survival. I consider myself a patriot—not to a flag, but to a land” (Johansen, 1996, 4).

During the 1996 campaign, President Bill Clinton incorporated much of her language into his own speeches. LaDuke, however, acutely criticized Clinton for talking environmentally but ignoring environmental action, by doing such things as weakening the Endangered Species Act. LaDuke supported a constitutional amendment that would define air and water as common property, to be maintained free from contamination. “The rights of the people to use and enjoy air, water, and sunlight are essential to life, liberty, and happiness,” LaDuke wrote in *Indian Country Today* (October 14, 1996) (Johansen, 1996, 3).

Bruce E. Johansen

See also James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement.

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## LaFlesche, Susan Picotte

Daughter of Omaha principal Chief Joseph LaFlesche, Susan LaFlesche (Omaha, 1865–1915) became a government doctor on the Omaha Reservation during a time when cholera, influenza, tuberculosis, and other diseases were reaching epidemic proportions. She blazed a career of genius through a number of white schools, and then nearly worked herself to death serving the Omahas as a government physician.

In 1884, after two and a half years at the Elizabeth Institute for Young Ladies in Elizabeth, New Jersey, LaFlesche enrolled at the Hampton Normal

and Agricultural Institute in Hampton, Virginia. This vocational school had been started by General Samuel C. Armstrong to educate freed slaves. A number of Indians also attended, and the school played a role in the designs of Lieutenant Richard Henry Pratt, who started Carlisle Indian School. LaFlesche graduated from Hampton May 20, 1886 at the top of her class. Between 1886 and 1889, she attended the Women’s Medical College of Pennsylvania on a scholarship raised by her friends, many of whom were non-Indian, again graduating at the top of her class.

LaFlesche thus became one of a handful of Native American physicians in the nineteenth century, a group that includes Charles Eastman and Carlos Montezuma. She was the only Native American woman to become a medical doctor during that century. For five years, LaFlesche fought pervasive disease on the Omaha reservation, making some progress.

In December 1891, LaFlesche wrote that influenza “ragged with more violence than during the two preceding years. Some families were rendered helpless by it. . . . Almost every day I was out making visits. . . . Several days the temperature was 15 to 20 degrees below zero, and I had to drive [a horse-drawn buggy] myself” (Mathes, 1985, 73). During that winter, she treated more than 600 patients.

By 1892, the intensity of her work was costing LaFlesche her health. She was beset by a number of debilitating illnesses for the rest of her life, as she ministered to the ever-present ills of the Omahas. At one point she wearily departed for Washington, D.C., to testify for the Omahas because people had threatened to convey her bodily, her mission was of such importance to them.

Back on the Omaha reservation, LaFlesche waged a tireless campaign against alcoholism, recounting stories of how Indians craving liquor used their rent money and even pawned their clothes in winter to obtain it. She wrote of one Harry Edwards, who on a winter’s night in 1894, “fell from a buggy, was not missed by his drunken companions, and in the morning was found frozen to death” (Mathes, 1985, 75). From a medical point of view, LaFlesche believed that alcoholism was at the root of many of the physical, mental, and moral ills facing the Omahas and other American Indians.

In 1894, her health improving, LaFlesche married Henri Picotte, who was part French and part Sioux; she also began a new medical practice for Indians and whites at Bancroft, Nebraska. LaFlesche





practiced medicine there for the rest of her life, as her own health permitted. After LaFlesche's death on September 18, 1915, the *Walthill Times* added an extra page (in its September 24 issue) and filled it with warm eulogies to her. Friends recalled that hundreds of people in the area, Indian and Euro-American, owed their lives to her care.

The hospital that Susan LaFlesche built at Walthill has since been declared a national historic landmark. Since 1988, her memory has been celebrated at an annual festival there.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also LaFlesche, Susette Tibbles; Montezuma.

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## LaFlesche, Susette Tibbles

Susette LaFlesche (Bright Eyes, Inshta Theamba, Omaha, 1854-1903) became a major nineteenth-century Native rights advocate through the case of the Ponca Standing Bear [*Standing Bear v. Crook*, 1879], the first legal proceeding (decided in Omaha) to establish Native Americans as human beings under U.S. law.

LaFlesche was born near Bellevue, Nebraska, the eldest daughter of Joseph "Iron Eye" LaFlesche and Mary Gale LaFlesche, daughter of an Army surgeon. Like her sister Susan, Susette LaFlesche attended the Presbyterian mission school on the Omaha reservation. Both sisters were among the most brilliant students ever to attend the school. She also studied art at the University of Nebraska.

In the late 1870s, Susette traveled with her father to Indian Territory (later Oklahoma) to render rudimentary medical attention to the Poncas with Standing Bear, whose people had been forced to move there from their former homeland along the

Niobrara River in northern Nebraska. When the Poncas attempted to escape their forced exile and return to their homeland, they marched for several weeks in midwinter, finally eating their moccasins to survive, arriving at the Omaha reservation with bleeding feet. The Omahas, particularly the LaFlesche family, granted them sanctuary and sustenance.

Susette accompanied her brother Francis and Standing Bear on a lecture tour of Eastern cities in 1879 and 1880 to support the Poncas' case for a return of their homeland. Newspaper articles about the Poncas' forced exile by Omaha journalist Thomas H. Tibbles helped ignite a furor in Congress and among the public.

Tibbles, an editor at the *Omaha Herald*, was the first journalist to interview Standing Bear while the LaFlesche family sheltered the Poncas. Tibbles' accounts were telegraphed to newspapers on the East Coast. In the meantime, LaFlesche and Tibbles fell in love and married in 1882. Both also toured the East Coast with Standing Bear, "armed with news clippings on the Ponca story and endorsements from General [George] Crook, the mayor of Omaha, and leading Nebraska clergymen," raising support for the restoration of Ponca lands (Tibbles, 1880, 129).

In Boston, where support for Standing Bear's Poncas was very strong, a citizens' committee formed that included Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. While Susette LaFlesche was visiting Boston with Standing Bear, Longfellow said of her, "This is Minnehaha" (Tibbles, 1880, 130).

In Boston, Tibbles, LaFlesche, and Standing Bear first met Helen Hunt Jackson. The Poncas' story inflamed Jackson's conscience and changed her life. Heretofore known as a poet (and a childhood friend of Emily Dickinson), Jackson set out to write *A Century of Dishonor*, a best-selling book that described the angst of an America debating the future of the Native American peoples who had survived the last of the Indian wars. Jackson became a major figure in the Anglo-American debate over the future of Native Americans. Standing Bear and his people eventually were allowed to return home to the Niobrara River after Congress investigated the conditions under which they had been evicted. Standing Bear died there in 1908.

LaFlesche also coauthored a memoir with Standing Bear, *Ploughed Under: The Story of an Indian Chief* (1832). In ensuing years, LaFlesche and Tibbles also toured the British Isles. The couple lived in Washington, D.C., but eventually Susette returned to





Lincoln, Nebraska, where she died in 1903. She was buried in Bancroft, Nebraska. In 1994, Susette LaFlesche was inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Jackson, Helen Hunt; LaFlesche, Susan Picotte; *Standing Bear v. Crook*.

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## Leupp, Francis Ellington

Francis Ellington Leupp (1849–1918) is remembered in American history for his involvement in Native American issues and government policy. He served as commissioner of Indian Affairs from 1905 to 1909. Before and after his tenure in this post, Leupp was well known as an advocate of educating Indians in Anglo-American values and culture as an alternative to their anticipated extinction.

Although originally trained as a journalist who had no prior government or national political experience, Leupp's background in journalism provided an avenue into American politics. Historian Frederick E. Hoxie noted that Leupp was a "product of an old New York family, schooled in public piety by Mark Hopkins at Williams College," a prestigious institution in Williamstown, Massachusetts (Hoxie, 1997, 162). After he received an education at Williams College, Leupp worked as an editorial assistant under William Cullen Bryant for the *New York Evening Post*. In 1889, Leupp left his management position at the *Post* and moved to Washington, D.C. Fascinated with the political environment in Washington, Leupp became involved in the Civil Service Reform League and worked as the editor for the league's newspaper.



Francis E. Leupp was the twenty-seventh commissioner of Indian Affairs and a member of the Indian Rights Association and the U.S. Board of Indian Commissioners. Leupp was a noted Indian reform advocate who wrote prolifically on the subject. (*Indian Craftsman*, April 1909)

While serving as the editor for the Civil Service Reform League, Leupp developed a close relationship with one of the league's strongest supporters, Theodore Roosevelt. Leupp's friendship with Roosevelt proved critical for his future career in American government and politics. Both men shared common interests in the civil reforms of the late nineteenth century, and both closely followed numerous heated debates over Indian affairs.

When Herbert Welsh, founder of the Indian Rights Association, needed a new Washington lobbyist, Roosevelt strongly recommended Leupp for the position. At the insistence of Roosevelt, Welsh appointed Leupp to a three-year term as the association's lobbyist (Prucha, 1979, 34). Hoxie noted that Leupp "spent his three-year term hounding administrators who ignored the civil service rules, appearing at hearings on appropriations, and investigating charges of corruption and mismanagement" (Hoxie, 1997, 162). Involvement with the Indian Rights Association provided Leupp with an expertise in government policy and Indian affairs that in turn opened the door for future government appointments.





In 1896, President Grover Cleveland appointed Leupp to the Board of Indian Commissioners. When Roosevelt became president of the United States in 1901, Leupp continued to advocate Indian rights and worked closely with the Roosevelt administration on Indian policy. In 1905, Roosevelt replaced former President William McKinley's appointee, William A. Jones, with Leupp to be the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs, a position Leupp held until 1909. During his first five months as commissioner, Leupp visited Native communities across North America to look for "trouble spots" that needed his immediate attention. Leupp used this time to conduct field research for a book titled *Outlines of an Indian Policy* (1905), in which he laid out his agenda for Indian assimilation and acculturation.

During Leupp's tenure as commissioner, few issues demanded more of his time and attention than Indian education. According to Leupp, educating Indians in Anglo-American values and culture preserved Indian people from "extinction." Although Indians had always valued education, the traditional education Indian pupils received in their tribal communities did not satisfy the government's educational goals for Indian people. Unlike his predecessors, Leupp did not entirely approve of off-reservation boarding schools such as the Sherman Institute or Phoenix Indian School, but instead advocated and supported the use of reservation day schools. Leupp's philosophy of Indian education largely came from his previous experience with Indian people.

During the late nineteenth century, Leupp traveled to the Hopi Reservation in northeastern Arizona. During his visit with the Hopi, Leupp noticed how efficiently a Hopi woman and her daughters took care of their house, cooked, and washed dishes. Leupp commented that the Hopi woman "performed these housewifely duties as well as they would have been performed in most of the white settler's cabins in the Southwestern desert" (Leupp, 1910, 133). From this observation, Leupp concluded that Indian pupils who attended schools in close proximity to home influenced their parents and family to a much greater degree in comparison to those students who attended off-reservation boarding schools.

In spite of his many contributions, Leupp's tenure as commissioner is marked with controversy. A major supporter of Indian land allotment, Leupp firmly held that the government should control the

sale and ownership of Indian land. Under Leupp's allotment policy, Indian people across North America lost millions of acres of land. In addition to allotment, Leupp adamantly opposed Indian isolation at the expense of Indian wishes and desires. Leupp argued that Indians who lived on reservations should not be isolated from their white neighbors. In Leupp's opinion, Indian isolation hindered Indian "progress" and slowed down the economic development of the West.

Matthew T. Sakiestewa Gilbert

*See also* Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; General Allotment Act (Dawes Act).

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## Little Crow

Little Crow (Cetan Wakan, Santee, or Mdewakanton Sioux), also known as Taoyateduta ("His Red Nation"), was the leader of Dakota resistance to white invasion during the U.S.–Dakota War of 1862. Born about 1810 in the Bdewakantunwan village of Kapoza (where St. Paul, Minnesota, is today), Taoyateduta came from a line of Dakota chiefs, including the first Little Crow (his great-grandfather), Cetanwakanmani (his grandfather), and Wakinyantanka (his father). Despite the fact that he was tutored well in Dakota leadership and had earned an impressive war record, when his father was suffering from a fatal accident in 1846, he indicated his support for one of Little Crow's half brothers as his successor when he passed his medals on to him. His family believed Taoyateduta had spent too many years away from Kapoza to effectively assume the chieftainship. Undaunted by this, when the waters thawed that spring, Taoyateduta returned to challenge his half brother and in the process was shot by





*Mdewakanton Santee Sioux Chief Little Crow, who had previously been hospitable and accommodating toward white settlers, led a bloody Minnesota Sioux uprising in 1862 after many of his people nearly starved in U.S. captivity. The uprising was followed by the largest mass hanging in U.S. history. (Library of Congress)*

a bullet that traveled through both wrists before passing into his body. Through this act of bravery, he earned the support and sympathy of the villagers, and, when he recovered from his injuries, his chieftainship was secured.

The midnineteenth century was a difficult time to assume Dakota leadership because the contest over Dakota lands and resources had reached full intensity. From the time the first treaty was signed by Cetanwakanmani in 1805, the pressure to cede Dakota lands and abandon Dakota ways only intensified. A series of land cessions in 1837, 1851, and 1858 severed large chunks for white settlement and eventually confined the Dakota to a narrow strip of reservation land bordering the Minnesota River. Taoyateduta was faced with the difficult challenge of attempting to negotiate justice in the face of repeated treaty violations by the U.S. government, continued

white incursions on Dakota land, and constant colonization efforts organized among missionaries, traders, and Indian agents that served to deeply factionalize the Dakotas and undermine Dakota leadership. He consistently sought peaceful solutions to these problems and attempted to maintain good relations with whites in southern Minnesota, tolerating the Christianizing and civilizing efforts and addressing grievances through negotiation. Given the invading settler population, however, peaceful relations were impossible to maintain as long as the Dakotas were committed to maintaining their lands and way of life.

Taoyateduta's peaceful efforts ceased when he agreed to lead the Dakotas in war at the outbreak of the U.S.–Dakota War of 1862. The Dakotas had been pushed beyond their limits in the hot summer of 1862 when they were facing starvation as a consequence of another U.S. treaty violation. When a small group of Dakota warriors killed five white settlers near Acton Township on August 17 and the Dakotas faced the likelihood of a severe backlash, they knew they could not continue to live under those circumstances. The young warriors pleaded with Taoyateduta to lead them in war, and, though he initially refused to engage in what he knew was a futile effort, he reluctantly agreed when they called him a coward. In his famous speech, he finally conceded, "Braves, you are little children—you are fools. You will die like the rabbits when the hungry wolves hunt them in the Hard Moon. Taoyateduta is not a coward: he will die with you!"

On the morning of August 18 the Dakotas began their attack on the Lower Sioux Agency, killing most of the whites they encountered and taking others, primarily women and children, as prisoners. These actions set the Minnesota frontier settlements into a panic, and terrified white settlers fled to the nearby towns and Fort Ridgely. When news of the war spread to St. Paul, Governor Alexander Ramsey commissioned Henry Sibley to lead a regiment of 1,400 men on an expedition against the Dakotas. Once the white forces were mobilized, the Dakotas moved to a defensive position and the war was quelled.

After the final battle was fought at Wood Lake on September 23, 1862, and the release of the 269 white and mixed-blood prisoners was subsequently arranged, Taoyateduta left his Minnesota homeland heartbroken. He fled the state, as did thousands of others, to either Dakota Territory or Canada. After spending time farther west attempting to rally





indigenous support for continued resistance efforts, Taoyateduta traveled to British Canada to try to build an alliance against the Americans. Without success, in the summer of 1863, he returned to Minnesota with only a small group of Dakotas.

On July 3 Taoyateduta was shot while picking raspberries with his son, Wowinape, by Nathan and Chauncey Lamson, who received bounty payments for their deed. Unfortunately, attacks on him did not end with his death. His body was dragged through the town of Hutchinson, and white boys celebrated the Fourth of July by placing firecrackers in his ears and nose. After he had been scalped, mutilated, and dismembered, his remains were displayed and kept at the Minnesota Historical Society for 108 years before they were finally returned to his family and laid to rest in Flandreau, South Dakota.

From the start of the war to the time of his death, Taoyateduta fought unceasingly for the Dakotas' right to exist in their homeland. He embodies the spirit of indigenous resistance in a struggle that persists today.

*Waziyatawin Angela Wilson*

*See also* Great Sioux Uprising.

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## Little Turtle

Miami leader Little Turtle was responsible for one of the biggest disasters in U.S. Army history. When he realized the futility of continuing to fight, he renounced war and became a loyal ally of the American government.

Little Turtle (Michikinikwa) was born near the Eel River in the vicinity of present-day Fort Wayne, Indiana, around 1752. His father was a chief of the Miamis, but, because his mother was a Mahican, tribal custom dictated that he could not inherit a leadership position. Nonetheless, Little Turtle displayed fine leadership and warrior qualities as a young man, and he was eventually made a Miami chief by the tribal elders. He was pro-British by nature, and in 1780 his warriors attacked and destroyed a French-Illinois expedition under Colonel Augustin de la Balme. After the American Revolution, he became a leading spokesperson for resistance to white encroachment north of the Ohio River and helped to form a loose confederation of Miami,

Shawnee, Potawatomi, and Ojibwa Indians. In 1787, Congress guaranteed the Indians that their hunting grounds would be respected. Within a few years, however, a rash of illegal settlements precipitated a fierce border war between the Indians and the frontierspeople. By 1790, when it was apparent the Indians would not accept the squatters, the American government resorted to punitive measures.

The U.S. government initially chose General Josiah Harmar, who had assembled a force of 1,100 poorly trained Pennsylvania and Kentucky militia, stiffened by 300 army regulars, to deal with the Indians. Little Turtle by this time was principal war chief of the Miamis, and he ordered his braves to



*Little Turtle, chief of the Miami tribe, led militant opposition to the influx of settlers in the Ohio country in a conflict known as Little Turtle's War. However, after his defeat at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794, Little Turtle became an ally of the United States. (North Wind Picture Archives)*





feign retreat, luring the Americans deeper and deeper into the countryside. Harmar met no opposition until he reached Little Turtle's village, where the Indians ambushed and mauled two reconnaissance expeditions in October 1790. Having lost 262 men and accomplished nothing, the white militia withdrew to Kentucky. This victory assured Little Turtle's subsequent leadership over the Maumee Valley tribes, and they united in time to face an even greater onslaught.

In September 1791, the government dispatched General Arthur St. Clair with a force of 2,300 raw regulars and 300 Kentucky militia against the Indians. Little Turtle commanded a force of similar size, assisted by the Shawnees Blue Jacket and Tecumseh. Desertion soon reduced St. Clair's force to 1,500 men, and, encouraged by this weakness, Little Turtle abandoned his usual defensive tactics in favor of a direct assault. This tactic was something that Native Americans had never tried before. On the morning of November 4, 1791, his warriors stormed the American encampment while the soldiers were breakfasting and routed them. St. Clair, gravely ill, roused himself from bed and attempted to rally the survivors before the entire army was annihilated. A bayonet charge enabled 500 men to escape destruction but at tremendous cost, with over 600 soldiers killed and 300 wounded, and Little Turtle's losses appear to have been negligible. In November 1792 he also defeated a party of Kentuckians led by John Adair. Fearing that the dreaded "long knives" would attack again, however, Little Turtle spent the next two years shoring up tribal solidarity and soliciting help from the British.

As feared, the Americans appeared once more, this time with General Anthony Wayne at their head. Wayne spent almost two years training and equipping his force of 2,000 men and advanced carefully, building forts along the way. Little Turtle respected his professional and energetic preparations, calling him "the chief who never sleeps." The Indians harassed his line of supply with impunity, but when they rashly attacked Fort Recovery in July 1794 and were rebuffed, many grew sullen and returned home. Little Turtle took stock of "Mad Anthony" and counseled other chiefs to seek peace. "We have never been able to surprise him," he warned. "Think well of it. Something whispers to me, listen to peace." Little Turtle was ridiculed and lost command of the Indians to Blue Jacket. On August 20, 1794, Wayne crushed the confederation at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, in which Little Turtle commanded a few Miamis and

played a small role. The following year, Little Turtle was a signatory to the Treaty of Greenville, whereby the Indians gave up most of the land that comprises present-day Ohio. Containing his bitterness, he declared, "I am the last to sign the treaty; I will be the last to break it."

From that time on, Little Turtle remained a friend of the United States, and in 1797 he traveled to Washington, D.C., to meet with President George Washington and Tadeusz Kosciuszko, who presented him with a brace of pistols. He was sincere in his quest for peace and made additional land concessions with Governor William Henry Harrison, who built a house for him on the Eel River. He also took the white scout William Wells as his son-in-law and kept the Miamis out of Tecumseh's tribal coalition. Little Turtle succumbed to illness at Fort Wayne on July 14, 1812 and received a military burial.

Steve L. Danver

*See also* Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Tecumseh.

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## Louis, Adrian

An enrolled member of the Lovelock Paiute, the poet and writer Adrian C. Louis was born in 1946 in northern Nevada, where he grew up the oldest of twelve children. After spending the late 1960s in San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury section, he graduated from Brown University with an MA in creative writing. Louis taught from 1984 until 1997 at Oglala Lakota College at Pine Ridge in South Dakota. Since 1999, he has been an English professor in the Minnesota State University system, in which he currently teaches and directs the creative writing program at Southwest Minnesota State University in Marshall, Minnesota.

A cofounder of the Native American Journalists Association (NAJA), Louis has produced much diverse work, including his early writing as a jour-





nalist and an editor for four tribal newspapers; a book of short stories, *Wild Indians & Other Creatures*; a novel, *Skins*; and twelve volumes of poetry: *Evil Corn*; *Bone & Juice*; *Ancient Acid Flashes Back*; *Skull Dance*; *Ceremonies of the Damned*; *Vortex of Indian Fevers*; *Blood Thirsty Savages*; *Days of Obsidian*, *Days of Grace*, with Jim Northrup, Al Hunter, and Denise Sweet; *Among the Dog Eaters*; *Fire Water World: Poems*; *Sweets for the Dancing Bears*; *Muted War Drums*; and *The Indian Cheap Wine Séance*.

Louis has received numerous awards and accolades. *Fire Water World* won the 1989 Poetry Center Award from San Francisco State University. Louis was named Writer of the Year for poetry in 2001 by Wordcraft Circle of Native Writers and Storytellers for *Ancient Acid Flashes Back*. He is the recipient of a Pushcart Prize and was elected to the Nevada Writers Hall of Fame in 1999. He has been granted fellowships by the Bush Foundation, the National Endowment for the Arts, the Wurlitzer Foundation, the South Dakota Arts Council, and the Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Foundation.

Louis' most acclaimed work, *Skins*, focuses on the lives of two brothers, Rudy and Mogie Yellow Shirt, inhabitants of the Pine Ridge Reservation. Rudy is a tribal police officer surviving the death of his marriage and the dismal poverty and alcoholism among his Oglala people on the reservation. He also suffers from internalized racism, stereotyping his own people rather than truly helping them as he once sought to do. In 2002, director Chris Eyre produced *Skins* as a feature film starring Graham Greene, Eric Schweig, and Gary Farmer.

Louis' poetry is highly esteemed and focuses on much the same sort of real, hard-core, reservation-life issues found in *Skins*. He writes of his personal and the collective struggle with alcohol; the stark South Dakota landscape; government programs; poor nutrition, health, and dental care; reservation litter; and racism. His work interrogates the meaning of individual growth for Native peoples; it searches out definitions of the self in this complex and devastated world and questions what "betterment" exactly is. Louis's poetry reaches beyond the Indian world, however, showing commonality between the historical and contemporary plights of American Indians and the current situation of Iraqi people. It mourns his wife's slow loss to Alzheimer's at the same time it celebrates his love for her. Louis's poetry looks death and life in the eye squarely and challenges them both.

Kimberly Roppolo

*See also* Alcoholism and Substance Abuse.

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## Luna, James Alexander

Artist James Luna (Luiseño, from the La Jolla reservation in California, b. 1950) creates both installation art and performance art pieces that use humor and irony to question social and cultural issues, Indian identity, stereotypes of American Indians, and representations of Native Americans. Because of his unique style of art and critical subject matter, Luna has broad worldwide recognition, which is unusual for Native American artists. On the other hand, his work is not well-known by collectors who seek Native American art adhering to the stereotypes and misrepresentations of Indians, which he addresses as subject matter in his work.

His work explores issues such as socioeconomic problems that plague Native Americans, as well as the roots of those problems and their manifestations, such as substance abuse and cultural conflict. In his artwork, Luna often creates artificial environments within galleries or museums, where he reproduces an image of, or performs a representation of, a stereotype of Native Americans. His intent is to present or perform the work in such a way as to demonstrate the ridiculous nature of the stereotype or perception, showing how Native Americans are misrepresented. Further, he seeks to involve the audience in this experience so as to have them confront their beliefs and challenge their cultural perspectives and boundaries.

Luna uses a variety of media in his performances and installations, including everyday objects, audio, video, and slides. His performance art depends on interaction between the audience and artist. The performance is the artwork. Unlike





painting or sculpture, there is no actual object; this type of art must be experienced. When the performance is over, only the idea or concept of the work remains; this is the nature of performance art.

His installations utilize the same types of media to present a concept, only without his presence. In either case, the result is the same; because he uses material and/or actions that provoke a response, the viewer must choose to interact or ignore the work. Either way forces the viewer to think about the concepts to which he is drawing attention.

Installation and performance art are considered temporal, because they exist only in the moment, because one cannot collect or display conceptual works of art created through performance or temporary installation. This makes the work more provocative because it is a concept, not an object; to some this is a radical idea. However, Luna has created works that, despite the fact that they no longer exist, continue to provoke a reaction through photographic documentation.

Luna's best-known work is *The Artifact Piece*, which was both a performance and an installation. The first performance of this work took place in 1987 at the San Diego Museum of Man. In this work, he put himself on display in the museum for several days. He lay perfectly still on a bed of sand with only a sheet covering him, in a typical museum display case surrounded by exhibit labels and situated among two other cases that displayed his belongings. He was presented as though he were dead, an artifact. Visitors were not made aware that he was presenting himself as a living specimen. They were often shocked when they realized he was alive and returning their gaze all the while listening to their comments.

This work referenced and critiqued the way Native Americans have been and still are, in many cases, exhibited by museums. The point of the work was to call attention to what academics call "museumification," where Natives have been and in some cases continue to be interpreted for the public, in museums and galleries, as objects of the past and not as people of the present. This work was very successful, and it is cited and referenced by many publications, in many different fields, from art history to American Indian studies, some of which are listed in "References and Further Reading."

Luna's work is informed by both academic and personal experience as a contemporary Native American. He is formally trained as a painter, with a bachelor of fine arts in studio arts from the Univer-

sity of California at Irvine and a master of arts in counseling from San Diego State University. Luna currently works as an academic counselor at Palomar Community College in addition to his work as an artist

Traci L. Morris-Carlsten

See also Native American Museums.

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## Lyons, Oren

Oren Lyons (Onondaga, b. 1930), whose Onondaga name is Joagquisho, became known worldwide during the last half of the twentieth century as an author, publisher, and crisis negotiator, as well as a spokesperson for the Haudenosaunee in several world forums. He is also an accomplished graphic artist as well as a renowned lacrosse player and coach. In 1990, Lyons organized an Iroquois national team that played in the world Lacrosse championships in Australia. In addition, Lyons is a professor of Native American Studies at the State University of New York at Buffalo.

Lyons was educated in art at Syracuse University (1954–1958). After his graduation from college, he enjoyed a successful career as a commercial artist at Norcross Greeting Cards in New York City for more than a decade (1959–1970). Lyons began as a paste-up artist at Norcross; in a dozen years at the firm, he worked his way up to head planning director for seasonal lines.

In 1970, Lyons ended his career in the greeting card industry and returned home to the Onondaga territory, where he was condoled (installed) as a faithkeeper on the Iroquois Grand Council. Lyons also was part of a negotiating team from the Iroquois Confederacy that helped resolve the 1990 standoff between Mohawks and authorities at Kanesatake (Oka), Quebec. The Confederacy's negotiators came to occupy a crucial middle ground between the war-





riors and Canadian officials during the months of negotiations that preceded the use of armed force by the Canadian Army and police at Kanesatake and Kahnawake. The Iroquois negotiators urged both sides to concentrate on long-term solutions to problems brought to light by the summer's violence. They recommended a fair land-rights process in Canada, the creation of viable economic bases for the communities involved in the crisis, and the recognition of long-standing (but often ignored) treaty rights, including border rights.

Lyons has been involved in a number of other Iroquois rights issues, most notably the return of wampum belts to the Confederacy by the State of New York. He has spoken on behalf of the Haudenosaunee in several international forums, including the United Nations. One of Lyons's main credits as a writer is his lead authorship of *Exiled in the Land of the Free* (1992).

As a faithkeeper, Lyons has been active in bringing together religious peoples of differing traditions. On April 28, 1997, for example, he took part in an interfaith service at Saint Bartholomew's Church in New York City with leaders from Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, Sikh, Jainist, Islamic, and Hindi clergy in support of the United Nations. One aim of the service was to diminish international tensions based on religious differences.

Lyons has faced harsh attacks by independent merchants in the Iroquois Confederacy regarding his belief that some of their profits should go back to the nations in which they do business. This criticism reached a peak in the late winter of 1998, when Lyons and other supporters of the traditional council burned and bulldozed four smoke shops on Onondaga territory. Lyons and other members of the council have long maintained that sovereignty is a collective right to be exercised by a governing body, not a license to make profits because merchants on Native American territories may avoid paying New York state sales tax.

"Who represents the sovereignty of the United States?" Lyons and coauthor John C. Mohawk asked in *Cultural Survival Quarterly* (1994, 58). "Is it the New York Yankees? Bloomingdales? The *Los Angeles Times*? William F. Buckley?" Just as private enterprises do not speak for the United States, wrote Lyons and Mohawk, private Iroquois businesspeople cannot exercise national sovereignty as individuals, especially when it is used as a cover for socially debasing activities such as smuggling illegal drugs. Lyons has also been a longtime opponent

of Native American dependence on gambling for economic development: "Gaming has run its course before and each time it goes bust," Lyons has said. "Poor people are the ones who gamble. It's like chewing on your own wrist" (Slackman, 1996, A-8). When freebooting smugglers used some of their profits to establish gambling houses at Akwesasne (St. Regis) in the late 1980s, for example, Lyons and Mohawk argued that owners of the casinos and bingo halls were crippling Mohawk sovereignty rather than exercising it. "Common sense dictates," they wrote, "that the gambling operators are the greatest threat to Mohawk sovereignty" (Lyons and Mohawk, 1994, 59).

Lyons has sounded environmental warnings in a number of international forums. The venues differ, but the message is always similar: "We were told that there would come a time when we would not find clean water to wash ourselves, to cook our foods, to make our medicines, and to drink," Lyons says. Today Lyons peers into the future with great apprehension. "We were told that there would come a time when, tending our gardens, we would pull up our plants and the vines would be empty. Our precious seed would begin to disappear. . . . Can we withstand another 500 years of 'sustainable development?' I don't think so" (Lyons, 1992). "It is not too late," Lyons told the United Nations General Assembly. "We still have options. We need the courage to change our values to the regeneration of families, the life that surrounds us" (Lyons, Address, 1992).

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System.

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## MacDonald, Peter

Peter MacDonald (Navajo, Hoshkaisith Begay, b. 1928) was elected chairman of the Navajo Nation four times before being removed from office by the Tribal Council in 1989 for accepting bribes and then going to a federal prison for helping incite a riot that led to the death of two of his supporters. After becoming tribal chairman in 1971, MacDonald led the Navajo government in taking advantage of the Indian self-determination movement to take over many of the governmental functions previously exercised by the U.S. government's Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). He also helped found the Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT) in 1974 and served as its chair. CERT worked to help tribes benefit more from the exploitation of their natural resources, including mining of coal and uranium.

Hoshkaisith Begay lived a traditional Navajo youth herding sheep. In his autobiography he describes attending the BIA school at Teec Nos Pos in northeastern Arizona where he received the name Peter MacDonald. He later ran away twice from the boarding school at Shiprock, New Mexico, because of the teasing, taunting, and regimentation, becoming a sixth-grade dropout. MacDonald noted that the hostile attitude toward Navajos in the BIA was emotionally devastating. Students were taught that Navajos were "superstitious savages . . . we were forced to go to church without being given an understanding of the Christian religion. We were made to feel that our parents, our grandparents, and everyone who had come before us was inferior. . . . We were constantly told that we were truly inferior to them and that we would always be inferior" (MacDonald, 1993, 49). At age fifteen (having lied about his age earlier to get a job), he was drafted into the Marine Corp where he was trained as a code talker. World War II ended before MacDonald could go into battle, however.

After being honorably discharged in 1946 and working for a short time, in 1948 MacDonald enrolled at Bacone, a Baptist Indian junior college in Oklahoma on the GI Bill. There he earned a general equivalency diploma (GED), then majored in sociology, and took courses in Christianity and

Indian history. He went to the University of Oklahoma, working nights in the state mental hospital. The BIA encouraged MacDonald to enter a trade school when his GI Bill funds ran out. Instead, he worked two years to save enough money so that he could return to the University of Oklahoma in 1955, where he earned an electrical engineering degree in 1957.

MacDonald then went to work at Hughes Aircraft, where in a few years he became director of its Polaris missile project. He also received a taste of a corporate executive's upper-class lifestyle. Despite his success at Hughes, MacDonald took a leave in 1963 and was soon appointed director of the Navajo Division of Management, Methods and Procedures. Two years later he was placed in charge of a large War on Poverty program under the federal Office of Economic Opportunity. The Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity ran Head Start programs, community development, alcoholism rehabilitation, and many other programs that directly or indirectly affected almost every Navajo. This experience gave him the name recognition necessary to run for Navajo Nation chairman in 1970, winning by a landslide.

While he successfully negotiated better contracts for the Navajos' energy resources and worked to have Navajos run more of the programs formerly administered by the BIA, MacDonald also became enmeshed in a bitter land dispute between the Hopi and Navajo Nations. His feuding with Arizona's powerful Senator Barry Goldwater hurt the Navajos in this dispute. A strong leader, he sought to pack the tribal court with judges who would rule the way he wanted and to dictate the council's agenda.

Signs of hubris appeared in his second term when, represented by F. Lee Bailey, MacDonald was tried and acquitted of taking bribes. Some of his opponents called him "Mac Dollar." In 1982, MacDonald lost the election, partly because of his lack of success in resolving the Navajo Hopi land dispute. However, he was again elected chairman in 1986. In 1989 he was placed on administrative leave by the tribal council, and a period of political turmoil ensued that led to his going to a federal prison. He was released after being pardoned by President William Clinton in 2001.

*Jon Reyhner*

*See also* Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Council of Energy Resource Tribes.





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## Major Ridge

Major Ridge (ca. 1771–1839) was one of several Cherokees who opposed John Ross and his supporters during the years leading to their removal from their homelands in the late 1820s and 1830s. As a leader of the Treaty Party, Ridge favored cooperation with the administration of Andrew Jackson, which forced the Cherokees' removal to Indian Territory, later called Oklahoma.

Nunna Hidihi (also Nungo Hattarhee, "Man on the Mountaintop Who Sees Clearly" or "*The Ridge*") was born at Hiwassee in the Old Cherokee Nation (present-day Tennessee) about 1771. He was the son of a Cherokee man named Ogonstota and Susannah Catherine, a Scot-Cherokee woman of the Deer Clan. Shortly after his birth, Ridge's family moved to what would become northern Georgia. Having little formal education, Ridge gained most of his academic skills from his parents and neighbors. He was the uncle of Elias Boudinot and Stand Watie.

As a young man, Ridge's considerable oratorical skills facilitated his election to the Cherokee Council when he was only twenty-one. He became speaker of the Cherokee Council within a few years after that. Ridge also became a prosperous farmer and in 1792 married Princess Schoya (Susie Wickett), a full-blooded Cherokee. They had a son, John Ridge, who is sometime confused with his father.

The elder Ridge received the title "major" during the Creek War of 1813–1814 while serving under General Andrew Jackson at the Battle of Horseshoe Bend. He also joined Jackson's forces during the First Seminole War in 1818, leading a Cherokee contingent against the Seminoles.

Early in the 1830s, Major Ridge, his son John, and Elias Boudinot became leaders in the pro-removal Treaty Party. On December 22, 1835, Ridge was one of the signers of the Treaty of New Echota, which exchanged the Cherokee tribal land east of the Mississippi River for lands to the west. Like a number of other leaders (Indian and white), Ridge



*Major Ridge was one of several Cherokees who favored cooperation with the administration of Andrew Jackson, which forced the Cherokees' removal to Indian Territory, later called Oklahoma. (Library of Congress)*

believed that the policy of removal was the best way to preserve the Cherokees in the face of rapidly expanding white encroachment. The treaty was of dubious legality, however, and was rejected by Chief John Ross and a majority of the Cherokee people. Despite its flaws, the U.S. Senate ratified the treaty.

After Major Ridge signed the Treaty of New Echota, he was reputed to have said it was his death warrant. Four years later, following the Trail of Tears, Major Ridge, John Ridge, and Boudinot were dragged from their homes and stabbed several times by a group of executioners, many of whose children and relatives had suffered fatalities during the Trail of Tears during the winter of 1838–1839. Many Cherokees believed that the treaty and Major Ridge were responsible for their losses.

Ridge's nephew Stand Watie, the future Confederate general in the Civil War, also had been targeted for assassination but escaped.

*Bruce E. Johansen*





See also *Trail of Tears*; Ross, John; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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## Mangas Coloradas

Mangas Coloradas was a Chiricahuan Apache leader during the mid-1800s. Born in approximately 1790 in southwestern New Mexico near today's Silver City, he lived through periods of Spanish and Mexican peace establishments, chronic war that followed their collapse, and the first phases of American conquest. From the 1830s to his death in 1863, Mangas Coloradas was the most prominent leader of the Chiricahuas in their struggle for regional dominance with the Mexicans and, starting in the late 1840s, with the Americans. He met a treacherous end at the hands of American soldiers, being shot as an unarmed prisoner.

Chiricahuas consisted of four major bands: the Chihennes, Chokonens, Bedonkohes, and Nednhis, which were further divided into multiple local groups. There was no single tribe in political terms, but all were related, sharing strong linguistic and cultural bonds. Mangas Coloradas probably was born as a Bedonkohe and married to the Chihenne band. For the first decades of his life he was known as Fuerte and only later received the name Kan-dazis-tlishishen, or Mangas Coloradas ("Red/Pink Sleeves"). Born into a prominent family, he matured during the period of Spanish peace establishments, during which rations and gifts were distributed to the Apaches. Economic and political unrest provoked by the collapse of Spanish power caused this system to crumble. Struggling Mexican regimes no longer could afford to pay off the Chiricahuas. Escalating warfare became epidemic during the 1830s and continued to devastate both the Chiricahuas and the Mexicans until the 1880s. Due to the policies of extermination and treacherous acts of genocide, the Mexicans of Sonora especially gained Mangas Coloradas' hatred.

Character was the single most important factor in Mangas's rise to prominence. Mangas apparently excelled as a fierce fighter, a courageous leader, a generous statesman, a wise diplomat, and a loving family man—all traits valued in Chiricahua society. From the 1830s onward his power and prestige

among the many Chiricahuan bands were exceptional. He not only controlled his own local group, which was a hybrid mix of Bedonkohes and Chihennes, but also attracted a wide following of fighting men and led many times a combined force of Chiricahuas from all bands. He gained even more influence by marrying his children wisely. For example, one daughter wedded the Chokonon leader Cochise, while others married prominent Navajo, White Mountain Apache, and Mescalero Apache men. During his life, Mangas Coloradas had at least four wives and perhaps as many as fifteen children. Overall, he was exceptionally well-connected with the many Apache divisions of the Southwest. Mexicans recognized him as the "general" of the Chiricahuas, the most prominent man of the militarily powerful people, whose cooperation and approval were vital for any significant peace initiative to succeed. He was also synonymous with Apache power and cruelty among many Mexicans, and the American invaders knew his reputation when they arrived in the late 1840s. General Stephen Kearny's army, John R. Bartlett's boundary commission, and General Edwin V. Sumner, New Mexico's military commander, all treated him as the most prominent Chiricahuan man.

At first, Mangas Coloradas advocated peaceful relations with the Americans, who shared a common enemy with him: the Mexicans. The Americans were rich in trade commodities and thus useful as partners. A lack of mutual respect, racial hatred, and economic greed, however, brought war, and, despite peace agreements, several violent incidents caused deterioration in the American-Chiricahua Apache relations throughout the 1850s and early 1860s. During the last years of the prominent chief's life, American invaders started to inundate much of his country in the roles of miners, ranchers, and farmers. Mangas himself was engaged in destructive war with the Americans during the early 1860s and was killed by them in 1863 after he had arrived for peace negotiations, was captured, and handed over to the American military. While he was a prisoner, soldiers taunted him and burned his feet, and, when Mangas Coloradas responded, he was shot down and killed, his body thrown in a ditch after being decapitated for "scientific purposes." Military reports contained a fabricated story of an escape attempt.

During his lifetime, Mangas Coloradas saw Chiricahuan power dwindle under the double pressure of Spanish/Mexican and American colonization. When he was born, the Chiricahuas were the





dominant group, but his death signaled the beginning of the end for Apache power. In a little longer than two decades, all the surviving Chiricahuas would be exiled to Florida as prisoners of war.

Janne Lahti

*See also* Cochise.

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## Mankiller, Wilma

After a childhood in rural Oklahoma and a youthful period in the San Francisco area, Wilma Pearl Mankiller became the first woman to lead a major Indian nation in the United States.

Mankiller was born in Rocky Mountain, Oklahoma, on November 18, 1945, a daughter of a Cherokee father and a Dutch-Irish mother, one of eleven children. After spending her early years close to her people, at the age of eleven she and her family moved to San Francisco as a part of the relocation program implemented by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Mankiller had a difficult time adjusting to Hunter's Point, the impoverished, predominantly African American neighborhood in which her family lived. Having completed her high school education, she began to create opportunities to work for the good of Indian people. When the issue of American Indian civil rights began to gain the national spotlight in the late 1960s, Mankiller's position in the Bay Area enabled her to play a vital role in the Red Power Movement. After marrying an Ecuadorian, Hugo Olaya, and having two children, she became director of the American Indian Youth Center in East Oakland, California. Although caring for her family kept her from being present on Alcatraz Island herself when American Indian activists occupied the former federal prison in 1969, Mankiller raised money to support the protestors and visited them on Alcatraz.

Mankiller and Olaya divorced in 1977, the same year she completed her bachelor of arts at Union College. Mankiller then returned to Oklahoma, continuing her career of advocacy by addressing two of the most relevant issues to reser-



*The first woman to become chief of the Cherokee Nation, Wilma Pearl Mankiller is a very well-known Native American activist nationwide. (University of Utah Women's Week Celebration)*

vation communities: water and housing. At the same time, she did graduate work, earning her master's degree in community planning at the University of Arkansas in 1979. She worked for the Cherokee Nation as an economic stimulus coordinator and became the tribe's program development specialist in 1979. However, an automobile accident that year left Mankiller seriously injured and hospitalized for a lengthy period. Her health problems were compounded when she was diagnosed with systemic myasthenia gravis, a glandular autoimmune disorder requiring surgery and extending her period of recuperation. Despite her health problems, she was able to return to active political life, founding and directing the Cherokee Community Development Department in 1981.

Mankiller's activities as an advocate for treaty rights and better services earned notice. She moved





into the political structure of the Cherokee Nation during 1983 when the principal chief of the nation, Ross O. Swimmer, asked her to be his running mate. Despite receiving hate mail and death threats because of her gender, she became the first woman elected deputy principal chief. After Swimmer resigned to become head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in December 1985, Mankiller was appointed to serve out the two years remaining in his term. Once in charge of the more than 100,000-member Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, Mankiller concentrated on the most vital issues facing her people: unemployment, education, health care, and economic development. Her successes made her very popular with her constituents, and she became the first woman elected to lead the Cherokee Nation in 1987, when she was voted to the position of principal chief, capturing more than 80 percent of the vote. Despite continued health problems requiring a kidney transplant, she was reelected in 1991 and served as the leader of the Cherokee Nation until the end of her second term in 1995, choosing not to run for reelection due to persistent health concerns.

Even after Mankiller stepped down from her role as head of the Cherokee Nation, she continued being politically active. She continues to live in the capital of the Cherokee Nation, Tahlequah, Oklahoma, with her Cherokee second husband, Charlie Soap. Over her career, she has received numerous honors, including a special White House ceremony at the end of her term as principal chief, a Humanitarian Award from the Ford Foundation, induction into the National Women's Hall of Fame in 1993, and the nation's highest civilian honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom, in 1998. In addition, she has published two books: her best-selling 1993 autobiography, *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People*, and *Every Day Is a Good Day: Reflections of Contemporary Indigenous Women* (2004).

Steven L. Danver

See also Occupation of Alcatraz Island; Trail of Tears; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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## Manuelito

Manuelito, a Spanish name given him by Mexicans, is noted for his resistance to Mexican and American invasions of Navajoland, or *Dinétah*. During his lifetime, Hastiin Ch'iil Hajiin (his Native name) was committed to Navajo sovereignty and strove to maintain possession of Navajo lands.

Manuelito was born into the *Bit'ahni* Clan (Folded Arms People) near Bear Ears, Utah, around 1818. Following the teachings of the ancestors, Manuelito trained as a medicine man who followed *hózhó*, the path of harmony and balance to Old Age, the path that Navajos had been following for many generations. Manuelito's marriage to the daughter of the headman Narbona provided him with the wise leader's insight. In later years, Manuelito also found his wife Juanita to be a valuable companion.

Beginning in the late 1500s, Spaniards and then Mexicans came into the Southwest seeking their fortunes and establishing colonies. Navajos experienced cultural changes that made them herders and warriors. With the horse, Navajos ably impeded the foreigners' advances. Manuelito witnessed the shifting relationships of peace and conflict between Navajos and Mexicans. In the 1830s, Mexicans rode into Navajoland determined to break Navajo resistance and to capture women and children for the slave trade. Slavery had been known in the Southwest, but the slave trade intensified with Euro-American invasions. Slave raiders targeted Navajo women and children. In fact, raiding for Navajo slaves reached a peak during the 1830s. In a battle at Copper Pass in 1835 in the Chuska Mountains, warriors led by Narbona and Manuelito successfully defeated the Mexicans. At that time, Manuelito was a young man.

By the time the United States claimed the Southwest in 1846, Manuelito was a respected war chief, and the cycle of peace and conflict among Navajos, other tribal peoples, and the U.S. immigrants began anew. In 1851, the establishment of Fort Defiance in Navajoland preceded a war that would end in the Navajos' defeat. The conflict began over the pasturelands that lay outside the newly established fort. In 1858, General William Brooks asserted control of the pastures for U.S. Army use. In defiance, Manuelito continued to pasture his livestock on the disputed lands, whereupon Brooks ordered the livestock slaughtered. Soon afterward, a Navajo killed Brooks's black slave, and Brooks demanded that the Navajos produce the murderer for American justice. Eventually, Navajos





produced a body, most likely that of a Mexican captive. Enraged at what he considered Navajo arrogance, Brooks called for a war. In 1860 Manuelito and 1,000 warriors struck at Fort Defiance several times but were unable to take the fort.

The American Civil War turned the U.S. Army's attention away from Navajoland, and Fort Defiance was abandoned. After the war, European-American settlement again threatened the Navajos. Manuelito led the resistance and urged his people to have courage. Finding Navajos to be obstacles to white expansion, General James H. Carleton ordered their removal to a reservation near Fort Sumner, New Mexico, where the Navajos would learn the arts of civilization.

General Carleton enlisted Indian fighter Kit Carson for the campaign against the Diné. Carson and his men literally scorched Navajoland. They destroyed cornfields, peach trees, hogans, and livestock. By 1863 destitute Navajos began surrendering to the Americans. As prisoners, they endured a 300-mile journey to the internment camp. Some Navajo leaders went with their people, encouraging them to keep heart. Navajo bodies littered the trail. The old and sick were abandoned if they held up the march. Pregnant women were shot and killed if they could not keep up. Many drowned when they tried to cross the Rio Grande. At the prison, the Navajos barely survived.

Manuelito, however, vowed to remain free. The U.S. Army, fearing that he served as inspiration to others who eluded their enemy, wished to either capture or kill him. In 1865, Navajo leaders, including Herrera, met Manuelito and gave him the army's message to surrender. Manuelito refused, declaring that "his mother and his God lived in the West and he would not leave them." He would not leave his native home and the United States could kill if they pleased, but he would not leave.

Finally, in 1866, wounded and ill, Manuelito surrendered and was interned at the Bosque Rodondo prison. After four years, General Carleton reluctantly admitted that his plan was not working. There was talk of returning the Navajos to their former homes. On June 1, 1868, Manuelito and other leaders signed a treaty so that they could return to *Diné'tah*. The treaty stipulated a peaceful relationship between Navajos and the United States, defined a boundary for a reservation, and required education for Navajo children. Seventeen days later, over 8,000 Navajos began the journey home. About 3,000 Navajos had died during the war.



*Manuelito was one of the most accomplished Navajo war leaders and was recognized as head chief of the Navajo from 1870 to 1884. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

Upon return to *Diné'tah*, Manuelito remained an influential leader who articulated his concerns for the return of his people's land. He was appointed head of the first Navajo police who would keep order on the reservation. In 1874, he traveled with his wife and other Navajo leaders to Washington, D.C., to meet President Ulysses S. Grant. In 1894, Manuelito died from disease and alcoholism. His widow Juanita and his daughters carried on his messages about the importance of land for the coming generations.

*Jennifer Nez Denetdale*

*See also* Carson, Christopher "Kit"; Long Walk.

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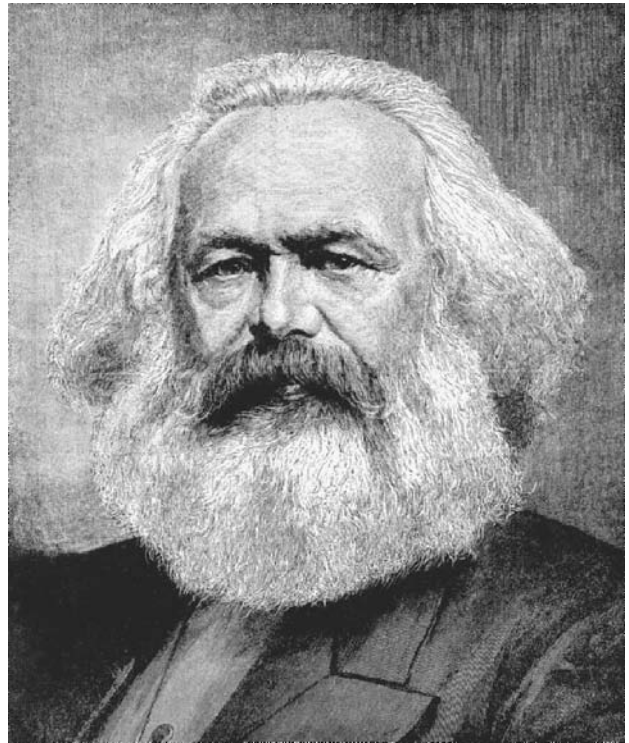
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## Marx, Karl, and Native American Societies

Karl Heinrich Marx (1818–1883) was a philosopher, social scientist, historian, and revolutionary, regarded as one of the most important social thinkers of the nineteenth century, who developed Marxist theory along with Friedrich Engels (1820–1895). Their combined works constitute the basis of Marxism, a theory of philosophy (dialectical materialism), history (historical materialism), and economics that views the state as a device for the exploitation of the masses by the dominant class and that views class struggle as the catalyst for social change.

In his examination of the evolution of human society, Marx identified five basic historical developments or “regularities” in the modes of production: savagery (primitive), barbarism (nomadism), oriental despotism (slave), feudalism, and capitalism. He theorized the inevitable self-destructive end of capitalism through a proletariat revolution and rise of a superior communist society. The most extensive theoretical discussions of precapitalist societies by Marx and Engels are found in the *Grundrisse der Kritik der Politischen Ökonomie* (Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy), *Pre-Capitalist Economic Formations*, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, and *Ethnological Notebooks*.

The Euro-centric presumption of an inevitable evolution of human society from primitivism to “civilization” forms the basis of the historical tension between indigenous and Marxist scholars. This critique links Marxism with other modes of Western thinking that view the “difference” of indigenous peoples and societies as deficient. Within this framework, indigenous societies are measured against Western norms of human “progress” and development. Other embedded assumptions—of human beings as superior to “nature,” of religion as the opiate of the masses, and of class as the dominant unit of social organization—have contributed to a long-standing division between Marxists and Native Americans. The seminal (if not only) works among indigenous scholars are *Marxism and Native Americans* (1983)



Karl Marx, the founder of modern communism, noted the egalitarian nature of Native American cultures in notes that later were used by Friedrich Engels. (Library of Congress)

and *Culture Versus Economism: Essays on Marxism in the Multicultural Arena* (1984).

On the notion of “progress” as both inevitable and good, the indigenous critique has been virtually unanimous, viewing this understanding as inherently dismissive of the “traditional” social, political, and economic structures of indigenous societies. Bedford writes, “Aboriginals object to the Marxist vision because it sees all history unfolding after the fashion of the European model. The Marxist commitment to industrialization as the precondition of proletarian revolution means destruction of non-industrialized societies” (Bedford, 2001, 104). In other words, while “Marxism may call for more equitable distribution of the social product, more democratic control over the processes of production,” capitalism is still viewed as “a necessary step toward the final solution” (Bedford, 2001, 103, 105). This notion also works to subsume indigenous peoples into the proletariat, imposing a Western class structure onto a complex and radically contingent indigenous social-political-economic-spiritual structure.





On the question of the superiority of human beings over nature and the profound anthropocentrism of Marxism, the indigenous critique is clear: The inherent trope of progress within Marxist thought pits humans against nature, wherein humans overcome their alienation from nature by consuming it (Deloria, 1983, 114–115). Or, as Grande notes, “both Marxists and capitalists view land and natural resources as commodities to be exploited; in the first instance, by capitalists for personal gain and, in the second, by Marxists for the good of all” (2004, 27).

Finally, on the issue of religion or spirituality, the tensions between the Marxist and indigenous worlds are self-evident. In several of his writings, Marx “follows the development of religion as an integral part of the repressive apparatus through its various permutations linked to the formation of caste, slavery, patriarchal monogamy and monarchy” (Rosemont, n.d.). In contrast, Vine Deloria, Jr., preeminent scholar on Native American “religious” traditions, documents the fundamental link between indigenous societies and the inherent “sacredness” of the world around them.

While the preceding critique represents the historical tenets of the Marxist–indigenous disjuncture, some scholars are beginning to revisit the presumed tension, bringing to the discourse a more nuanced reading of both Marxist and Native American thought. Bedford and Irving (2003) maintain that a close reading of Marx reveals that he is more ambivalent about the value of progress than his (indigenous) critics allow. Grande similarly notes that contemporary Marxist theorists recognize the limitations of their work and critique. She writes: “While any pedagogy with a root metaphor of ‘change as progress’ presents specific challenges to indigenous cultures rooted in tradition and intergeneration knowledge, revolutionary theorists do not categorically advocate change as *inherently* progressive. Rather, they are very definitive in their distinction between change that emancipates and change that merely furthers the dictates of market imperatives” (2004, 82).

This new strand of scholarship invites us to explore how Marxism may be deepened by its engagement with Native American social and political thought and how it might, in turn, deepen Native intellectualism.

Sandy Grande

See also Engels, Frederick, and “Mother-right gens.”

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## Massasoit

The name “Massasoit” is a title meaning “Grand Sachem” or “Great Leader” that was bestowed on Ousa Mequin (Yellow Feather), sachem of the Pokanoket and the Grand Sachem (Massasoit) of the Wampanoag Confederation.

Little is known about Massasoit (ca. 1590–1661/1662) prior to his contact with the Plymouth colony in 1621. He was born around 1590 in Montaup, a Pokanoket village near present-day Bristol, Rhode Island, and rose to leadership over eight large villages. The first documented contact of Massasoit with the English occurred in 1619. In that year, he met with Captain Thomas Dermer following the latter’s voyage with Tisquantum (Squanto) to New England. William Bradford, the second governor of the Plymouth colony, described the Pokanoket sachem as “a very lust [sic] man in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance, and spare of speech. . . . His face was painted with a deep red like mulberry and he was oiled both head and face” (Josephy, 1994, 211).





*Massasoit, leader of the Wampanoag, was able to maintain peaceful relations with English settlers in the area of Plymouth, Massachusetts. He and other Native Americans shared planting and fishing techniques with the colonists and fostered trade and amity between the races. (Library of Congress)*

Traditionally, Massasoit is remembered for his alliance with the Pilgrims and his efforts to aid the Plymouth Colony. A calculating and skilled diplomat, he established personal relationships with the principal leaders of the Plymouth colony, including William Bradford and Edward Winslow. Concern over the possibility of conflict with the neighboring Narragansetts led Massasoit to forge an alliance with the colonists at Plymouth in March 1621. The resulting treaty was mutually beneficial, providing security for the colonists and military aid for the Wampanoags in case of hostilities with the Narragansetts. Cemented even further by Edward Winslow's resuscitation of the critically ill sachem in 1632, the alliance also served to keep the Wampanoags out of the Pequot War (1636–1637) and enabled Massasoit to resist Puritan efforts to Christianize his people.

Expanding English settlements around Massachusetts Bay brought pressures on Massasoit to cede

land to the English. To this he relented, selling land in the 1650s to the colony in exchange for the maintenance of harmony. Until his death in 1661 or 1662, the Wampanoag under Massasoit and the people of the Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth colonies remained at peace.

*Alan C. Downs*

*See also* Squanto; Thanksgiving Holiday, Origins.

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## **McNickle, D'Arcy**

Author of *The Surrounded*, two other novels, a biography, and three book-length studies, D'Arcy McNickle was a major figure both in American Indian literature and Native studies, as well as an activist and government worker on behalf of American Indians. William D'Arcy McNickle (Métis) was born on January 18, 1904, in St. Ignatius, Montana. He was an enrolled member of the Salish and Kootenai Tribes, or Flathead. His mother, Philomena Parenteau, had fled Canada after the failed Métis revolt in 1855 and was formally adopted into the Flathead tribe. She later married local Irish rancher William McNickle. Their son D'Arcy began his education at the Catholic boarding school at St. Ignatius and then, against his mother's and his own desires, was sent to the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) boarding school at Chemawa in Oregon for three years. At the age of seventeen, he began studies at the University of Montana, focusing on literature and languages such as Latin and Greek. Seeing in McNickle a talent for writing, one of his professors urged him to attend Oxford. McNickle financed his trip to England by selling his land allotment in 1925, but trouble with credit transfer prevented him from taking his degree. For a time, McNickle moved to Paris, where he wrote and played music before returning to New York in 1928.

McNickle married three times and had two daughters. In New York, he worked in various positions, among them one as an editor for *Encyclopaedia*





*Brittanica* and the *National Encyclopaedia of American Biography*, and intermittently took classes at the New School for Social Research and at Columbia. He continued to write, completing several short stories and his first novel, publishing *The Surrounded* in 1936. The novel focuses on the mixed-blood Archilde Leon, caught between his tribal culture and relatives on the one hand and the changes brought by colonization on the other. It is written much in the modernist tradition, at the same time highlighting cultural differences and values.

McNickle, disappointed with the lack of success of his novel and needing money, went to Washington, D.C., to work for the Federal Writers' Project and subsequently found a position with John Collier's administration at the BIA, where he worked for sixteen years. Charged with the implementation of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, McNickle strongly advocated federal protection of tribal lands and instituting democracy in tribal governments. Gradually, he began to see the need for intertribal political organizing to advance positive change through Indian agency. In 1944, he cofounded the National Congress of American Indians for these purposes. However, with the 1950s termination and relocation policies, McNickle left the BIA to take a job with the American Indian Development Corporation. McNickle sat on the United States Civil Rights Commission and received an honorary doctorate from the University of Colorado in 1966. The same year he took a position as a professor at the University of Saskatchewan, where he developed the newly established anthropology department.

Advancing a Native perspective but writing for a non-Native audience, McNickle published a number of books, including *They Came Here First: The Epic of the American Indian* (1949), *Indians and Other Americans: A Study of Indian Affairs* (with Harold Fey, 1959), and *The Indian Tribes of the United States: Ethnic and Cultural Survival* (1962), all drawing on anthropological methods he learned in his BIA fieldwork. In 1954, working with Apache visual artist Allan Houser, McNickle published *Runner in the Sun: A Story of Indian Maize*. This young adult novel may be the first book set in pre-contact America written by an American Indian. He retired from the university in 1971 and published *Indian Man: The Story of Oliver La Farge*, which was nominated for a National Book Award. In 1972, he helped found the Center for the History of the American Indian at the Newberry Library in Chicago, serving as its first director. Retiring to

Albuquerque to work on *Wind from an Enemy Sky*, he died of a heart attack in October 1977.

Kimberly Roppolo

See also Collier, John.

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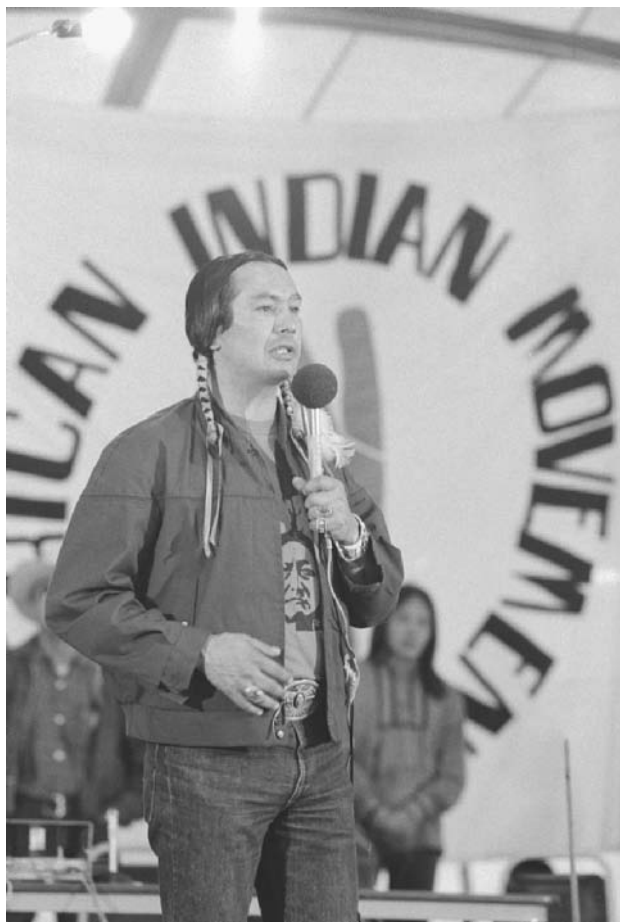
## Means, Russell

Arguably one of the most well-known modern advocates of American Indian rights, Russell Means exhibits a spirited outspokenness that helped open a dialogue that changed the course of American Indian history in the late twentieth century. An Oglala Lakota, Means was born on November 10, 1939, on the Pine Ridge Reservation in southwestern South Dakota. Wishing to escape the limitations of reservation life, his mother, Theodora Louise Feather Means, moved the family to Vallejo, California, where his father, Walter "Hank" Means, found work as a welder at the navy shipyard on Mare Island. Hank's alcoholism contributed to an unstable family life for Russell and his teenage years were marked by school truancy, drug and alcohol abuse, and petty criminal activity.

In 1964, the twenty-six-year-old Means, recently fired from his job as a night watchman at the Cow Palace in San Francisco, accepted an invitation to accompany his father and a small assemblage of Indians living in the San Francisco Bay area on a symbolic takeover of the recently abandoned federal prison on Alcatraz Island. Russell later confided that his father's willingness to stand up for Indian treaty rights "made me proud to be his son, and to be a Lakota" (Means, 1995, 105).

Five years later, as a new cadre of urban Indians readied once again to occupy Alcatraz, Means was in Cleveland, Ohio, where he joined two Anishinabe Indians from Minnesota, Clyde Bellecourt and Dennis Banks, in their effort to develop the American Indian Movement (AIM)—arguably the principal





*Russell Means, American Indian Movement (AIM) leader, speaks to a crowd of followers in South Dakota in 1974. (Bettman/Corbis)*

agency for American Indian empowerment during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Means later acknowledged “here was a way to be a *real* Indian, and AIM had shown it to me. No longer would I be content to ‘work within the system.’ . . . Instead, like Clyde and Dennis and the others in AIM, I would get in the white man’s face until he gave me and my people our just due. With that decision, my whole existence suddenly came into focus. For the first time, I knew the purpose of my life and the path I must follow to fulfill it. At the age of thirty I became a full-time Indian” (Means, 1995, 153).

On Thanksgiving Day 1970, Means, Banks, and other AIM leaders joined local Wampanoag activists in Plymouth, Massachusetts, to observe a national day of Indian mourning at the 350th anniversary celebration of the arrival of the Pilgrims. Speaking at the base of a larger-than-life

statue of Chief Massasoit overlooking Plymouth Harbor, Means delivered an impassioned speech praising the ancestral Wampanoags who welcomed the Pilgrims and denouncing the white man’s culture. Within twenty-four hours, Indian activists seized the *Mayflower II* (a full-scale replica of the original *Mayflower*), painted Plymouth Rock red, and brought national attention to the American Indian Movement.

Following its success at Plymouth, AIM elected Means the first national coordinator of the movement. He participated in the AIM-sponsored protest at Mount Rushmore in June 1971 and in the Trail of Broken Treaties, which led to the seizure of the Bureau of Indian Affairs building in November 1972. On the evening of February 27, 1973, Means, along with Dennis Banks, organized the occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, the most renowned episode in the history of American Indian Movement. The takeover of the community, the proclamation of an Independent Oglala Nation, and the subsequent seventy-one-day siege by the federal government led to the national attention—albeit short-lived—that Means and AIM desired.

In 1974, Russell Means, beset with legal fees and court cases in the aftermath of the Wounded Knee occupation, nevertheless began his career in politics when he ran unsuccessfully for the Oglala Sioux tribal chair against the incumbent, Dick Wilson, in a contested election marked by voter fraud. In 1976, Means was tried for and acquitted of the murder of Martin Montileaux in the Longhorn Saloon in Scenic, South Dakota. Two years later he entered the South Dakota State Penitentiary, ultimately serving only twelve months of his four-year conviction for participating in a riot in a Sioux Falls courthouse in 1974. He joined Larry Flynt in 1983 in the pornographer’s unsuccessful bid for the Republican presidential ticket in 1984. Hoping to force the Republican party to aid him in his struggles against the religious right in exchange for his withdrawal from the race, Flynt waged an outrageous campaign punctuated with publicity stunts. Disenchanted with the publisher’s sincerity in championing First Amendment rights, Means ultimately removed his name from the ticket.

A supporter of indigenous rights worldwide, Means traveled to Nicaragua in 1986 to aid the Miskito Indians in their struggle against the Sandinistas. The move cost him the support of some of his more liberal supporters in AIM and elsewhere who saw his actions as condoning the pro-Contra deal-





ings of the Reagan administration. Likewise, his 1986 speaking tour, sponsored by Reverend Sun Myung Moon's controversial Unification Church, further isolated Means from the Left. While the so-called Moonies used his lectures on Nicaragua as a venue to distribute literature about their church, Means saw the association as a vehicle to inform the public about the plight of the Nicaraguan Indians.

In 1987, Means accepted an invitation to enter the primary race for the Libertarian party's presidential candidate in 1988. The party's principles appealed to Means and he mounted an extensive national campaign, only to lose in the end to former Republican Congressman Ron Paul at the Libertarian party convention in Seattle. With residences in both South Dakota and New Mexico, Means tried in 2001 to enter the gubernatorial race in New Mexico as a candidate from the Independent Coalition party, only to drop out after a controversy over the filing deadline. Choosing instead to run, once again, for the presidency of the Oglala Sioux tribe, Means won the primary in 2002, but lost in the general election to incumbent John Yellow Bird Steele.

In addition to his activism and political aspirations, Russell Means developed a parallel career in the arts. In 1992, Means starred as Chingachgook in *Last of the Mohicans* and provided the voice of Chief Powhatan in Disney's *Pocahontas* in 1995. He also has had roles in ten other films to date as well as numerous guest appearances on television dramas and talk shows. His autobiography, *Where White Men Fear to Tread*, was published in 1995. He also has produced two music CDs and several works of art.

Russell Means remains active in issues of Indian self-determination and injustice in North America and abroad. Most recently, he has focused his efforts on a campaign to abolish Columbus Day. No stranger to controversy, Means's exploits have reaped both supporters and critics. There is no doubt, however, that his unrelenting presence on the national stage in the late twentieth century helped draw attention to issues of import to Indian peoples.

Alan C. Downs

See also American Indian Movement; Banks, Dennis; Peltier, Leonard.

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## Metacom, and King Philip's War

Metacom (ca. 1637–1676) was the son of Massasoit, who had met the first immigrants from England in 1620 in what is now Massachusetts. The English called Metacom King Philip. He became grand sachem of the Wampanoags in 1662 and led his people and their allies in a devastating war with the English in 1675 and 1676, dying at its conclusion.

The efforts of Roger Williams, Puritan dissenter and founder of Rhode Island, helped to maintain a shaky peace along the frontiers of New England for nearly two generations after the Pequot War (1636–1637). In 1645, Williams averted another Native uprising against encroaching European-American settlements. By the 1660s, however, the aging Williams saw his lifelong pursuit of peace unravel yet again. This time, he felt more impotent than in the past: Wave after wave of colonists provided Native peoples with powerful grievances by usurping their land without permission or compensation, and yet Williams continued to believe that neither the Puritans nor any other Europeans had any right, divine or otherwise, to take Indian land. The final years of Williams's life were profoundly painful for a sensitive man who prized peace and harmony above all.

Massasoit, who had maintained peace with the newcomers since 1620, also was aging and becoming disillusioned with the colonists, as increasing numbers of European immigrants drove his people from their lands. Upon Massasoit's death in 1661, Alexander, one of Massasoit's sons, briefly served as grand sachem of the Wampanoags. However, visiting Boston in 1662, Alexander fell gravely ill and died as Wampanoag warriors rushed him into the wilderness. Upon his death, the warriors beached their canoes, buried his body in a knoll, and returned home with rumors that he had been a victim of the English. Metacom became grand sachem after Alexander's death.

Aged about twenty-five in 1662, Metacom distrusted nearly all European-Americans, Williams being one of the few exceptions. Metacom also was known as a man who did not forgive insults easily. It was once said that he chased a white man named John Gibbs from Mount Hope to Nantucket Island, about sixty miles, partially over water, after Gibbs insulted his father. Throughout his childhood, Metacom had watched his people dwindle before the English advance. By 1671, about 40,000 non-Native people lived in New England. The Native





*Native American leader Metacom, also known as King Philip, led a Native alliance in King Philip's War (1676). In terms of numbers engaged and casualties sustained in proportion to population, this was one of the the bloodiest Indian wars of American history. (Library of Congress)*

population, double that of the Europeans before the Pequot War, stood at about 20,000. European farms and pastures were driving away game and creating friction over land that the Indians had used without question for so many generations they had lost count of them. By 1675, the Wampanoags held only a small strip of land at Mount Hope, and settlers wanted it.

Metacom became more embittered by the day. He could see his nation being destroyed before his eyes. He and other people in his nation were interrogated by Puritan officials. Traders fleeced Indians, exchanging furs for liquor. The devastation of alco-

hol and disease and the loss of land destroyed families and tradition. These were Metacom's thoughts as he prepared to go to war against the English.

As rumors of war reached Williams, he tried to keep the neighboring Narragansetts neutral, as he had done in the past. This time, he failed. Nananawtunu, son of Mixanno, told his close friend Williams that, while he opposed going to war, his people could not be restrained. They had decided the time had come to die fighting, rather than to expire slowly as a people. Williams' letters of this time were pervaded with sadness, as he watched the two groups he knew so well slide toward war.





Shortly after hostilities began in June 1675, Williams met with Metacom, riding with the sachem and his family in a canoe not far from Providence. Williams warned Metacom that he was leading his people to extermination. Williams compared the Wampanoags to a canoe on a stormy sea of English fury. "He answered me in a consenting, considering kind of way," Williams wrote, "[saying] My canoe is already overturned" (Giddings, 1957, 33).

When Indians, painted for war, appeared on the heights above Providence, Williams picked up his staff, climbed the bluffs, and told the war parties that, if they attacked the town, England would send thousands of armed men to crush them. "Well," one of the sachems leading the attack told Williams, "let them come. We are ready for them, but as for you, brother Williams, you are a good man. You have been kind to us for many years. Not a hair on your head shall be touched" (Straus, 1894, 220–224).

Williams was not injured, but his house was torched as he met with the Indians on the bluffs above Providence on March 29, 1676. Williams watched flames spread throughout the town. "This house of mine now burning before mine eyes hath lodged kindly some thousands of you these ten years," Williams told the attacking Indians (Swan, 1969, 14). If the colony was to survive, Williams, for the first time in his life, had to become a military commander. With a grave heart, Williams sent his neighbors out to do battle with the sons and daughters of Native people who had sheltered him during his winter trek from Massachusetts forty years earlier. As Williams and others watched from inside a hastily erected fort, nearly all of Providence burned. Fields were laid waste and cattle were slaughtered or driven into the woods.

Colonists, seething with anger, caught an Indian, and Williams was put in the agonizing position of ordering him killed, rather than watching him tortured. The war was irrefutably brutal on both sides, as the English fought with their backs literally to the sea for a year and a half before going on the offensive. At Northfield, Indians hanged two Englishmen on chains, placing hooks under their jaws. At Springfield, colonists arrested an Indian woman, then offered her body to dogs, which tore her to pieces.

In August 1676, as the Mohawks and Mohegans opted out of their alliance with the Wampanoags, the war ended. The English had exterminated most of

the Narragansetts, and nearly all of Metacom's warriors, their families, and friends had been killed or driven into hiding. Metacom himself fled toward Mount Hope, then hid in a swamp. When English soldiers found him, they dragged him out of the mire, then had him drawn and quartered. His head was sent to Plymouth on a gibbet, where it was displayed much as criminals' severed heads were shown off on the railings of London Bridge. Metacom's hands were sent to Boston, where a local showman charged admission for a glimpse of one of them. The remainder of Metacom's body was hung from four separate trees.

In terms of deaths in proportion to total population, King Philip's War was among the deadliest in American history. About 1,000 colonists died in the war; many more died of starvation and war-related diseases. Every Native nation bordering the Puritan settlements—those whose members, in happier days, had offered the earliest colonists their first Thanksgiving dinner—was reduced to ruin. Many of the survivors were sold into slavery in the West Indies, which served the colonists two purposes: removing them from the area and raising money to help pay their enormous war debts. Metacom's son was auctioned off with about 500 other slaves, following a brief, but intense, biblical debate over whether a son should be forced to atone for the sins of his father.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Massasoit; Williams, Roger.

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## Mills, William M.

Oglala Lakota William (“Billy”) Mills distinguished himself as a distance runner, capturing the gold medal in the 10,000-meter run at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, and later proved himself to be an inspirational speaker and caring leader.

Born in 1938 on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, he was named Makata Taka Hela, which translates as “Love Your Country” or “Respects the Earth.” Mills was of mixed ancestry, a factor that caused him to feel marginalized at times as a youth. His sense of isolation was intensified when he was orphaned at the age of twelve. Athletics offered him an important release during this period.

Mills then attended Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, graduating in 1957. At the Indian boarding school, he participated in boxing and running. Eventually, he devoted himself exclusively to running, performing well enough to secure an athletic scholarship at the nearby University of Kansas. Mills blossomed under Jayhawk track coach Bill Easton. Indeed, while at the University of Kansas, he was named an all-American three times, was victorious in the Big Eight conference cross-country individual title in 1960, and contributed to two national NCAA outdoor team championships in 1959 and 1960.

After graduating in 1962 with a degree in physical education, Mills married and accepted a commission in the Marine Corps. Although he thought his athletic career had ended when he joined the service, Mills was able to continue running. After a year and a half of training, he qualified for the U.S. Olympic team.

Despite his collegiate success, many people were dubious of Mills’s prospects at the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. In fact, he had to borrow shoes because U.S. team officials felt their limited resources should be allocated to more promising competitors. His qualifying time in the 10,000-meter run was a minute slower than Australian Ron Clarke, who most observers expected would battle Tunisian Mohammad Gammoudi for the gold medal. Mills never doubted himself, however, as he set his sights on a victory in Tokyo. In what can only be described as a stunning upset, perhaps the most amazing in Olympic history, Mills surged past Clarke and Gammoudi on the last lap to become the first American to win a gold medal in the 10,000-meter run, setting an Olympic record at that



*Lakota Indian Billy Mills at the 1964 Summer Olympic Games. Mills won the gold medal in the 10,000-meter race. (Bettman/Corbis)*

distance. Mills also performed well in the marathon, placing fourteenth.

Mills continued running after the Olympics. Most notably, in 1965, he set U.S. records for the 10,000-meter and three miles, along with a world record in the six-mile run (27 minutes, 12 seconds), a time that has not since been surpassed.

Mills has lived a full life beyond athletics. He has been married to his wife Patricia for nearly forty years, and they have raised three daughters. After leaving the Marines, he worked as a life insurance salesperson. For much of the past thirty years, he has been an inspirational speaker, living in Sacramento. He has also taken a leading role in the empowerment of indigenous peoples. As the spokesperson for Running Strong for American Indian Youth, a division of Christian Relief Services, he has worked to help American Indian communities meet their basic needs—food, clothing, and





shelter—while implanting programs to build self-esteem and sovereignty.

Mills' life was the subject of the 1984 feature film, *Running Brave*, starring Robby Benson.

Over the past forty years, Mills has received numerous awards for his achievements as an athlete, leader, and humanitarian. In 1972, he was named one of the Ten Outstanding Young Americans by the Jaycees. Four years later, in 1976, Mills was inducted into the United States Track and Field Hall of Fame. He is also a member of the United States Olympic Hall of Fame, the National Distance Running Hall of Fame, the Kansas Hall of Fame, and the National High School Hall of Fame. In 2003 he became the first American Indian to receive the Alumni Distinguished Service Award from his alma mater.

C. Richard King

See also Thorpe, Jim.

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## Mohawk, John C.

John C. Mohawk, regarded as "one of the foremost Iroquois scholars and activists of his generation" (Mohawk, 2006), combined the roles and talents of university professor, international negotiator, and cultural revivalist.

A long-time professor in the State University of New York at Buffalo's American Studies Department, Mohawk also directed the department's indigenous studies program. Mohawk also was known as a skilled crisis negotiator who not only helped reconcile differences between Iroquois factions, but also, during 1980, played a role in negotiating U.S.-Iranian relations. As a cultural revivalist, Mohawk initiated and led the Iroquois White Corn Project, which produced and marketed traditional Seneca white corn to restaurants, part of a larger effort by Mohawk to help maintain small-scale sustainable agriculture.

Mohawk was born to Ernie and Elsie Mohawk, into the Seneca Turtle Clan. Having graduated from Gowanda High School, Mohawk earned an undergraduate degree in history at Hartwick College during 1968 and started graduate studies at the University of Buffalo two years later. "John was the heart of the Native Studies program at the University of Buffalo," said Bruce Jackson, a longtime UB professor in

American Studies. "Other people taught it, but he was the one who always provided the focus, the compassion and the guiding intelligence," said Jackson. "In addition, the students really loved him" (Mohawk, 2006).

"John had a wonderful connection with the elders [of] the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), and they invested in him truly to hold the culture in place," said Barry White, a friend of Mohawk's for more than thirty years. "His dad, Ernie, was one of his major mentors in the thought and philosophy of the Iroquois, and people from across the Six Nations invested in him like he was a conduit for the transmission of their culture to the next generation" (Mohawk, 2006).

Mohawk was an editor of *Akwesasne Notes* between 1976 and 1983. In 1987, he helped found *Daybreak* magazine, and served as one of its editors until 1997. He also was an opinion columnist for *Indian Country Today*. Among Mohawk's best-known books are *Utopian Legacies* (2000) and *Exiled in the Land of the Free* (1992), which he co-edited with Oren Lyons.

Mohawk's ability to combine insights from the history of Europe and Native America was especially thought-provoking. In *Utopian Legacies*, Mohawk examined utopian elements in several European ideologies that became motors of oppression. "Nazism was a revitalization movement, complete with its own vision of utopia, its rationalizations for conquest and plunder, and an ability to disarm ordinary people's sense of morality and to plunge an entire nation . . . into an orgy of violence and murder," wrote Mohawk in his wide-ranging historical account of how utopian dreams often turn into searingly deadly realities. (Mohawk, 2000, 210).

To Mohawk, the legacy of utopianism is one of the defining tenets "perhaps the characterizing theme," of several Western European cultures (Mohawk, 2000, 13). Mohawk found utopian assumptions operating in some of the most powerful ideological forces shaping Christianity, Islam, and capitalism. He noted that the Christian creation story begins with the expulsion of the original human couple (Adam and Eve) from a notable Western utopia, the Garden of Eden.

In *Utopian Legacies*, Mohawk described how the abuses of capitalism spawned Marxism, its own antithesis utopia. "In pursuit of the perfectible socialist world," wrote Mohawk, "indigenous people east of the Urals were abused, dissenters were shipped to draconian gulags in Siberia, protests were





ruthlessly and brutally suppressed, [as] religious and traditional ethnic practices were outlawed" (Mohawk, 2000, 175). Following the general collapse of the Marxist utopian vision, Mohawk analyzed present-day "globalization," the pursuit of secular utopia through the accumulation of wealth. The expansion of capitalist culture to its present world-girding state has brought mass animal extinctions and steady rises in atmospheric levels of greenhouse gases. The Earth has thus become a victim of secular, industrial materialism and its appetite for fossil fuels.

Mohawk died suddenly at his home in Buffalo December 10, 2006, at age 61. Mohawk's wife, Yvonne Dion-Buffalo, who also worked in the UB American Studies Department, had died during 2005.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Anderson, Wallace ("Mad Bear"); Lyons, Oren.

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## Momaday, N. Scott

Kiowa poet, novelist, artist, and educator N. Scott Momaday received critical acclaim in 1969 when he won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction for his novel, *House Made of Dawn*. The book helped to usher in a renaissance in Native American writing and placed Momaday at the forefront of the genre. In the years since *House Made of Dawn*, Momaday has published numerous books of poetry and fiction. The common theme of integrating cultural tradition into modern life unites his works. In addition to being a gifted writer, Momaday is an accomplished artist. He has exhibited his sketches, oils, acrylics, and etchings in numerous shows and used them to illustrate his books.

Momaday was born on February 27, 1934, in Lawton, Oklahoma, to Alfred and Natachee Scott Momaday. His father, a full-blooded Kiowa, and his mother, who was of French and Cherokee descent,

were both painters and teachers who instilled a strong sense of self in their son. At the age of six months, a Kiowa storyteller and tribal elder bestowed on Momaday the Kiowa name Tsoai-talee ("Rock-Tree Boy"). The name referenced a place along the Kiowa migration route known as Devil's Tower, and it forever linked Momaday to his ancestral past.

In 1936, Momaday and his family left Kiowa Country and moved to New Mexico, where they lived on the Navajo Reservation for seven years. In 1946, the family moved to the Jemez Pueblo in New Mexico after Momaday's parents accepted teaching positions at the local day school.

Growing up on the Navajo and Jemez Reservations left a lasting impression on Momaday and gave him a pan-Indian experience that has strongly influenced his writing. Living at Jemez in the mid-1940s, Momaday witnessed the changes that occurred after World War II ended. The Jemez population increased, modern conveniences became more commonplace, and returning veterans brought their off-reservation experiences home with them. Although some veterans adjusted to pueblo life, many others found the task difficult. Some left the reservation in a quest to find themselves and employment, while others remained but turned to alcohol or suicide to escape. Momaday never fell victim to the identity crises that so many Native Americans suffered after the war. He did absorb the experiences of his Navajo and Jemez neighbors, however, and he returned to those themes in his writing.

In 1958, Momaday received a BA in political science from the University of New Mexico. Unsure of his future, he accepted a teaching position on the Jicarilla Apache Reservation in New Mexico. While there, Momaday spent his free time writing, and in 1959 Stanford University awarded him the Wallace Stegner Creative Writing Scholarship for poetry. The scholarship gave Momaday an opportunity to work under respected poet Yvor Winters, who became a lifelong friend and mentor. Although he expected to return to the reservation teaching position after a year, Momaday's experiences at Stanford reshaped his career path.

In 1960, Momaday received his MA from Stanford and immediately began work on his Ph.D., which he completed in 1963. The following year, he accepted a teaching position at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

Momaday's literary breakthrough came in 1968 with the publication of *House Made of Dawn*, a classic





novel about the search for identity. The novel's main character, a Jemez man named Abel, leaves his reservation to serve in Europe during World War II. When he returns to the reservation after the war, however, Abel suffers an identity crisis. Like many returning veterans, Abel is caught between two worlds. He embarks on a journey during which a Navajo and a Kiowa help him recognize the importance of Indian culture and tradition. Only after he reconnects with his tribal heritage does Abel overcome the identity crisis that plagued him.

Since the publication of *House Made of Dawn*, Momaday has written numerous literary works that stress the importance of tradition and address the problems of Indians in modern society. Among them are *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969), which weaves Kiowa myths with tribal history and personal memories; *The Names* (1976), a memoir of childhood; *The Gourd Dancer* (1976), a collection of poems; and *The Ancient Child* (1989), a novel that connects Kiowa myth with Western legend. He has also held professorships at universities in the United States and Europe and continues to utilize his artistic talents.

Jennifer L. Bertolet

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## Montezuma

The most celebrated American Indian living in Chicago early in the twentieth century was Indian-rights advocate, writer and speaker, political organizer, and surgeon Dr. Carlos Montezuma, a graduate of the University of Illinois (1884) and the Northwestern University's Chicago Medical School (1889).

Montezuma (Mochtezuma, Wassaja, Yavapai) was born around 1866 among the Yavapai ("Almost-People to the East")—one of the thirteen bands of Pai or Pa'a (the People)—in what would become central Arizona. His birth name was Wassaja (pronounced wass-jah), a word translated from the Yuman language into English that means signaling

or beckoning. In 1871, O'odham soldiers from the Salt River area, allied with General George Crook and the U.S. Army, captured Wassaja in the Ka Vee-cum Gahk-woot (Superstition Mountains) and turned him over to photographer Carlos Gentile. Gentile took young "Carlos Montezuma" east and brought him to the Reverend G. W. Ingalls of the American Baptist Home Mission Society. Ingalls selected the pastor of the First Baptist Church in Urbana, Illinois, to raise young Carlos.

Living primarily among non-Indians for five decades following his capture, Montezuma worked for the Office of Indian Affairs (OIA) after obtaining his license to practice in Illinois. He entered government service in September 1889 at Fort Stevenson, North Dakota. In July 1890 he transferred to the Western Shoshone Agency in Nevada, where he worked until December 1892 before spending a few months in Nespelem, Colville Agency, Washington, and about three years at the United States Indian Industrial School hospital in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He resigned in January 1896 to enter private practice in Chicago, where he remained until 1922.

Montezuma traveled with the Carlisle football team to the southwestern United States in 1901 and became reacquainted with his Yavapai relatives, who in 1903 obtained 24,680 acres of the old Fort McDowell Military Reserve (a portion of their homeland near Phoenix). During the final two decades of his life, Montezuma journeyed repeatedly to Fort McDowell, where he became increasingly familiar with his Yavapai family. With Montezuma's assistance after 1906, his Yavapai relations successfully resisted U.S. government-sponsored efforts to remove them to the Pima Salt River Reservation and build a dam on the Verde River, in the middle of the their reservation.

In Chicago after 1896, Montezuma assumed a role that purposefully was in the tradition of leadership among many American Indian peoples—that of caring for less fortunate citizens, hosting Indian visitors to his community, and advocating for the rights of Native nations. Thus, he was uniquely situated to contribute to the formation of Indian organization. During the opening decade of the twentieth century he joined efforts to politically organize Indians: In 1904 he joined with Luzena Choteau (Wyandotte from Oklahoma) to help found the National Indian Republican Association, in 1909 with Thomas L. Sloan (Omaha) and Walter Battice (Sac and Fox from Oklahoma) to form the Indian Progressive Organization, in 1911 with Laura Cornelius (Oneida from





Wisconsin) and Henry Standing Bear (Lakota from Rosebud Reservation) to organize a meeting of Indians in Columbus, Ohio, that became the Society of American Indians. In addition to his groundbreaking work creating Indian organizations, Montezuma lobbied in Congress against OIA paternalism, fought for Yavapai land and water rights, drafted an Indian citizenship bill, gave numerous speeches—including one entitled “Let My People Go”—and published a newsletter.

*Wassaja*, Montezuma’s newsletter, was published monthly from April 1916 to November 1922. By means of *Wassaja*, as well as numerous newspaper columns, magazine articles, and lectures, Montezuma took his one-man campaign of Indian advocacy to the public. He sometimes expressed his thoughts in verse. Countering the “vanishing Indian” thesis (commonly repeated at the time) in a piece entitled “Changing Is Not Vanishing,” Montezuma wrote: “The Indian race vanishing? No, never! The race will live on and prosper forever” (Montezuma, 1987).

In 1922, suffering from the debilitating effects of diabetes and tuberculosis, Montezuma returned home to live with his relatives at Fort McDowell. He passed on January 31, 1923.

*D. Anthony Tyee Clark (Meskwaki)*

*See also* Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe; Society of American Indians.

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## Mormon Church

The interest of the Mormon Church (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints) in Native Americans can be traced to the Book of Mormon, which was published in 1830. This book of scripture referred to

Indians as Lamanites and said they were descendants of an Israelite civilization that rose and fell on the American continent. The book also contained prophecies about the Indians’ receiving great blessings once they joined the Mormon Church. The church has adopted and abandoned various programs over the years to carry out its perceived responsibilities to Native Americans.

Mormon missions to the Indians began in 1830. The earliest missionaries found some tribes receptive to their message, but Indian agents prevented them from making further inroads. Non-Mormons suspected that Mormons intended to enlist Indians in their bid to establish an empire in the West. This is one reason why Mormons were persecuted and eventually driven to Utah in 1847.

When they arrived in the Great Basin, the Mormons wanted land occupied by local tribes. They made peaceful overtures to Indian chiefs, but conflict erupted as converts to the church began settling in Utah by the thousands and encroaching on lands that Native Americans used for hunting and gathering. Some of the most tragic examples of this fighting were the Mountain Meadows Massacre (1857) and the Black Hawk War (1865–1868). Despite these clashes, the Mormons made some attempts to preach the gospel and teach farming to their Native neighbors. However, the cultural gap proved largely insurmountable and the federal government relocated the Utes, Shoshones, and Paiutes to reservations in the late nineteenth century.

Relations between Native Americans and the Mormons recommenced in the 1940s. The church launched Indian missions in the Southwest and northern Plains. The Mormon missionaries on these reservations did not preach but rather promoted economic development and provided instruction in farming and ranching. In the 1950s, the church launched two educational programs for Indian students. Indian Seminary was a church program that involved constructing facilities next to federal Indian schools. Seminary teachers offered a religion class that Indian students could take during their regular school day. By the late 1960s, the annual enrollment in Indian seminary exceeded ten thousand.

The second initiative, the placement program, by contrast, required Indian students to live in the foster homes of white Mormon families during the school year. Ultimately, 70,000 Native students participated, or about 10 percent of American Indian





baby boomers. To participate in the placement program, Indian students had to obtain parental permission and become a baptized member of the church. The Mormons argued they were offering these students an education superior to that offered in reservation schools.

This program proved so appealing that, at its height in 1970, annual enrollment reached 5,000. However, evaluating the ultimate successes and failures of the program is no easy task. Critics charged the program with cultural genocide. More often than not, the students were taught that their Indian traditions were sinful and that their salvation depended on embracing Mormon beliefs and lifestyles. For most of the students, these pressures to assimilate interfered with the development of their tribal and Indian identities. Many returned home after only a year or two. A smaller percentage earned decent grades in high school, went on to obtain college degrees, and returned to their reservations with valuable skills.

Many graduates of the placement program were attracted to Brigham Young University (BYU). The enrollment of Indian students at BYU swelled to more than 500 during the early 1970s. The story of George P. Lee (Navajo) illustrates recent policy changes within the church. Lee enrolled in placement for seven years, served a mission for the church, and then earned his doctorate at BYU. In 1975 Lee became one of the highest-ranking leaders in the church. By the mid-1980s, the church was shifting its resources and programs from Native Americans and their reservations to the peoples and lands of Central and South America. Lee felt that the church had abandoned its responsibilities for Native Americans and was excommunicated in 1989 when his criticisms became public.

*Sterling Fluharty*

*See also* Missionaries, French Jesuit; Mission System, Spanish.

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## National Congress of American Indians

Having served in World War II, many Native Americans became increasingly active politically after the war, demanding equal voting rights and an end to discrimination. Their wartime experience intensified a renewed sense of Native American identity, reinforced religious beliefs, and exposed many Native Americans to life outside the reservations.

In several states, Native Americans were denied the right to vote, in spite of laws to the contrary. In other political activities, Native Americans resisted the construction of dams that threatened to flood reservation lands and destroy Indian fishing rights.

By the mid-1940s, Native American leaders realized that many non-Natives were not much interested in Indian affairs, that bureaucratic inertia and hostility to the Indian Reorganization Act were weakening potential benefits, and that their tribal treaty rights were in jeopardy. Originally called the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934, the Indian Reorganization Act was an attempt to conserve and develop Indian lands and resources. This authority extended to Native Americans the legal structure that enabled them to form businesses, establish a credit system, and provide for a vocational education.

In an attempt to safeguard these and other Native American assertions, in 1944 reservation leaders and other prominent Native American professional men and women from fifty tribes met in Denver, Colorado, to form the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), the first major intertribal organization

When the NCAI was formed, its primary concerns included the protection of Native American lands, minerals, and timber resources, as well as improving economic opportunities, education, and health care for Native Americans. Among NCAI's founding members were D'Arcy McNickle, a Flathead and employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs who held a seat on the first national council, and Napoleon Johnson, a Cherokee who served as the organization's first president. They were among the early NCAI leaders who asserted that membership should be restricted to "people of Indian ancestry." As problems mounted for Native Americans, however, membership policy was changed to include non-Indians, who were offered associate memberships if they demonstrated a genuine concern for Native American issues.





One of the few postwar innovations in Native American policy was established by Congress in 1946 when the Indian Claims Commission voted to compensate Native Americans for fraud or unfair treatment by the federal government. During the next twenty-two years, the commission heard 852 claims and awarded nearly \$818 million in damages to Native Americans. Otherwise, however, much of the news regarding Native American policy was bad during NCAI's early years.

Among its early platforms, the NCAI promised to "work toward the promotion of the common welfare of the aboriginal races of North America." It promised to educate non-Indians about Indian culture, preserve treaty rights, and lobby for Indian interests before the federal government. It had concern for the preservation of Indian culture and retaining the advances made under the Indian Reorganization Act, as well as pressing for the Act's fulfillment. The National Congress of American Indians became a strong lobbying force, working with other organizations, including the Indian Rights Association, to protect Native American interests before the U.S. Congress.

In 1947, part of a comprehensive study by the federal government for ways to remove waste, duplication, and inefficiency and to reduce public expenditures recommended ending the federal government's relationship with the Indian tribes. Headed by former President Herbert Hoover, this special study, which examined all phases of the national government, recommended the termination of Indian welfare by the federal government.

Anticipating this outcome and the recommendations of discontinuance of all specialized Indian activity and the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the NCAI dedicated most of its attention, for several years, to trying to correct what became known as the termination policy.

During the 1950s, the organization was a principal opponent against the termination policy, which sought to "emancipate the Indians" by terminating federal links to Indian communities and withdrawing federal support for tribal governments. The legislation called for Congress to initiate sixty separate termination bills, the last of which was to be implemented in 1962. Generally, the legislation called for the preparation of a final distribution of tribal assets to members and the removal of Indian land from federal protection.

The NCAI said that the policy of termination undermined reservation health and economic condi-

tions and accelerated the decline of traditional cultural practices. In the wake of these negative conditions, NCAI led several tribes to campaign successfully to reverse some elements of termination. In 1953, Congress passed a resolution that called for the government to transfer federal responsibilities for tribes to the states. It also allowed states to assert legal jurisdiction over Indian reservations without tribal consent. The NCAI effectively organized opposition to these measures, with the rallying cry of "self-determination rather than termination."

Many Native Americans criticized "relocation," another postwar government program. Under the policy that began in 1948, the Bureau of Indian Affairs provided transportation, job placement, vocational training, and counseling to Native Americans who wanted to leave reservations. As a result of Native American protests, led by NCAI, federal policies began to shift away from termination and toward self-determination and the principle of autonomy.

In the 1960s, as President John F. Kennedy promised a friendlier "new frontier" in Indian affairs, the NCAI played an important role in ensuring that the federal antipoverty programs would encompass tribal communities. Additionally, this decade also witnessed the birth of several pan-Indian protest groups, with the NCAI losing its leading role to the more flamboyant, militant organizations like the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) and the American Indian Movement (AIM), best-known for its occupation of Wounded Knee (South Dakota) in 1973.

During the 1970s even as activism accelerated, American Indians continued to be the United States' poorest minority group by many measures, including net income and mortality from several diseases. They were considered worse off than any other group, according to virtually every socioeconomic statistic. The Native American unemployment rate was ten times the U.S. national average, and 50 percent of the Native American population lived below the federal poverty line. Indian life expectancy was only forty-four years, a third less than that of the typical American at the time. Deaths caused by pneumonia, hepatitis, dysentery, strep throat, diabetes, tuberculosis, alcoholism, suicide, and homicide were two to sixty times higher than among the United States population as a whole. Half a million Native American families lived in unsanitary, dilapidated dwellings, many in shanties or abandoned automobiles. The NCAI





sought solutions to these difficulties by approaching the U.S. government.

In the 1980s and the 1990s, the NCAI promoted political causes and education through the efforts of its Washington, D.C., office, as well as programs initiated at its annual convention.

The NCAI continues to be the oldest and largest Native American organization in the United States. It was born of hostile legislation and policies that were devastating to Native American tribal nations. It continues to dedicate itself to the restoration and exercise of tribal sovereignty and the continued viability of all tribal governments.

No longer are Indians a vanishing group of Americans. The 2000 Census recorded a Native American population of more than two million, five times the number recorded in 1950. However, nearly half of all Native Americans continue to live on reservations, which cover 52 million acres in twenty-seven states, while most of the others live in urban areas. As the Indian population grows, individual Native Americans have claimed many accomplishments and are widely perceived to be productive citizens. Although Native Americans continue to face severe problems relating to employment, income, and education, they will not abandon their Indian identity and culture, nor will they be treated as dependent wards of the federal government—all aims that mirror the goals of the National Congress of American Indians.

Historically, the NCAI's political activities have followed a moderate political course, bringing together and representing a wide range of Native Americans on a variety of issues. Recently, the NCAI sent petitions to Congress to force the removal of stereotypical names, such as "Redskins," from sports team logos, license plates, and other places, as Native Americans continue to battle discrimination.

Recently, NCAI has worked to secure funding for an initiative to encourage Native Americans to pursue degrees in the field of information technology and other fields of science and technology.

Working with other Native American groups, NCAI raised relief funds for Native Americans in the Gulf states, who were victimized by Hurricane Katrina. The NCAI continues to stress the importance of preserving Native American history and cultures, as well as to protect Indian welfare. The group continues to urge Native Americans to become assimilated into non-Indian culture by stressing their common characteristics and creating the organizational forms to unite all the tribes and to retain a pluralistic rela-

tionship with the larger society by working for self-determination.

While the NCAI has had its share of criticism, it has shown, historically, that it works for the betterment of Native Americans and that it continues to fight for full inclusion. It remains a powerful voice for the collective concerns and shared identity of American Indian nations and tribes.

*Fred Lindsey*

*See also* Economic Development; Indian Reorganization Act; McNickle, D'Arcy; Relocation.

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## **National Indian Youth Council**

The National Indian Youth Council (NIYC) is the second-oldest national Indian organization in the United States. (The oldest is the National Congress of American Indians.) Since the termination era during the 1950s, the NIYC has fought oppressive government policies. From the mid-1960s through the early 1970s, the NIYC primarily accomplished its aims through Northwest fish-ins, Red Power protest, and Indian nationalism. While its activities since then have made headlines less often, the NIYC continues its battles through long-term projects such as political research, antidiscrimination lawsuits, and employment services benefiting various indigenous communities. Frequently at the forefront of Indian affairs, the NIYC has promoted self-determination and sovereignty and helped create a new generation of Indian leaders.

The NIYC traces its roots to Indian youth councils and college student workshops of the late 1950s. The Southwestern Regional Indian Youth Council, originated by Kiva Club students at the University of New Mexico, provided leadership training for founders of the NIYC. Herbert Blatchford (Navajo), Melvin Thom (Walker River Paiute), and Clyde Warrior (Ponca) were among the hundreds of Indian college students from nearly twenty states





who attended these youth councils and participated in debates over termination and other government policies. Each summer at the Workshop on American Indian Affairs, future founders of the NIYC stretched their minds with powerful ideas and expanded their circles of friends and influence.

The American Indian Chicago Conference in 1961 set the stage for the emergence of the NIYC. Indian college students attended this conference, along with scholars, members of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI), and tribal leaders. However, these students wished to voice their own opinions on federal Indian policy and other concerns. They formed a youth caucus, guided the conference's outcome, and argued that Indians needed to use their combined political power in pursuit of self-determination. Ten of them gathered that fall in Gallup, New Mexico, to officially organize the NIYC. In addition to Blatchford, Thom, and Warrior, the NIYC's founders were Bernadine Eschier (Shoshone-Bannock-Pima), Rickard Karen Jacobson (Tuscarora), Howard McKinley, Jr. (Navajo), Joan Noble (Ute), Edison Real Bird (Crow), John R. Winchester (Potawatomi), and Shirley Hill Witt (Akwasasne Mohawk). At this founding meeting, Indian women took two of the three positions within the presidency and four of the ten spots on the board of directors.

For the first few years, the NIYC founders decided to meet annually and discuss issues facing Indian students and youth across the nation. They began publishing a newsletter and by 1962 over 180 tribal councils had subscribed. In 1963 the NIYC and United Scholarship Service jointly published a new periodical, *Americans Before Columbus*. Bruce Wilkie (Makah) and Hank Adams (Assiniboine-Sioux) emerged as leaders in the NIYC. In early 1964 these two individuals played key roles in the NIYC's fish-ins in behalf of tribes in Washington State. This direct action proved so popular that by the end of 1964 membership in the NIYC reached three thousand.

The NIYC began receiving greater recognition in 1964. In May, leaders in the NIYC were invited to the Capital Conference on Indian Poverty in Washington, D.C. There they organized a youth session and stressed the need to aggressively seek funding for American Indians in the forthcoming War on Poverty. Eventually several members of the NIYC became Community Action Program directors. Before the year was over, Warrior helped Vine Deloria, Jr. become executive director of the NCAI. In

addition, the NIYC participated in the first-ever International Indian Youth Conference and received a Canadian delegation at its December meetings.

Over the next few years, the NIYC underwent several changes. Emerging in the vanguard of the Indian movement, Thom replaced Blatchford as executive director in 1965 and served until 1968. Warrior led the group from 1966 to 1968. Warrior and other orators in the NIYC denounced the colonialism of the federal government and lectured widely on the need to preserve Indian culture and identities. In 1967, the Carnegie Corporation and the Ford Foundation awarded the NIYC nearly \$200,000. This allowed the NIYC to hire a small staff, set up an office in Berkeley, California, and contract with the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development.

Events in 1968 and 1969 transformed the NIYC. Stan Steiner's book, *The New Indians*, appeared early in 1968, describing how the NIYC helped radicalize Indian students and other youth. Soon after this, Thom and his staff took funds earmarked for education projects and spent them on preparations for the Poor Peoples' Campaign in Washington, D.C. These actions upset the foundations and contradicted the wishes of the NIYC's board of directors. The crisis worsened when Warrior died close to the time of the campaign in Washington. These developments created a leadership vacuum in the NIYC. The students who attended the NIYC's first-ever Institute of American Indian Studies in the summer of 1968 decided to take over the NIYC's board of directors. Before long, William Pensoneau (Ponca) became president and served until 1969. In the midst of this transformation, the NIYC's headquarters moved back to New Mexico. Gerald Wilkinson (Cherokee-Catawba) agreed to become executive director around this time and began working, initially without pay, at the new office in Albuquerque.

Wilkinson realized the NIYC needed to adapt to survive. Many of the Native students who had passed through the NIYC's leadership training programs began competing with the NIYC for funding and political influence. For instance, in 1969 Wilkie became executive director of the NCAI. NIYC members obtained internships in Washington, D.C., and staffed Indian desks in major departments and agencies of the federal government. At least 250 Indian students attended the NIYC's summer Institutes in American Indian Studies and helped set up similar programs on other college campuses. Members of the NIYC also became leaders of tribes and estab-





lished Indian advocacy organizations. Wilkinson recognized the need to build membership and funds. A direct mail campaign and a resumption of the NIYC's periodical helped boost membership to 15,050 chapters by the early 1970s.

The NIYC changed during the 1970s from a direct action activist organization to one that pursued long-term projects. For example, the NIYC participated in the Trail of Broken Treaties, but its priorities lay elsewhere. Wilkinson wasted little time in obtaining the services of lawyers. With their help, the NIYC sued the BIA for its discrimination against students at schools like Intermountain and Chilocco and urged the adoption of a student bill of rights. By mid-decade Wilkinson had assembled an office with twenty people, including several staff attorneys. Some of the court cases launched and won by the NIYC during these decades dealt with issues such as affirmative action, environmental issues, religious freedom, restoration of tribal constitutions, and voting rights. One way the NIYC survived during these years was through federal funds that allowed it to provide job training and placement. Notable leaders during these years included LaVonna Weller (Caddo), who became the first female president of the NIYC in 1972, and Lawrence Roberts (Oneida), who served as president from 1974 to 1988.

Since the 1980s, the NIYC has expanded the scope of its activities and continued to provide services to Indian people and organizations. In the 1980s new projects for the NIYC included voter registration campaigns among tribes in the Southwest, voter surveys, national directories of Indian elected officials, and polling data on the views of these political leaders. During these years the NIYC also hired a young attorney named James Anaya, who helped the NIYC to become a nongovernmental organization (NGO) at the United Nations and to provide assistance to indigenous peoples facing oppression throughout Latin America. Wilkinson's death in 1989 brought additional changes to the NIYC. Norman Ration (Navajo-Laguna) became executive director and helped the NIYC to better serve the urban Indian population of New Mexico. James Nez (Navajo) has assisted with this effort as NIYC president for quite some time. The two of them brought Witt back onto the board of directors. These and other individuals have helped the NIYC to expand and open offices in Farmington and Gallup, New Mexico. In the last few years the NIYC has won the right for Navajo Indians to vote in tribal elections at

polls in Albuquerque. Their most recent battles have been against low health-care funding for urban Indians across the nation.

*Sterling Fluharty*

*See also* Fishing Rights; National Congress of American Indians.

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## National Museum of the American Indian

The National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), part of the Smithsonian Institution, is the premier museum of Native American art and culture, containing the largest and most comprehensive collection of Native American art and artifacts in the world. With objects from North, South, and Central America, its holdings include approximately 800,000 objects, spanning 10,000 years of history through the present, from over a thousand Native or indigenous cultures.

The National Museum of the American Indian was created by an act of Congress (Public Law 101–185) in 1989 and signed into law by President George H. W. Bush. The acquisition of the vast holdings of the Museum of the American Indian became the foundation of the National Museum of the American Indian. The Museum of the American Indian, which was founded by George Gustav Heye





*The National Museum of the American Indian opened on September 21, 2004, in Washington, D.C. The museum houses an 800,000 piece collection that honors the cultures of Native Americans from North, South, and Central America. (Jessica Sedgewick)*

(1874–1957), contained the personal collections of Heye, who traveled extensively throughout the western hemisphere. With 800,000 objects and a photographic archive of 125,000 images, this collection was assembled over the period of fifty-four years, beginning at the turn of the twentieth century.

NMAI includes a smaller permanent museum, the George Gustav Heye Center located in lower Manhattan, a Cultural Resources Center that houses and cares for the collections in Suitland, Maryland, and a large permanent museum on the National Mall in Washington, D.C.

The George Gustav Heye Center, located in the Alexander Hamilton U.S. Customs House in New York City, opened in 1994. This branch of NMAI is an exhibition facility for both permanent and temporary exhibitions. It also houses a Resource Center

that utilizes computer technology to teach about Native life and links the museum to current Native communities. Also, the Heye Center houses a Film and Video Center that serves the Native filmmakers and community, educators, and the general public.

Built in 1999, the Cultural Resources Center is a research and storage facility for the objects and artifacts in the NMAI collection. It is state-of-the-art in terms of the care and storage of the collection and seeks to educate new generations of museum professionals. This facility serves as the center for various museum services, including community outreach, educational outreach, and technological development. It is also a culturally sensitive facility, recognizing that some objects in the collections may have family and community connections. This facility has both public and private areas for use by





Native and non-Native researchers and visitors from tribal communities, academe, and artistic and cultural organizations.

In September 2004, NMAI opened a second, larger, permanent museum on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., in front of the U.S. Capitol. This structure was built by two construction companies, one of which is a subsidiary of the Table Mountain Rancheria of Friant, California, a federally recognized American Indian tribe. The building is 351,263 square feet, 99 feet high and has a dome that rises 120 feet in the rotunda. The creation of the new museum included consultation and collaboration with 500 Natives from 300 communities. In keeping with the consensus of consultants from Indian Country, the building includes round interior spaces, exterior water features, east-facing entrances, and many interior details that reference Native symbols from various cultures. The grand opening took place on September 21, 2004, with an elaborate morning procession of Native Americans in full regalia traditional to each of their distinctive nations. The procession stretched from the Smithsonian Institution's Castle along the Mall toward the U.S. Capitol for the dedication of the new museum.

NMAI is distinctive in that the institution works collaboratively with Native communities to sustain cultural heritage. Through extensive educational programs and community outreach between people, the museum facilitates communication and education, in addition to connections with objects, artifacts, and art. Because its exhibitions are presented from a Native perspective and in a Native voice, NMAI is dedicated not only to preserving and exhibiting cultural artifacts from the past, but also to giving a voice to contemporary indigenous peoples. According to its mission statement:

The National Museum of the American Indian shall recognize and affirm to Native communities and the non-Native public the historical and contemporary culture and cultural achievements of the Natives of the Western Hemisphere by advancing—in consultation, collaboration, and cooperation with Natives—knowledge and understanding of Native cultures, including art, history, and language, and by recognizing the museum's special responsibility, through innovative public programming, research and collections, to protect, support, and enhance the

development, maintenance, and perpetuation of Native culture and community (NMAI, n.d., "Mission").

*Traci L. Morris-Carlsten*

*See also* Native American Museums; Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.

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## **Native American Church of North America**

The Native American Church of North America (NAC), or Native American Church of Jesus Christ, is the largest religious organization dedicated to the use of the fruit (or "button") of the peyote cactus as the central element of its worship. However, the use of peyote in North America far predates the organization of the NAC. Peyote buttons dating to 5,000 BCE have been found in Texas, and its use in Central America appears to be more ancient still.

Opposition by European-Americans to Native use of peyote also has a very long history. When the Spanish first reached many of the isolated inland tribes of Mexico, they discovered the Indians of the Cora tribe using a previously unknown substance in their nocturnal religious rites. In 1754, Spanish historian José Ortega described "a tray filled with *peyote* which is a diabolical root [*raiz diabolica*] that is ground up and drunk by them so that they may not become weakened by the exhausting effects of so





*Members of the Native American Church prepare for a prayer meeting in Mirando City, Texas, in 1996. The Church's all-night ceremonies involve the use of peyote as a sacrament. (AP/Wide World Photos)*

long a function." Anthropologists have estimated that peyote has been in use among Mexican Indians for approximately 7,000 to 10,000 years. Although Ortega saw peyote as a "diabolical root," the Cora Indians saw it as a "divine cactus." The Inquisition made its use illegal in 1620, but this did not stop the spread of its use.

Anthropologist Weston La Barre estimated that the ritual and curative use of peyote was transmitted from Mexican tribes to those residing in the United States around 1870. During the next fifty years, it was diffused among various tribes throughout the Western United States. Although peyote was one of many plants used in Central American Indian ceremonies, in North American usage it became the central sacrament. Whereas prior pan-Indian movements led by people like Neolin, Tenskwatawa, and Wovoka promised a return to the pre-European state through divine and/or military means, the use of peyote became a way of accommodating and accepting the facts of modern life

while keeping a connection with traditional Indian beliefs. Further, the peyote faith became a way for Indians to deal with the crisis caused by the destruction of their traditional cultures during the nineteenth century.

By the late nineteenth century, noted anthropologist James Mooney began to research its use among Indian peoples in Oklahoma and elsewhere, even going so far as to become an advocate for its use as an expression of freedom of religion. By 1906, the use of peyote had spread to an area covering the Great Plains from Oklahoma to Nebraska. The threat of Christian missionaries' call for congressional action to ban the use of peyote caused the peyote users of the Oto, Kiowa, and Arapaho tribes to unite several diverse peyote groups and, with Mooney's support, create the Native American Church in October 1918. Although it was not and still is not representative of all Indian peyote users in the United States, the NAC was formed as a defense measure against probable government action.





Although the organization of the NAC gave peyote users a pan-Indian identity, it did little to dissuade whites and proacculturation Indians from attacking the movement. The fact that the sacrament is a mild hallucinogen caused federal, state, and local government officials to oppose the use of peyote, ignoring the purely ceremonial usage among the Indian groups. Exercising their influence on government officials were Christian leaders who claimed peyote use was, like alcohol, only used to induce euphoria. Passage of the Indian Citizenship Act and with it the official granting of constitutional rights to Indians in 1924 did not end the persecution.

The NAC has traditionally infused its rites with Christian imagery and even theology. It has no professional, paid clergy. Members are free to interpret *Bible* passages according to their own understanding. Morality is basically Christian and stresses the need to abstain from alcohol and be faithful to one's spouse. Other prominent values include truthfulness, fulfilling one's family obligations, economic self-sufficiency, praying for the sick, and praying for peace. The peyote faith stresses personal revelation and visions; individual commitment to live a life of respect, generosity, and harmony; and a heavy emphasis on the sacramental aspect of worship. Each person must come to the peyote belief of his or her own volition through an overt decision of faith. Declaring this belief makes the communicant a part of the faith community, a community that shows common concern for other members. Some communities have also included the practice of baptism. However, the amount and type of Christian influence can vary widely among and within tribal groups.

One of the most notable evangelists of the peyote religion during the last half of the nineteenth century was the Comanche Quanah Parker, who traveled from tribe to tribe spreading the new faith. Although many converted, opposition came almost immediately from many sides, both Indian and non-Indian. Many Indians who had been educated and favored assimilation saw an Indian religion as a step backward. Many were still devoted to traditional Indian cultures and could not fit the new religion into their system. Both the state and federal government banned the use of peyote, and, although some overtures were made by the Peyotists, most missionary groups condemned the new faith, blaming the use of peyote for poverty, illness, and death on the reservations. Controversy still follows the peyote faith, even in the aftermath of the 1978 passage of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act.

In his 1970 masterwork, *Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto*, Vine Deloria, Jr., stated that the Native American Church "appears to be the religion of the future" and that "eventually it will replace Christianity among the Indian people" (Deloria, 1970, 113). However, the fact that the theology espoused by some members of the NAC has Christian roots has caused divisions. The continual participation of Indians in traditional religions, Christianity, and peyotism has revealed Deloria's declaration to be a bit overstated, but for those who blend traditional Indian religions and Christianity, the NAC remains a vital force in the communities of which it is a part.

Steven L. Danver

See also Deloria, Vine, Jr.; Pan-Indianism; Parker, Quanah; Tenskwatawa; Wovoka.

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## Native American Museums

Native American museums and cultural heritage centers are among the most recent of the institutions that make up the history of contemporary museums. To understand and appreciate their significance, it is important first to explore the context in which they arose. The modern museum emerged as a product of the evolution of the private collections of royal and wealthy families at the time of the Renaissance, when increased inquiry into the natural and cultural world, spurred by Western voyages of discovery, expanded the range of what was thought to be exotic, unique, and of scientific value. The first public museums began to appear by 1800, with major national museums being created by the end of the





century. National museums were developed in part not only as a reflection on ideas about what a modern, civilized country should have, but also to house the arts and crafts from colonial activities in other parts of the world. In the latter case, these “trophy” collections demonstrated the need to bring “civilization” and Christianity to those benighted and uncivilized regions, while providing exotic materials for the amusement and enjoyment of the public and scientific materials for educational and research purposes. The explosion in the numbers of museums began in the late 1800s. In the United States, for example, there were about 300 museums before 1860, approximately 700 by 1900, more than 2,000 by the start of World War II, and an estimated 14,000 today, ranging from very large natural history museums to the far more numerous local historical society museums.

By the 1950s, thousands of American and foreign museums had amassed Native American collections. In many instances, these public and private institutional collections contained important sacred and patrimonial objects, as well as tens of thousands of human remains and hundreds of thousands of funerary objects. These materials were characteristically acquired, researched, exhibited, and preserved without tribal community consultation or involvement. Museum collections had emerged from the extensive “salvage” research and collecting of Native American objects, and bodies, from the late 1800s, at a time when scholars were convinced that Native Americans and their communities would soon be extinct. There was reason for alarm, since the pre-contact indigenous population in North America had dropped from an estimated seven million in 1492 to only a quarter million in 1900.

Scholars at that time believed that extraordinary efforts were required to collect Native American information and objects before all trace of these cultures disappeared. The resulting massive collection of work carried out through various means resulted in a large corpus of materials being available. As a result, local, regional, and national museums were, by the 1930s, in possession of the majority of all Native American objects that had survived daily use in communities from before the reservation period. Relatively few of the older cultural heritage objects remained in their original tribal communities. During this period, tribes were not politically involved in approving or denying collecting or other research activities by outsiders (although some individuals were involved, with the knowledge of their nations),

and rarely did they have the right to interfere in such collecting. Federal and state laws did not involve tribes in archaeological project approval and regarded all archaeologically found Native American materials, including human remains, as “resources” that could be acquired and owned by institutions such as museums. Moreover, museums rarely consulted tribal representatives about any planned exhibition, educational program, or other interpretation of Native American materials. Instead, Native American history and heritage were virtually always presented to the public by museums in the absence of a Native American perspective.

Individuals, communities, and governments create museums to collect significant objects; to research, exhibit, and educationally use those objects; and to preserve them for posterity. These same goals not only motivated Native American communities to begin to establish their own museums and cultural centers during the twentieth century, but also reflected tribal communities’ changing educational needs, the desire to promote pride and knowledge in their cultural heritage and history, and the need to maintain or acquire objects of heritage available to the community, including photographs and recordings. Although a few initial efforts began in the 1940s, the widespread development of Native American community museums and cultural centers began in the 1960s. New tribal efforts for self-determination, the protection of tribal sovereignty, and the pursuit of treaty rights were also occurring nationwide. This movement also mirrored renewed efforts by Native Americans to regain control over objects of heritage as well as human ancestral remains housed in nontribal museums.

Ultimately, the United States Congress passed legislation—the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (PL101–601)—which mandated that human remains and cultural objects that were culturally affiliated with federally recognized tribes be repatriated from government agencies and public museums to tribes. This complex law also has other elements, including tribal control over the disposition of human remains or cultural objects discovered on their lands or federal lands, and criminal penalties for commercial trafficking in legally restricted materials. The passage of this law spurred many tribal communities to begin work on museums and cultural centers that could house some of the cultural materials being returned to them. This change in federal law also marked the beginning of new relationships between nontribal museums and





tribal communities; specifically, some nontribal museums established new policies of consulting and collaborating with tribes prior to developing exhibits and other programs dealing with Native American materials and themes.

Some new tribal museums of the 1960s and 1970s were created because of specific cultural heritage projects. For example, the Makah Cultural and Research Center was established to house a large and very significant archaeological collection that resulted from a major excavation on their land. The Suquamish Tribal Museum was the product of a highly successful community oral-history project, and the Ak-Chin Him-Dak EcoMuseum was a part of a broader community revitalization process. These, as well as other tribal museums, were established either by tribal governments and operated through them or by tribally based organizations that usually had a relationship with their tribal governments. Today, tribal museums and cultural centers play a variety of roles and may serve both tribal and nontribal communities. Most house collections of objects and important community archival materials, develop exhibits and educational programs for their own and the broader community, and carry out research, as well as serving as points of inspiration for the work of tribal artists. Some new tribal museums are destination points for tourists, while others focus primarily on their own community and dedicate their efforts to the recovery, maintenance, and perpetuation of their heritage. Many tribal museums, for example, sponsor language programs as well as traditional arts and crafts programs, special seniors programs for the education of community youth, projects such as community oral history, and also publish educational, historical, and research materials. In some instances, tribal museums also serve as the oversight agency for the tribal government for researchers working in the community.

The National Congress of American Indians estimates that there are more than 230 tribal museums and cultural centers in the United States, while other estimates, using different definitions, place the number at less than 200. Canadian bands and tribes operate tribal heritage institutions in Canada, and entirely new museums and centers are being developed each year in both countries. A new federal grant program in the United States has been created just for tribal museum program enhancement, and a recent project led to the creation of cultural learning centers, often functioning as gallery and museum spaces, in many tribal colleges in the United States.

Many of the newest tribal museums, including the Mashantucket Pequot Museum in Connecticut, the Huhugam Heritage Center in Arizona, the Tamastlikt Cultural Institute in Oregon, and the planned Aqua Caliente Cultural Museum in California are all examples of state-of-the-art facilities with stunning architectural designs and enhanced environmental systems and approaches. These, along with other tribal museums, are also establishing new models for curating cultural materials, often involving culturally sensitive approaches for storage, access, and conservation treatments. Comparable efforts by indigenous communities in other countries have made this movement among the newest museological phenomena in the world, and an effort that is already having an impact in the broader museum community.

James D. Nason

*See also* National Museum of the American Indian; Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.

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## Neolin (Delaware Prophet)

Also known as the Delaware Prophet, Neolin came to prominence during the period just before and during Pontiac's Rebellion against the English in the early 1760s. His visions, preaching, and calls for Native people to return to pre-contact traditions became one of the unifying features of Pontiac's Rebellion.

Moved off their lands in eastern Pennsylvania in the wake of the fraudulent Walking Purchase, most Len-pe (also rendered Leni-Lenápe, or Delaware) were forced to move west. One of the results of this upheaval was that beginning in the





1740s, a series of “prophets,” individuals conveying religious messages, began appearing among the Lenape and other Native peoples in western Pennsylvania, eastern Ohio, and the Great Lakes region. Neolin was only the latest (and far from the last) in a long line of prophets when he came to the attention of British authorities in the early 1760s.

Neolin’s religious experience began when he entered into a trance or dream in which he undertook an arduous journey to meet the Master of Life. The Master of Life showed him the path to heaven and how Europeans blocked it. He was instructed to relay a message to Native peoples that the lands the Creator made were for their use and that they should not suffer the presence of Europeans.

Neolin preached a militantly Nativistic stance toward Europeans beginning in the fall of 1761 and illustrated his message with the use of pictographs. The illustrations showed a straight path to heaven that Native people followed in pre-contact times, but sin, alcohol, and Europeans now blocked that route. The drawings also showed a grim alternative: a large fire where sinful Indians spent eternity.

Avoidance of Europeans and European goods were Neolin’s overriding themes. Native people should wear animal skins instead of trade cloth, eschew European foods, use bows and arrows instead of firearms, and abstain from using alcohol. Neolin also taught his followers that fires kindled using flint and steel were not “pure.” He also encouraged Native people to purify themselves by using an emetic potion known as black drink, which had long been used in the Southeast. One Shawnee community that followed Neolin engaged in the practice with such gusto that traders nicknamed their village Vomit Town. While Neolin’s followers accepted his rejection of all things European in theory, doing so in practice was another matter entirely. Over the previous century and a half, Native peoples of the American Northeast had become dependent on European goods such as metal tools and cloth.

In 1763, the global conflict between France and England—called the French and Indian War in America and the Seven Year’s War in Europe—came to an end. As part of the peace settlement, France surrendered all of its North American possessions, and the English garrisoned most of the former French posts in the Ohio country and the Great Lakes, including Detroit, Niagara, and Fort Pitt. Native peoples, many of whom had been allies of the French, waited to see how the British would treat them.

They did not have to wait long. Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the commander of his majesty’s forces in America, ignored the advice of Sir William Johnson, the superintendent of Indian affairs, and ceased the practice of presenting Native people with diplomatic gifts. Gifts were regarded as a show of good will, and some gifts, such as gunpowder, were vital necessities to Native people, who needed it to conduct their fall and winter hunts and for warfare against their enemies. Amherst’s prohibition on gifts and the high prices for British trade goods made more Native people receptive to Neolin’s message, especially after it had been altered slightly by the Ottawa leader Pontiac.

The Ottawa chieftain Pontiac used Neolin’s message, with its implicit and explicit hostility to Europeans, to argue for Native unity and for a war against the British. However, in his version of Neolin’s teachings, Pontiac transmuted the French into friends of Native peoples who would give them trade goods for cheap prices. In many respects, this was a contravention of Neolin’s (and the Master of Life’s) message.

Roger M. Carpenter

See also American Revolution, Native American Participation; Johnson, William; Pontiac.

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## Oakes, Richard

Richard Oakes (1942–1972), a Mohawk who was born on the St. Regis Reservation in New York, helped plan and implement the 1969 American Indian occupation of Alcatraz Island. His eloquence and commanding presence, his pivotal role in the takeover of Alcatraz, his development of a curriculum for the American Indian Studies Department at San Francisco State University, and his involvement in other protests in support of the Pit River and Pomo Indians make him an important figure in the





history of American Indian activism in the 1960s and 1970s.

Oakes spent time in New York City working on high steel structures before moving to California, where he married Anne Marufo. He studied under Louis Kemnitzer at San Francisco State College in the American Indian Studies Department. There, Richard was introduced to the White Roots of Peace and the Third World Liberation Strikes at Berkeley, both inspirations for his activism. While in school, Richard and other students in his program met with Belva Cottier who, through her own experiences with Alcatraz, helped lay the groundwork for the students' future takeover.

Oakes joined forces with Adam Nordwall, who was also working on plans for an occupation of Alcatraz. Their collaborative group, the Indians of All Tribes, drafted a proclamation to illustrate the grievances of American Indians in cities and on reservations and to list their demands for Alcatraz. Chief among these demands was title to the land and support to build an American Indian Museum, a Center for Native American Studies, a Spiritual Center, and a scientific center for the study of ecology and environmental protection.

November 9, 1969, saw the first attempt to take Alcatraz. Before setting sail, Richard read the Proclamation of the IAT to the gathered press, who singled him out as the leader of the movement.

As they approached Alcatraz, Oakes jumped overboard and swam to shore to claim the island by right of discovery. After being removed by the Coast Guard, Oakes and his fellow students made a second attempt to occupy Alcatraz by returning only hours later. That night, the small band of occupants on the island sang songs and danced in celebration. The next day, before the Coast Guard removed them again, Oakes once again stressed the demands of the Indians of All Tribes for title to the land. On November 20, 1969, on a third attempt, eighty-nine American Indians, including Oakes, successfully occupied Alcatraz for an extended period of time.

Oakes believed that the protest on Alcatraz had the power to prove to the federal government and to the American public that American Indians were a vibrant and powerful entity in the late twentieth century, capable of self-determination. He hoped through the media to be able to reveal the vast contributions of American Indians to society and history and to push the federal government to begin acknowledging its massive legal obligations to American Indians.

Opposition to Oakes's growing power in the media created a rift among some of the newer occupiers, who wished for a completely egalitarian society on Alcatraz and saw his influence as a threat. On January 5, 1970, Oakes's daughter Yvonne fell down a flight of stairs and was killed. In deep mourning, the Oakes family left Alcatraz and new leadership factions rose to take his place.

After leaving Alcatraz, Oakes and his family went on to support other activist movements. He took part in the protests against the occupation by the Pacific Gas and Electric Company of the Pit River lands in northern California. In Santa Rosa California, Oakes helped plan a takeover of a former Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) post, where title to the land was eventually transferred to the Pomo Indians and an American Indian Learning Center was established.

In a tragic end to a brilliant life, Richard Oakes was shot to death September 20, 1972, by a YMCA camp manager, Michael Oliver Morgan, in Santa Clara, California. Morgan asserted that Oakes had attacked him, while Oakes's defenders maintained that he had been assassinated because Morgan objected to Oakes's positions on Native-rights issues. Through his efforts on Alcatraz and elsewhere, Richard Oakes helped give an upcoming generation of American Indians a renewed sense of pride and self-respect. His accomplishments in the field of American Indian activism created a new awareness of the important place of American Indians in history and in our modern society.

Vera Parham

*See also* Occupation of Alcatraz Island.

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## Ortiz, Simon J.

One of the most accomplished Native American poets of the twentieth century, Simon J. Ortiz (Acoma Pueblo, b. 1941) often is credited as one of





the grandfathers of Native American literature. Ortiz is a widely published poet, short story writer, and oft-cited essayist. His incorporation of Native oral traditional stories and his insistence on the creative maintenance of indigenous American philosophical traditions are among his contributions to the intellectual and literary culture of indigenous Americans, as well as to American literature as a whole.

Ortiz was born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and raised in Deetseyamah (McCartys) on the Acoma Pueblo Reservation. He received his early education at a Bureau of Indian Affairs school. After working in the uranium mines and processing plants of New Mexico, he briefly studied chemistry at Fort Lewis College before enlisting in the U.S. Army. After his service, Ortiz studied at the University of New Mexico, where he began to publish poems in small magazines. He received his master's of fine arts as an International Writing Fellow at the University of Iowa Writers' Workshop in 1969. The same year, Ortiz was given a Discovery Award by the National Endowment for the Arts. He has since taught and spoken at numerous universities and literary festivals worldwide.

Among his best-known works is *Fight Back: For the Sake of the People, for the Sake of the Land* (1980, reissued in *Woven Stone*, 1992), a collection of poetry and prose in which Ortiz draws on the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 to illuminate similar conditions existing in modern-day America, specifically in the Southwest. Ortiz examines the 1680 revolt, in which Native Pueblo peoples, Apaches, and Navajos, along with people of mixed ethnic heritage, were successful in overthrowing the colonial Spanish power and asserting sovereignty over their indigenous homelands. The poet uses this historical occurrence to emphasize the need for solidarity among marginalized peoples in present-day America to fight oppression, particularly with regard to the land.

Ortiz again recalled American history in his 1981 collection *from Sand Creek*, this time using the war in Vietnam to explore the 1864 Sand Creek Massacre, when over 130 Cheyenne and Arapahoe people were slaughtered by U.S. troops at Sand Creek, Colorado, as part of the American westward expansion. As Ortiz writes in his introduction to the 1999 edition, *from Sand Creek* represents his attempt to "deal with history," particularly the history of America that he maintains has excluded and marginalized Native American peoples (Ortiz, 1999, Preface). According to Ortiz, the genocidal aspects of American history are a facet of the American past

that is generally unacknowledged by the dominating Euro-American culture. As such, *from Sand Creek* represents not only Ortiz's attempt to "deal with history," but serves as a reminder to the wider American public of its historical treatment of Native peoples. Ortiz examines the ties between two wartime massacres—Sand Creek and My Lai—and the recurring themes involved in Euro-American imperialism: "splattered blood/along their mad progress; they claimed the earth" (Ortiz, 1999, 89).

Simon J. Ortiz is the author of two short story collections and has edited the acclaimed *Earth Power Coming* (1983), an anthology of indigenous short fiction from across the Americas. He has also written two books for children. One of them, *Speaking for the Generations*, which Ortiz edited in 1998, is a major collection of Native authors writing about their craft. Among his many achievements, Ortiz was an Honored Poet at the 1981 White House Salute to Poetry. Ortiz has three children, has served as lieutenant governor of Acoma Pueblo, and was the recipient of an honorary doctorate of letters degree from the University of New Mexico in 2002. Ortiz's work, including his most recent collection of poetry, *Out There Somewhere*, continues to be an integral indigenous literary response to the history of the Americas.

Daniel Morley Johnson

See also Genocide; Pueblo Revolt; Sand Creek Massacre; Uranium Mining.

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## Osceola

A charismatic warrior, Osceola (1804–January 30, 1838) led the fight against the forced removal of the Seminoles to Indian Territory in the early nineteenth century. In the Second Seminole War, Osceola emerged as the most famous defender of the Semi-





nole Indians in Florida and an outspoken opponent of U.S. expansion. Despite his prominence, most of what we know about Osceola has been colored by a combination of romanticism and racism.

Born a Creek Indian in the village of Tallassee in what is now Alabama, Osceola was originally named Billy Powell. He was the son of a British trader (William Powell) and an upper Creek woman (Polly Copinger). By virtue of the Creeks' matrilineal clan system, he grew up a full member of Creek society. He would later earn his name Osceola, which is a corruption of the Muskogee words Asin ("black drink") and Yahola ("town crier"). At other times, he went by the title Tustenuggee Tallassee or the Tallassee warrior.

In 1813, when a civil war erupted among the Creek Indians, Osceola and his mother sided with the Red Sticks, who fought against Andrew Jackson and his Creek allies. Only a child at the time, Osceola did not fight in the war, but it created disruptions in his life and in Creek society. The Treaty of Fort Jackson at the war's conclusion ceded 23 million acres to the United States, including the territory where Tallassee was located. Rather than submit to the terms of the treaty or move westward, Osceola, his mother, and many other Creeks associated with his great-uncle Peter McQueen, moved south to Florida. He, along with hundreds of other Red Sticks, joined with the Seminole Indians already living in the area.

Among the Seminoles, Osceola emerged as a prominent warrior and influential leader. He married two Seminole women, which was common under the rules of polygyny, and he had at least one and maybe two children. One wife was a Creek woman named Che-cho-ter, or "Morning Dew." His other wife, whose name remains unknown, was probably an African American woman. Hundreds of black Seminoles, many of whom were fugitive slaves, found refuge and families in Florida's Indian villages, and their presence in Florida fueled the animosity between the United States and the Seminoles.

Osceola participated in the First Seminole War (1817–1818) as a young warrior. During this war, which was initiated by Andrew Jackson's invasion of Florida, Osceola had his first experience as a Creek warrior. American troops, while seeking to return fugitive African American slaves to their masters and to destroy their ability to find refuge in Florida, captured Osceola and several other Seminoles.

Upon his return to the Seminoles, Osceola emerged as a leading warrior in his Tallassee town. His opposition to American interests increased his



*A Seminole leader born around 1803, Osceola achieved his status not as a hereditary chief but rather through his clearly demonstrated skills during the Second Seminole War of 1835–1842. (Library of Congress)*

stature in the community, and many Seminoles looked to the bilingual Osceola to participate in intercultural affairs. For example, in 1823, Osceola tried to put an end to the controversial Treaty of Moultrie Creek. Some accounts, probably exaggerated, have Osceola putting his knife through the yet unsigned document. Considering that in subsequent years, many Seminoles complained that they were unaware about several elements of the treaty and thus tricked into signing the agreement, Osceola's opposition may have been augmented by his literacy.

After the treaty was signed, Osceola continued to oppose U.S. interests. When the Seminoles signed the Treaty of Payne's Landing (1832) and the Treaty of Fort Gibson (1833), Osceola reemerged as a voice of opposition. In June 1835, a frustrated Wiley Thompson, who was the Indian agent to the Seminoles, arranged to have Osceola arrested. Although we do not know the exact insult that resulted in Osceola's confinement, it is clear that Thompson incarcerated the Indian leader as a means to remove





the Seminoles. Thompson put Osceola in irons until he agreed to sign a document that declared the validity of the Treaty of Payne's Landing and to bring in a band of Indians who would agree to migrate westward. When seventy-nine Seminoles arrived at Fort King to proclaim their willingness to move westward, Thompson released Osceola.

Osceola urged Seminoles to oppose the 1832 and 1833 treaties and otherwise to use armed resistance to defy any attempts to force their removal. This resistance movement resulted in the Second Seminole War. On December 18, 1835, Osceola and his followers assassinated Seminole leader Charley Emathla for his signing of the treaty and his compliance with American demands for westward migration. In November 1835, Osceola and his warriors shot Emathla as he returned home from Fort King, where he had sold his cattle, a move made necessary by his decision to move. Osceola and his warriors, in a symbolic chastisement of Emathla for selling out his Seminole neighbors for personal profit, left the money from the sale on the ground by the dead leader.

In December, Osceola led another attack, this time on Thompson, just outside of Fort King, where the Indian agent was headquartered. With the assistance of approximately sixty warriors, Osceola led a brutal attack on the man most associated with the U.S. invasion of the Seminole lands. While Osceola led the assassination of Thompson, other Seminole warriors attacked the U.S. military forces who were under the command of Major Francis Dade. In light of Osceola's attack and the general discontent among Seminole villages, the United States had sent Dade and his men to serve as reinforcements at Fort King. Before they arrived, the Seminoles attacked and routed the forces. The attack killed nearly all of the 110 men on the march.

During the resulting Second Seminole War (1835–1842), Osceola emerged as one of the more successful leaders. Although he did not benefit from hereditary ties to authority among the Seminoles, his anti-American leadership and military prowess led to his rise to Tustunuggee Tallassee and then to Tustenuggee Thlucco (head warrior) for the entire Seminole nation. His "white" heritage furthered his reputation among non-Natives, many of whom were fascinated with his upbringing. Just before his death, George Catlin further sealed Osceola's fame by painting and then distributing his portrait. In the portrait, Osceola appears in an amalgam of the finest

European and Seminole clothes, armed with a rifle and adorned with gorgets around his neck and feathers in his hair.

On December 31, 1835, Osceola won a decisive victory over the United States at the Withlacoochee River. With about 250 warriors, Osceola repelled a U.S. force of nearly 800 men under General Duncan L. Clinch's command. During the fighting, Osceola was wounded but not seriously, and after he recovered, he returned to battle. Deaths were low on both sides (three Indians and four U.S. soldiers, but casualties were not. Five Indians and fifty-nine Americans were seriously wounded. Later in the war, Osceola is credited for rescuing a camp of mostly black Seminoles from the United States.

In the summer of 1837, Osceola contracted malaria. Exhausted from fighting and suffering from his illness, on October 27, 1837, Osceola sent word to General Thomas Sydney Jesup that he was desirous of a truce. Osceola and Coa Harjo traveled to Fort Peyton, where on the orders of Jesup, American soldiers captured the Indian men, who were carrying a white flag. The United States also took hostage the eighty-one Seminole men and women who accompanied Osceola to the meeting. The United States took Osceola to the Castillo San Marcos (also known as Fort Marion) in St. Augustine, where eventually 237 Seminoles were imprisoned. When it became clear that Osceola could not be convinced to support the Seminole's removal, Jesup ordered him relocated to Fort Moultrie in South Carolina.

Before his death, Osceola requested that his two wives and his children be allowed to visit him in South Carolina. With the approval of the United States, they visited the dying warrior in early 1838. Osceola died while a prisoner on January 30, 1838. Before he was buried, the medical examiner at Fort Moultrie had him decapitated. In 1843, Osceola's head, as well as some of his possessions, were put on display by Dr. Valentine Mott. After being donated to the Medical College of New York, his head disappeared during an 1865 fire.

Andrew K. Frank

See also Emathla, Charley; Jackson, Andrew; Seminole Wars.

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## Ouray

Ouray ("The Arrow," "Willy"), who was Ute and Apache, became a major presence during treaty negotiations in present-day Colorado during the late nineteenth century. He served as a spokesman for the seven Ute bands and as a peacemaker during the Ute War of 1879.

Born in Taos, New Mexico, about 1820, Ouray's father, Guera Murah, was a Jicarilla Apache who had been adopted by the Utes; his mother was a Tabeguache Ute. Throughout most of his youth, Ouray worked for Mexican shepherders and learned Spanish. As a young man, he became a noted warrior among the Tabeguache Utes (later called the Uncompahgres) during raids against the Sioux and Kiowas. Ouray also learned English and several Indian languages, thus making him a key figure in many negotiations in the American Southwest.

Ouray's son by his first wife was taken by the Sioux in a raid on a Ute hunting camp, and he was never able to recapture him. When his first wife died in 1859, Ouray married Chipeta, a Tabeguache woman. In 1860, after his father died, Ouray was appointed chief of his band and interpreter for the U.S. government. This appointment occurred in Washington, D.C., where he was awarded medals, titles, and a \$1,000 annuity.

In 1863, Ouray helped negotiate the Treaty of Conejos, in which the Utes ceded all lands east of the Continental Divide. In 1867, he helped Christopher "Kit" Carson quell a Ute uprising led by Chief Kaniatse. By 1872, however, Ouray was leading resistance to the U.S. government's seizure of lands that previously had been reserved for the Ute people. Although he was generally patient, Ouray did lose his temper during these negotiations when a U.S. government official accused the Utes of laziness. Incensed at such a characterization, Ouray replied, "We work as hard as you do. Did you ever try skinning a buffalo?" (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 276).



*Ouray served as a spokesman for the seven Ute bands, and as a peacemaker during the Ute War of 1879. (Library of Congress)*

In 1873, Ouray and other Ute representatives met with a federal commission headed by Felix Brunot and were forced to compromise on the issue of land cessions. Pressured by the influx of miners and cattle owners, the Utes ceded an additional four million acres (the San Juan cession) for an annual payment of \$25,000.

In 1876, when Colorado became a state, mining companies attempted to oust three White River Ute bands from their lands. "The Utes must go" became a political slogan among non-Native immigrants, in spite of the Utes' service as scouts for the U.S. Army and in state militias fighting other Native peoples.





These tensions were compounded by the policies of a new Indian agent, Nathan Meeker, who arrived in 1878. In September 1879, Meeker directed the Utes to use parts of their land for farming. Canalla, brother-in-law of Ouray and a Ute shaman, protested the conversion of grazing lands to agriculture. Canalla challenged Meeker's decision and told him to leave the agency. Meeker proceeded to request a detachment of 150 troops under Major Thomas T. Thornburgh to "pacify" the rebellious Utes. Shortly afterward, the Utes killed Meeker and seven other whites. Following subsequent bloody altercations, Ouray was able to secure a peaceful settlement because both sides respected him.

On August 27, 1880, soon after his return from Washington, D.C., Ouray died of Bright's Disease, an affliction of the kidneys, near Ignacio, Colorado. In 1925, he was reburied at Montrose, Colorado.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Carson, Christopher "Kit"

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## Owens, Louis

Of Cherokee, Choctaw, and Irish descent, Louis Owens was an extremely prolific writer, having produced five novels, two books of personal and literary essays, five books of literary criticism (two on John Steinbeck's work, a major critical interest of Owens), and three on American Indian literature, over seventy-five critical essays and chapters, and over thirty essays.

Owens was born in Lompoc, California, in 1948 and grew up in rural Mississippi and California. He was one of nine children, the second member of his family to finish high school, and the only one to attend university. With an understanding of the working class and a love of the outdoors that permeate much of his written work, Owens worked as a field laborer as well as a firefighter and forest ranger before attending graduate school. He took his Ph.D. at the University of California Davis as a University of California Regents Fellow in 1981, becoming a full professor in that system eight years later. Owens was a Fulbright lecturer in American literature at the University of Pisa and taught for a time at the University of New Mexico. Owens also was awarded

Outstanding Teacher of the Year for 1985–1986 by the International Steinbeck Society and the Distinguished Teaching Award by the University of California Santa Cruz in 1992. He was awarded a New Mexico Humanities Grant in 1987 and a National Endowment for the Arts Creative Writing Fellowship in 1989, and he was named Wordcraft Circle Writer of the Year (Prose–Personal and Critical Essays) in 1998 for *Mixblood Messages*. *The Sharpest Sight* was the recipient of France's 1995 Roman Noir Award, and this novel, along with *Other Destinies*, was the cowinner of the Josephine Miles/PEN Oakland Award in 1993. *Bone Game* won the Julian J. Rothbaum Prize in 1994. *Nightland* won an American Book Award in 1997. Tragically, Owens committed suicide in July 2002 in Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Owens's novels are mysteries. *The Sharpest Sight*, the first book in Oklahoma's American Indian Literature and Critical Studies Series, is not merely a whodunnit in regard to the murder of Attis McCurtain, but also a study in mixed-blood identity and continuance in the characters of Mundo Morales, a Chicano deputy sheriff seeking the killer, and Cole and Hoey McCurtain, Attis's brother and father. In this novel, Owens introduces the characters of Uncle Luther and Old Lady (Onatima) Blue Wood, whose Mississippi Choctaw approach to the world provides grounding for the other characters as well as the resolution to the mystery.

*Bone Game* continues Cole's saga, at the same time confronting the results of colonialism from the cruelty of the early Spanish missionaries to the present. *Wolfsong*, the novel Owens wrote first during his years as a forest ranger but published third, is an interrogation of environmentalist ethics from a Native perspective. *Nightland* delves into the world of Billy Keene and Will Striker, half-blood Cherokees caught in a New Mexico mystery, and shows the effects of capitalism and greed on American Indian cultures as well as the effects of the Vietnam War on individual American lives. *Nightland* is the only one of Owens's novels to utilize Cherokee materials, with Will and Billy paralleling the twins born to Kana'ti and Selu, the first man and first woman in Cherokee oral tradition. *Dark River*, Owens's final novel, follows Mississippi Choctaw Jacob Nashoba, displaced and working as a tribal ranger on the fictional Black Mountain Apache Reservation in eastern Arizona, the home of his estranged wife.

The comic genius and humor that appear throughout his earlier work despite their overall serious tone is perhaps most fully expressed in this





work, though it is at the same time still a mystery and, as the title suggests, “dark.” It is also perhaps the most postmodern of Owens’s novels, with characters such as the more-Indian-than-the-Indians Jewish anthropologist Avrum Goldberg and Jessie, the young Apache man who at first sells fake “vision quests” to unsuspecting New Agers and then, being mistaken for a wolf and shot while impersonating one in his trade, becomes ironically a real spirit helper. The autobiographical *I Hear the Train: Inventions, Reflections, Refractions* was his last work.

Kimberly Roppolo

See also Mission System, Spanish.

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## Parker, Arthur C.

Arthur Caswell Parker (Gawasowaneh, 1881–1955) was an Indian intellectual who devoted over forty years of his life to New York museums. Most commentators tend to stress that he was only one-quarter Indian by blood, but he thought of himself as simply a modern assimilated Seneca Iroquois Indian of noble descent. He chose wholehearted assimilation into Euro-American culture as his life path and remained heartily resistant to the imposition of any Indian stereotype. Instead, he worked almost ceaselessly to claim, for himself and for the Iroquois, his version of an Indian ethos. At the heart of this quest lay his writing. A workaholic, he wrote 440 separate books, articles and addresses, thirty-two published newspaper articles, 114 radio scripts, and forty-five unpublished articles, speeches and plays, in addition to editing five periodicals.

Arthur C. Parker married Beulah Tahamont (Dark Cloud, Abenaki) on April 23, 1904, then married Anna Theresa Cooke on September 17, 1914, and is survived by his daughter Martha Anne Parker.

Parker began his professional life as an archaeologist in the Science Division of the New York State Museum. He was dedicated to the reconstruction of the American ethnographic past and showed few qualms about desecrating the graves of ancestors in and around his own childhood reservation to signifi-

cantly enhance the museum’s collections. At the State Museum he also developed his sensory, psychological, and entertainment-orientated approach to display and created the life-sized Indian dioramas that stayed there from 1908 to 1976. As he moved into his thirties, Parker produced a number of important anthropological texts, notably *Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants* (1910), *The Code of Handsome Lake, the Seneca Prophet* (1913), and *The Constitution of the Five Nations* (1916). However, finding his anthropological approach criticized as too “Indian” and as focused on advancing Indian culture rather than on scientific objectivity, he increasingly turned his attention to pan-Indian concerns. He gave a huge chunk of his life and energy to the challenge of making the first twentieth-century Indian reform organization, the Society of American Indians (SAI, 1911–1920s) a force to be reckoned with. He ended his involvement with the SAI, sadly disillusioned about the cohesive power of the Indian “race” but convinced that he had helped lay the foundations for vital future reform.

Parker was able to maintain his commitment to social evolution in his best-known role, as Director of the Rochester Museum, New York, from 1924 to 1946. He transformed the institution from relative obscurity to national significance, largely by presenting versions of Indian history that affirmed the triumphant nationalism of the day. He published the influential *A Manual for History Museums* in 1935. In 1939, after attracting an enormous benefaction from the industrialist Dr. Edward Bausch, he was able to add a spectacular modern building to the museum. During the New Deal years, he promoted two relief programs on the reservations of his childhood, the Tonawanda Community House and the Seneca Arts & Crafts Project. Again, his approach attracted criticism, but his efforts were a practical success. For such practical achievements, as well as his personal kindness, Parker is still remembered today on New York reservations with warmth and appreciation.

Although most of Parker’s life was public indeed, he had a secret life in a host of fraternities. The group he gave his heart to was American Freemasonry, in which in 1924 he achieved the highest rank, the thirty-third degree and the title Sovereign Grand Inspector General. As a Mason, he used his Indian heritage and his writing ability to subvert the processes of exclusion that kept middle-class Indians and white Anglo-Saxon Protestants apart. A heart condition forced Parker into retirement at the age of sixty-five, whereupon he returned to writing





juvenile and children's books with Iroquois and Indian themes, part of his lifelong effort to connect the oral culture of his childhood with a positive vision of American nationalism. His children's books, especially *Skunny Wundy and Other Indian Tales* (1926), were successes, and all, in different ways, owed something to his first book-length study of tribal lore, *Seneca Myths and Folktales* (1923).

Parker was a fascinating and complex man, always deeply frustrated at, as he put it, having "to play Indian in order to be Indian" and determined to live beyond any imposed definition of what an Indian should be. Certainly, with his staunch Republican values, his eugenicist and racist views, his commitment to social evolution and to salvage ethnography, as well as his love of Freemasonry, he defies many of the usual Indian stereotypes. In sum, his illustrious family history, his remarkable life story, and the great wealth of written material he left to posterity all combine to make him one of the most fascinating Indian leaders of the postfrontier era.

Joy Porter

See also Parker, Ely; Society of American Indians.

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## Parker, Ely

Colonel Ely Parker (Donehogawa, Seneca, 1828–1905) was secretary to General Ulysses S. Grant; he wrote the surrender ending the Civil War that General Robert E. Lee signed at Appomattox. After the Civil War, Parker became the United States' first Native American Commissioner of Indian Affairs after Grant was elected president.

Parker had planned on a legal career, passed the necessary examinations, but was denied certification because he was Indian and therefore not a U.S. citizen. Parker then switched to civil engineering, but he also had a considerable background in ethnology. He helped to inspire Lewis Henry Morgan's pioneering studies of the Iroquois that founded academic anthropology in the United States. Parker became an early member of the Grand Order of the Iroquois, a fraternal society established by Morgan.

Parker's tenure in the Indian Bureau coincided with investigations by Congress under Senator James B. Doolittle regarding corruption on the fron-



Ely S. Parker (1828–1905), also known as Hasanoanda, was the United States' first Native American Commissioner of Indian Affairs. (National Archives and Records Administration)

tier. The Doolittle report received considerable publicity, finding that, in a large number of cases, Indian wars could be traced to the provocations of European-Americans who had seized Native lands illegally. Parker came into office under the aegis of a Peace Policy initiated by Congress after the publicity attending the Doolittle report, in an attempt to deal honestly with remaining Native American nations.

However, the Indian Rings, whose members had done so much to corrupt the system and profited so handsomely from government contracts for services paid but rarely delivered, made Parker's life miserable and his job impossible. During Parker's tenure as Indian Commissioner, however, he helped orchestrate considerable public outrage over the treatment of Indians nationwide, particularly those on the Plains who were being ruthlessly pursued as he served in the office. After Parker was hounded out of office, he expressed his disgust: "They made their onslaught on my poor, innocent head and made the air foul with their malicious and poisonous accusations. They were defeated, but it was no





longer a pleasure to discharge patriotic duties in the face of foul slander and abuse. I gave up a thankless position to enjoy my declining years in peace and quiet" (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 281).

Parker had overseen a brief interlude in the destructive Indian policies of the nineteenth century, a time during which Red Cloud and his allies had forced the U.S. Army to dissemble its forts in the Powder River country and sign the Treaty of 1868, guaranteeing the Black Hills to the Lakota. In June 1870, Parker had hosted Red Cloud and a companion chief, Red Dog, as they visited Washington, D.C., and spoke at the Cooper Union.

This was Parker's evaluation of U.S. Indian policies:

The white man has been the chief obstacle in the way of Indian civilization. The benevolent measures attempted by the government for their advancement has been almost uniformly thwarted by the agencies employed to carry them out. The soldiers, sent for their protection, too often carried demoralization and disease into their midst. The agent appointed to be their friend and counselor, business manager, and the [manager] of government bounties, frequently went among them only to enrich himself in the shortest possible time, at the cost of the Indians, and spend the largest available sum of the government money with the least ostensible beneficial result (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 281).

Long before the subject came to the attention of scholars, Parker noted the debt of the U.S. political system to the Iroquois. In an "Address to the New York Historical Society, May 28, 1847," Parker noted the fascination of the U.S. founders with the Iroquois League: "Glad were your forefathers to sit upon the thresholds of the Longhouse[;] rich did they hold themselves in getting the mere sweepings from its door" (Johansen 1999, 147).

During his later years, Parker made a large amount of money playing the stock market but was ruined when he was forced to pay the bond of another man who had defaulted. After retiring from service with the U.S. government, Parker was appointed New York City building superintendent in 1876. He held the post until he died in 1905. Parker is buried in Buffalo, New York, in a common plot with his grandfather, Red Jacket.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Grant Peace Policy; Parker, Arthur C.; Red Cloud.

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## Parker, Quanah

Although Quanah ("Sweet Fragrance") Parker played a role of great historical significance to the Comanche people and in his role in spreading peyote religion in Oklahoma, controversy surrounds his life. He was born sometime between 1845 and 1863, to a mother, Cynthia Ann Parker, who had been captured from her white family as a nine-year-old and raised as Comanche. Though most of her family was killed during the raid, Cynthia began a new life as a Comanche girl and was given the name of Preloch. She married Pete Nocona in her teens and gave birth to Quanah near Cedar Lake, Texas. The couple also had a daughter who lived to adulthood and a son who died in childhood. Cynthia, along with the daughter, Topsannah, were recaptured by the Texas Rangers in 1861. Both suffered greatly from their removal; Topsannah died in the mid 1860s, and Cynthia in 1870. Pete Nocona passed away in 1866 or 1867.

Quanah was ridiculed by other Comanches for his mixed ancestry; although he was Comanche culturally, he stood out because of his height and thinness, as well as his relatively light skin and gray eyes. Depending on one's opinion on the year of his birth, his role in the tribe during the mid and late-nineteenth century is debatable. It is certain that he fought as a warrior in the Battle of Adobe Walls in 1875 in the Comanches' last great effort to protect the





Quanah Parker was a Comanche leader. (Library of Congress)

buffalo on their Texas lands from eradication by white opportunists. He is noted by a white man who counceled with the Comanches regarding their surrender as being "a young man of much influence with his people" (Hagan, 1996, 468). Whether he was too young, as some say, to be a war chief who led his people in resisting the reservation for two years following the battle is unknown.

After the onset of reservation life, however, Quanah's role becomes more clear. Although he resisted cutting his hair and giving up any of his eight wives (five of whom he married simultaneously and several of whom were young widows in need of financial support), Quanah was named a band chief by the Indian agent early on and was eventually named a judge in 1886 and principal chief

in 1890. When Anglo-American cattle owners encroached on reservation land, Quanah became one of the earliest advocates of leasing and took a position monitoring the land boundaries, for which the cattlepeople paid him. He was also given cattle from time to time and set up his own herd with these and a bull given to him by Charles Goodnight (b. 1836), one of the most prosperous Anglo-American cattle raisers of the time. With the money he earned, Quanah built his famed home, the ten-roomed, double-porched Star House.

During the early reservation era, Quanah traveled throughout Texas and Oklahoma as a popular celebrity who led many parades on horseback in full regalia. He was one of five chiefs who rode in Theodore Roosevelt's inaugural parade in 1900. Over the years, Quanah made twenty trips to Washington, D.C., working to improve allotment conditions for his people, though he was unable to delay it as long as he wished. Quanah and other Comanches suffered from the loss of lease lands and the use of communally held property, and his finances would continue to trouble him until the end of his life. Two of his wives also left him during this time. Late in his life, Quanah traveled actively as a roadman, leading and attending peyote meetings throughout Oklahoma and testifying on behalf of his religion before state committees. He died on February 23, 1911, and was buried next to his mother and his sister, whom he had moved from Texas and reburied in Cache County, Oklahoma. He was survived by two remaining wives, Tonarcy and Topay, as well as sixteen of the twenty-four children he is known to have fathered. Quanah, Preloch, and Topsannah were all removed to Fort Sill Military Cemetery outside Lawton, Oklahoma, in 1957.

Kimberly Roppolo

*See also* General Allotment Act (Dawes Act).

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## Peltier, Leonard

Leonard Peltier (Lakota and Anishinabe, b. 1944) is an American Indian Movement (AIM) activist who has served three decades of two consecutive life sentences in the federal prison system following his conviction for killing Federal Bureau of Investigation Agents Jack Coler and Ronald Williams on the Pine Ridge Reservation during a shoot-out in June 1975. Many people believe that Peltier was wrongly convicted on falsified evidence, and he is widely considered a symbol of aboriginal peoples' political struggles worldwide, especially in the United States and Canada. Peltier also has become an artist and author while in prison.

Peltier is considered a political prisoner by Amnesty International and other human-rights advocates around the world. The United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights, the Dalai Lama, and the European Parliament, among others, have all called for his release ("The Case of Leonard Peltier . . .," n.d.).

His struggles began early, growing up in poverty on the Turtle Mountain Reservation in North Dakota. He witnessed U.S. government policies that forced Native families off their reservations and into cities and that caused the withdrawal of essential services from those who chose to remain. In this climate, Peltier became active in organizing and protesting for the rights of his people. By the early 1970s, he was strongly involved with the American Indian Movement.

In 1972, Peltier took part in the Trail of Broken Treaties, a demonstration requesting the U.S. government to investigate treaty violations over the last 100 years. When met with a negative response from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the demonstrators occupied the Bureau of Indian Affairs Washington, D.C., headquarters for a week. The result was the promise of a hearing on AIM-initiated grievances. Another result was intense FBI scrutiny of the occupation's leaders, including Russell Means, Dennis Banks, and Peltier.

Through AIM's activities, Peltier came to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota, where the 1975 shoot-out occurred. By the time AIM activists arrived, circumstances on the Pine Ridge Reservation included extreme poverty, violence, and fear.

Richard Wilson had been elected tribal chairman on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1972 and had

since been in conflict with the traditional Oglala people. Wilson represented big business, and he ignored demands and rights of traditional people on the reservation. Wilson's policies reduced the people to extreme poverty and fear. He enforced his regime and economic policies by misusing federal money to employ a personal police force, which he trained, armed, and deployed to control the residents of the Pine Ridge Reservation. This force called itself Guardians of the Oglala Nation, or the GOON squad. This squad committed violent acts of intimidation, violence, and outright murder against the traditional Indian people on the reservation. Despite the presence of FBI agents on the reservation at that time, the murders went largely uninvestigated. Appeals to the Bureau of Indian Affairs also were ignored. In fact, the U.S. federal government provided funding for the GOON squad.

In 1973, traditional people at Pine Ridge asked AIM for help, and approximately 300 traditionals, AIM members, and supporters occupied the village of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in protest of Wilson and his GOON squad. The background to this occupation included the historical relevance of the site, where in 1890 the U.S. Cavalry massacred 300 people, including many women and children. Under siege by the FBI and BIA, the occupiers of Wounded Knee in 1973 lasted seventy-one days, until U.S. government officials agreed to investigate conditions on the Pine Ridge Reservation. The investigation never occurred, but many AIM members were charged with various legal offenses related to the occupation.

Between 1973 and 1976, at least sixty-six people died violently at Pine Ridge (other deaths may not have been documented). The FBI is charged with investigating major crimes on U.S. Indian reservations, but these deaths were only lightly investigated, if at all. The majority of victims were members or supporters of AIM and the traditional Oglala people. During this time, the murder rate on the Pine Ridge Reservation was the highest in the country (Johansen and Maestas, 1979, 97–120; Messerschmidt, 1983, 6).

In 1974, Means ran for tribal chairman against Wilson. In a climate of stress and fear, with allegations of rampant fraud, Wilson narrowly won the election. The BIA refused to oversee the election or to investigate it for irregularities and fraud.

In this context, the traditional council of chiefs asked AIM to provide protection, alleging a lack of legal protection from Wilson and the GOON squad.





*Leonard Peltier, American Indian Movement leader, being extradited to the United States in 1976 to face trial for the murder of two FBI agents a year earlier. (Bettman/Corbis)*

A small group of AIM members responded, including Peltier, who arrived in March 1975. The AIM activists and local traditionalists set up a spiritual camp on the property of Cecilia and Harry Jumping Bull, who had been constantly under threat from the GOONs (Clark, 1999, xvi).

A month before the shoot-out occurred at Jumping Bull's, the FBI, aware of AIM's presence, increased its own presence in and around the reservation. On June 26, 1975, FBI Agents Williams and Coler entered the Jumping Bull compound following a red pick-up truck, and gunfire erupted. During the firefight, the agents were killed. A Native American man, Joe Stuntz, also died that day; his murder was never investigated. By the end of the day, FBI and other law enforcement agencies had occupied the reservation and the AIM members involved, including Peltier, had fled the area.

Two months later, a car carrying Michael Anderson, Rob Robideau, Norman Charles, and others exploded. The FBI found a gun in the wreckage that it claimed was the murder weapon used against Coler and Williams. In November 1975, Dino Butler, Rob Robideau, Peltier, and a youth, Jimmy Eagle,

were indicted for the murders of Williams and Coler. At this time Peltier was in Canada fighting extradition. Butler and Robideau were tried together and acquitted. The jury concluded Butler and Robideau acted in self-defense against the paramilitary assault on Pine Ridge by the FBI. Charges against Jimmy Eagle were dropped, and the full force of governmental prosecution was then directed at Peltier, who was later extradited from Canada, to stand trial before an all-white jury in U.S. District Court, Fargo, North Dakota, in April of 1977.

Preparing its case against Peltier, the FBI coerced Myrtle Poor Bear into signing three false affidavits that directly implicated him in the killing of the two agents. Later, the FBI admitted that Poor Bear was not even on the scene the day of the killings (Clark, 1999, xviii).

Peltier was found guilty of two counts of murder and sentenced to two consecutive life sentences. The trial, presided over by Judge Paul Benson, was based on false evidence in the Poor Bear affidavits, on a bullet that was incorrectly connected to the alleged murder weapon, and on testimony given by other witnesses under coercion from the FBI.

At the trial, the prosecution presented fifteen days of evidence, and the defense was limited to six days. Peltier's defense team had the same evidence as was presented in the Bulter and Robideau trial indicating FBI misconduct but was not permitted to present most of it to the jury. Peltier also was not allowed to assert self-defense. Peltier's appeals to the Eighth Circuit Court and the U.S. Supreme Court were both denied. In 1993, even in the face of evidence of FBI misconduct and the admission of one of the prosecutors that the government does not know who killed the agents, the Eighth Circuit Court denied Peltier's appeal a second time.

With the assistance of Bobby Garcia, Dallas Thundershield, and Roque Dueñas, Peltier escaped from Lompoc federal prison in July of 1979. Thundershield was killed during the escape, and Garcia and Peltier were captured six days later. At his escape trial, Judge Lawrence Lydick prohibited Peltier from presenting evidence of his reasons for fleeing prison, and Peltier was sentenced for the maximum of seven years for escape and possession of a weapon. Garcia was sentenced to five years. Garcia was found dead in his cell a year later, and Roque Dueñas disappeared in a fishing accident (Messerschmidt, 1983, 139).

Many who have studied the Peltier case claim to this day that Peltier was wrongly convicted and is





thus a political prisoner. He is considered an important American Indian leader who fought to protect the rights of his people, as well as a symbol of the ongoing oppression of American Indian people at the hands of the U.S. federal government.

Aliki Marinakis

See also American Indian Movement; Means, Russell; Pine Ridge, Political Murders; Trail of Broken Treaties; Wilson, Richard.

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## Penn, William, Quakers, and Native Americans

William Penn (1644–1718) was an important English Quaker and a voice for religious tolerance in Europe and North America. He founded the Pennsylvania colony (the state's name is Anglicized Latin for "Penn's forest"). The colony's original principles included scrupulous attention to nonviolence (which remains a central tenet of the Quaker creed) as well as fairness in relations with Native Americans, most notably the Leni Lenápes, whom Europeans called the Delawares.

Penn's memory has been a presence throughout Native American history, especially in the Northeast. Quaker influence is particularly notable in the religion of Handsome Lake (known today as the Longhouse Religion) among the Iroquois. Quakers often were invited as trustworthy observers at treaty councils and other crucial events by Native Americans in the Northeast who suspected the motives of other

European-Americans. As recently as 1990, Quakers were invited to act as observers in clashes between factions on the Akwesasne Mohawk reservation. The Society of Friends, which still maintains its headquarters in Philadelphia, devotes substantial resources to Native American history and relations.

Penn's "holy experiment" was designed to grant asylum to the persecuted under conditions of equality and freedom, at a time when a person could be punished severely in Puritan Boston merely for professing Quakerism and when Protestants persecuted Catholics, Catholics persecuted Protestants, and both persecuted Quakers and Jews. The French philosopher Voltaire, a champion of religious toleration, offered lavish praise: "William Penn might, with reason, boast of having brought down upon earth the Golden Age, which in all probability, never had any real existence but in his dominions" (Powell, n.d.).

Penn's vision for his colony could be compared in many ways to that of Roger Williams, who had founded Providence Plantations (later Rhode Island) a few decades earlier. Like Penn, Williams was a dissenter from theocracy who welcomed many faiths at a time of deadly religious conflict in England. Williams also practiced very cordial relations with neighboring Native Americans. Like Penn, Williams carried on his campaign for religious tolerance on both sides of the Atlantic.

The most specific description of Penn's mother, Margaret, comes from a neighbor, the acid-tongued diarist Samuel Pepys, who described her as a "fat, short, old Dutch woman, but one who hath been heretofore pretty handsome" (Powell, n.d.). She did the child rearing because her husband was seldom at home. His father, William Penn, Sr., was a much sought-after naval commander because he knew the waters around England and could handle a ship in bad weather and get the most from his crew.

William Penn, Jr. was born on October 14, 1644, in London. He developed an early interest in religion, having heard a speech by Thomas Loe, a missionary for the Society of Friends, known by the then-derisive name Quakers. Founded in 1647 by the English preacher George Fox, Quakers formed a mystical Protestant sect emphasizing a direct relationship with God. An individual's conscience, not the *Bible*, was believed by the Quakers to be the ultimate authority; their doctrine resembled that of the modern Unitarians. Quakers had no clergy and no churches. Rather, they held meetings at which participants meditated silently and spoke when moved to





*William Penn makes a treaty with Native Americans in Pennsylvania in 1737. Penn, a Quaker, campaigned for peace and religious tolerance. (Library of Congress)*

do so. They favored plain dress and a simple life (Powell, n.d.).

Penn studied Greek and Roman classics and became a religious rebel at Oxford University, where he defied Anglican church officials by visiting John Owen, a professor who had been dismissed for advocating tolerant humanism. Penn also protested compulsory chapel attendance, a position for which he was expelled from Oxford at age seventeen. Penn's parents then sent him to France, where he enrolled at l'Academie Protestante.

Returning to England by 1664, Penn studied at Lincoln's Inn, a prestigious London law school in London. Penn attended Quaker meetings (a criminal act) and was arrested several times. As an aristocrat, he was released, but he insisted that all Quakers be treated equally. Penn was imprisoned six times in England for speaking his mind on matters of religion. While incarcerated, he wrote several pam-

phlets that provided a theoretical basis for Quakerism, meanwhile attacking intolerance. Penn also devoted considerable time to challenging oppressive government policies in court; one of his cases helped protect the right to trial by jury. Penn used his diplomatic skills and family connections to get large numbers of Quakers out of jail. He also saved many from the gallows (Powell, n.d.).

As a result of these activities, the junior Penn's father disowned him. After his release from jail, Penn lived in several Quaker households. When Penn attacked the Catholic and Anglican doctrine of the trinity, the Anglican bishop had him imprisoned in the infamous Tower of London. Ordered to recant, Penn declared from his cold isolation cell: "My prison shall be my grave before I will budge a jot; for I owe my conscience to no mortal man" (Powell, n.d.). In the Tower, Penn wrote several pamphlets defining the principal elements of Quakerism, the best-known being *No Cross, No Crown*, which presented a pioneering historical case for religious toleration. During this time, the British Parliament passed the Conventicle Act, which aimed to suppress religious dissent as sedition. Having won his release from prison on legal grounds, Penn challenged the Act by preaching Quakerism at public meetings. Penn later used his legal training to prepare an historic defense of religious toleration in court. The jury acquitted all defendants, but the Lord Mayor of London refused to accept this verdict. He hit the jury members with fines and ordered them held in brutal Newgate prison (Powell, n.d.). They sued the mayor for false arrest and won, establishing a major precedent protecting their right of trial by jury.

Convinced that religious toleration was not possible in England, Penn requested a charter for an American colony. On March 4, 1681, realizing that he could rid England of the nettlesome Quakers, Charles II signed a charter for territory west of the Delaware River and north of Maryland. In 1681, from England, Penn sent William Markham as his deputy to establish a government at Uppland (later renamed Chester, now a suburb of Philadelphia) and instructed commissioners to plot Philadelphia (a name derived from ancient Greek meaning "city of brotherly love"), which was laid out a few miles north of the point where the Delaware and the Schuylkill rivers converge.

*The First Frame of Government*, which Penn and the initial land purchasers adopted on April 25, 1682, expressed ideals anticipating the Declaration of





Independence: "Men being born with a title to perfect freedom and uncontrolled enjoyment of all the rights and privileges of the law of nature . . . No one can be put out of his estate and subjected to the political view of another, without his consent" (Powell, n.d.). This document provided for secure private property, nearly unlimited free enterprise, a free press, and trial by jury, as well as religious toleration. In contrast to the English penal code, which commended the death penalty for roughly 200 offenses, Penn reserved it for two: murder and treason. Penn also encouraged women's education and participation in public debate (Powell, n.d.).

Pennsylvania's legal structure included a humane penal code that (in 1701) extended civil rights to criminals and encouraged the emancipation of slaves, although Penn himself owned human capital. Emancipation did not become official Quaker doctrine until 1758. Even under such a system, however, the representative assembly was left in an inferior position to the executive, which was controlled by the proprietors of the colony.

Penn realized that much of the land his supporters occupied was held by Native Americans, most notably the Delawares (Leni Lenápes), who had never been defeated militarily by the Swedes or the Dutch, who had earlier claimed the area. True to his nonviolent doctrines, Penn refused to fortify Philadelphia, making friendly relations with Native neighbors a practical necessity. Penn also inspired confidence among Native peoples by traveling among them unarmed and without bodyguards.

In 1682, Penn met with the chiefs of the Delaware nation and signed a Great Treaty at the village of Shackamaxon, near the present-day Kensington district of Philadelphia, that pledged long-lasting goodwill between the Native Americans and the immigrating Europeans. Philadelphia quickly grew into an urban area of almost 20,000 people, for a time the largest city in the British colonies. The city retained its reputation as a beacon of freedom for many decades, during which time Benjamin Franklin, for one, moved there from Puritan Boston.

The negotiation of a treaty with the Leni Lenápes also affirmed Penn's claim to the land for his investors, who would have been much less interested in a venture lacking clear title. The treaty also implied diplomatic relations with the powerful Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy, with whom the Lenápe were subsidiary allies. Therefore, a chain of friendship (later called the Covenant Chain in frontier diplomacy) was engaged by Penn, although his

less scrupulous successors disregarded its provisions in their rush to acquire land. The treaty invoked the rights of both parties to share some areas that European-Americans subsequently took for themselves.

Throughout his tenure as chief executive of Pennsylvania, Penn maintained peaceful relations with the area's indigenous peoples, including the Susquehannocks and Shawnees, as well as the Leni Lenápe. His abilities as a sprinter—he could outrun many Natives—won him respect. He also learned local Native languages well enough to conduct negotiations without interpreters. From the very beginning, Penn acquired Native land through peaceful, voluntary exchange.

Penn was a shrewd businessman who competed with Lord Baltimore, founder of Maryland, for territorial rights. Using his friendly relations with Native peoples, Penn outmaneuvered Maryland agents, a fact that is evident today to anyone who compares the relative sizes of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Most notably, Penn bested Baltimore at acquiring trading rights with the Haudenosaunee Confederacy. Thus, when Benjamin Franklin began his diplomatic career in the early 1750s as Pennsylvania envoy to the Iroquois, he was filling a role first explored by Penn.

By 1701 Penn had returned to England for the rest of his life. He tried from a distance to administer his declining estate, until he experienced a debilitating stroke in 1712. Four months later, he suffered a second stroke. After that, Penn experienced difficulty speaking and writing until he died on July 30, 1718.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Democracy and Native American Images among Europeans; Handsome Lake.

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## Plenty Coups

Plenty Coups (1848–1932), whose Crow name (Aleek-chea-ahoosh) meant “Many Achievements,” was the principal chief of the Crows during the late stages of the Plains wars. He spearheaded the Crow strategy to cooperate with the U.S. Army in its pursuit of the Cheyennes, Sioux, Arapahoes, and other “hostiles” following the Battle of the Little Bighorn (1876). Plenty Coups’ Crows provided scouts for George Armstrong Custer before his loss at the Little Bighorn and mourned his death.

Plenty Coups was groomed for chieftainship from an early age, and he was paid uncommon attention as a child by the Crows. When he was nine years of age, one of his brothers was killed by the Sioux, provoking a lifelong enmity. The Sioux had earlier pushed the Crows westward into the Little Bighorn country from the Black Hills area. Their new homeland was located in the midst of one of the last surviving large buffalo runs on the Plains, and it became a site of competition between the Crows and their traditional enemies.

At a young age, Plenty Coups was beset by harrowing dreams in which the buffalo disappeared from the Plains and white men’s cattle replaced them. He told the dreams to the Crows’ spiritual leaders, who concluded that the Crows would suffer less if they cooperated with the invaders. Plenty Coups had a healthy appetite for battle and joined the warriors of the Crow by taking his first scalp (and capturing two horses) at age fifteen. Nevertheless, he hearkened to the spiritual advisors’ words and determined to cooperate with the invaders.

Following Plenty Coups’ vision, 135 Crow warriors volunteered to serve as scouts for General George Crook during the 1876 campaign that resulted in the deaths of Custer and 225 of his troopers at the Little Bighorn. Plenty Coups worried that Crook was not prepared for Crazy Horse’s Lakotas when they met in battle June 16, 1876. He was correct; Crazy Horse routed Crook and his Indian allies in a battle that presaged Custer’s Last Stand nine days later.

After the Custer battle, the Crows under Plenty Coups continued to support the U.S. Army as it drove the Cheyennes and Sioux into subjugation. Crow warriors aided in the pursuit of Sitting Bull into Canada, the defeat of the northern Cheyennes, and the surrender of Crazy Horse. Plenty Coups urged his people to become farmers and ranchers, abandoning his own teepee for a log farmhouse.



*Plenty Coups was an important Crow leader during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. (Library of Congress)*

Plenty Coups also opened a general store so that the Crows could buy trade goods at fair prices. Plenty Coups traveled to Washington, D.C., several times after 1880 to assure trade and aid for the Crows. He was noted for his sagacity in business dealings.

Not all of the Crows supported him, however; like other Native American tribes and nations, they suffered great losses due to disease and warfare. Many young warriors also resented being confined to a reservation. Nearly 300 Crow opponents of Plenty Coups joined forces in the fall of 1887 with the young firebrand Sword Bearer, who sought to prove his acumen as a warrior by leading a horse raid on the neighboring Blackfeet. Upon his return, Sword Bearer and his companions paraded through the Crow village with their captured horses and confronted the local Indian agent, H. E. Williamson, who sent to Fort Custer for troops. Sword Bearer’s group then galloped into the mountains and





spurred a rash of rumors of an alliance with the Cheyennes and Sioux that would destroy white settlements and Plenty Coups' "good Indians." Plenty Coups later persuaded Sword Bearer to lay down his arms.

While Plenty Coups was a longtime ally of the non-Natives, he was often critical of their character. He said that, while the Crows agreed to be friendly with them, they found that the non-Natives too often promised to do one thing and then, when they acted at all, did another: "They spoke very loudly when they said their laws were made for everybody; but we soon learned that although they expected the Crows to keep them, they thought nothing of breaking them themselves" (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 293). During World War I, Plenty Coups encouraged young Crow men to leave the enforced idleness and alcoholism of the reservation and join the U.S. Army. After the war, in 1921, he was chosen to represent all American Indians at the dedication of the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, in Arlington, Virginia. In 1928, his health failing, Plenty Coups willed his personal real estate, including about 200 acres of land, to the U.S. government for the future use of the Crow people. Plenty Coups died on March 3, 1932. The Crow council so revered him that its members refused to name another principal chief in his place.

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*See also* Crow; Battle of the Little Bighorn; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

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## Pocahontas

Pocahontas (Powhatan, ca. 1595–1617) was the favorite daughter of Powhatan (ca. 1547–1618), the paramount chief of the Powhatan Confederacy when the first English colonists arrived at Jamestown in 1607. In actuality, Pocahontas (also Pokahantes or Pokahantesu, meaning "the playful one" or "the spoiled child") was the nickname of a

girl named Matoaka. Later, she was baptized with the name of Rebecca.

Powhatan's name among his own people was Wahunsonacock. He was a remarkable figure who probably had assembled most of the Powhatan Confederacy during his tenure as leader of one of its bands. The tidewater confederacy included about 200 villages organized into several small nation-states when the English encountered it for the first time. Wahunsonacock was about sixty years of age when Jamestown was founded in 1607. He and other Native people in the area may have met with other Europeans before the Jamestown colonists. The Spanish had established a mission on the York River in 1570 that was destroyed by indigenous warriors. Gangs of pirates also occasionally sought shelter along the Carolina outer banks as they waited for the passage of Spanish galleons flush with booty from Mexico, Mesoamerica, and Peru.

In the beginning, as Wahunsonacock sought peace with the English, the colonists were in no demographic position to compete with the Natives. Within the first few years after Jamestown was founded, the peoples of the Powhatan Confederacy could have eradicated the English settlement with ease. Jamestown, in fact, would not have survived in its early years without their help. Of 900 colonists who landed during the first three years (1607–1610), only 150 were alive in 1610. Most of the colonists were not ready for the rugged life of founding a colony; many died of disease, exposure to unanticipated cold weather, and starvation. At one point within a year of their landfall in America, the Jamestown colonists became so hungry that some of them engaged in cannibalism. According to John Smith's journals, one colonist killed his wife, "powdered" (salted) her, "and had eaten part of her before it was known; for which he was executed, as he well deserved" (Page, 2003, 159).

As her prominent father's daughter, Pocahontas enjoyed considerable power, even as a young woman. For instance, although the incident is shrouded in ambiguity, Pocahontas allegedly saved the life of Jamestown's Captain John Smith in 1608, when she was thirteen years old. As the leader of the Jamestown settlement, Smith had been taken captive by Pocahontas's uncle, Opechancanough. Just before Chief Powhatan was to behead Smith (so the story goes), Pocahontas intervened on Smith's behalf. Smith, in an account of the incident published later, never mentioned Pocahontas's intervention, however, so the whole story may have been invented.





*Young Pocahontas was said to have saved the life of Captain John Smith in the mythical version of an event that has many historical interpretations. (Library of Congress)*

When Smith departed for England the next year, Indian–white relations deteriorated. Pocahontas was coaxed onto an English ship on the Potomac in 1612 and then taken as a hostage to Jamestown to bargain for the release of Virginia captives held by the Powhatans. During her detention at Jamestown, she became a convert to Christianity. At this time, John Rolfe also courted Pocahontas. With her father's consent, she married Rolfe in April of 1613. The union facilitated a period of peaceful relations between the Powhatans and the English immigrants.

In 1616, Pocahontas and Rolfe journeyed to Great Britain with Sir Thomas Dale and several Indians. In England, she was received as the daughter of an emperor. King James I and Queen Anne met Pocahontas at court, and her portrait was painted. While at Gravesend, England, en route for return to Vir-

ginia in 1617, Pocahontas died of a European disease (perhaps smallpox) while waiting to board a ship. She was buried in the yard of St. George's Parish Church at Gravesend; memorials were built to her there, as well as in Jamestown. Powhatan, her father, passed away the next year. In 1622, Opechancanough, her uncle, made war with the colonists, and Rolfe was killed in that conflict.

Pocahontas's son, Thomas Rolfe, Jr., was educated in London and then returned to North America in 1641, where he became a successful entrepreneur. As a result of tensions between the European immigrants and American Indians, the younger Rolfe had to plead with Virginia authorities to allow him to visit his Indian relatives. To this day, several Virginia families proudly trace their ancestry to the Rolfe family and thus to Pocahontas.

*Bruce E. Johansen*





See also Powhatan.

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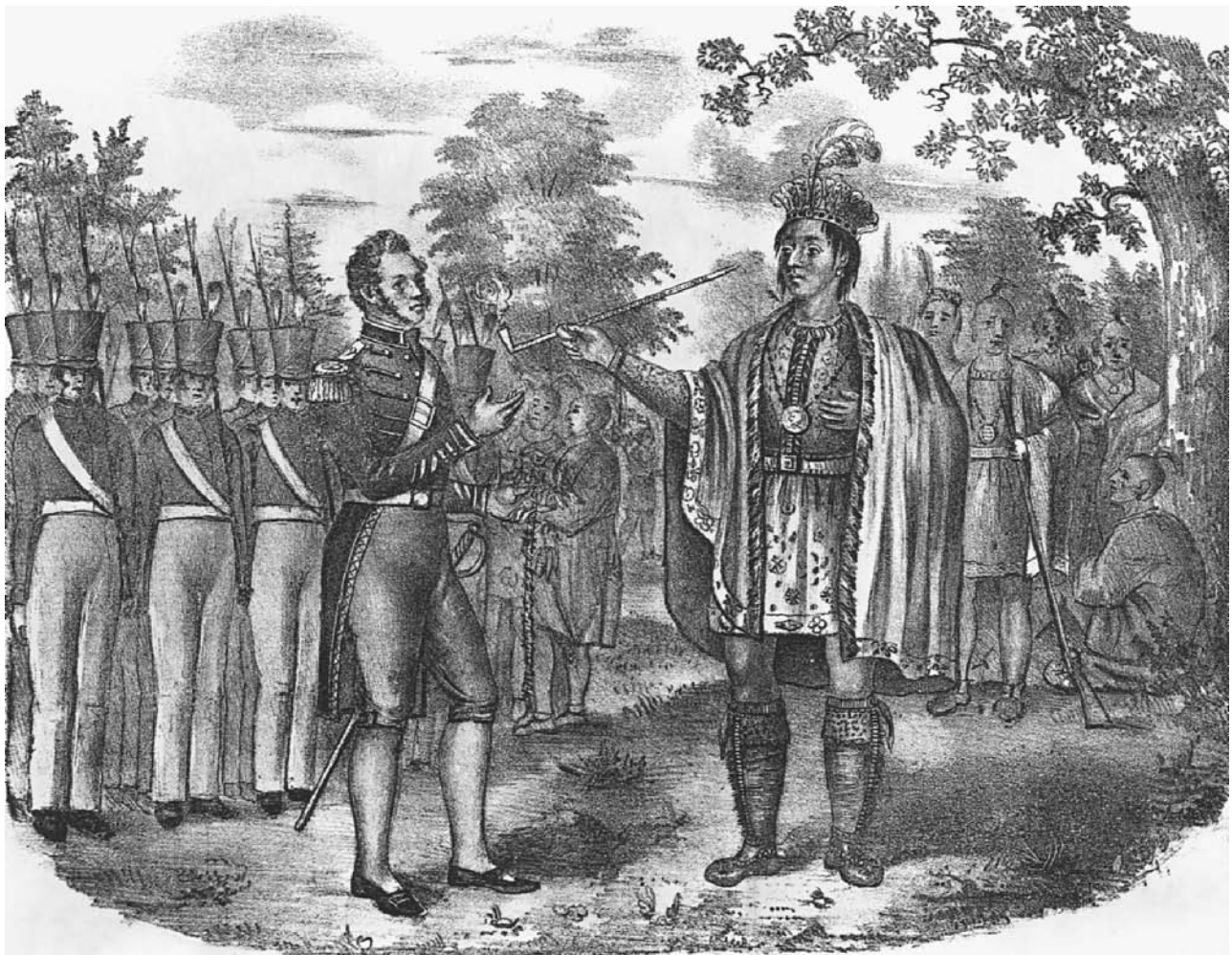
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## Pontiac

Frank Waters characterized Pontiac (Ponteach, Ottawa, ca. 1720–1769) as “a man of steel pounded between a British hammer and a French anvil” (Waters, 1992, 35). Pontiac, after whom General Motors named an automobile model, tried to erect a Native confederacy to block Euro-American immigration into the Old Northwest.

Pontiac was a man of medium build and dark complexion who highly valued personal fidelity. If Pontiac owed a debt, he would scratch a promissory note on birch bark with his sign, the otter. The notes were always redeemed. He was an early ally of the French in 1755 at Fort Duquesne, now the site of Pittsburgh, along with an alliance of Ottawas, Ojibwas, Hurons, and Delawares. Pontiac played a major role in the French defeat of English General Edward Braddock in 1755, during the opening battles of what came to be known as the French and Indian War in America.

Pontiac was probably born along the Maumee River in present-day northern Ohio of an Ottawa father and a Chippewa mother. He married Kantuckegan and had two sons, Otussa and Shegenaba. Pontiac held no hereditary chieftainship among the Ottawas, but by about 1760 his oratorical skills and



Ottawa chief Pontiac passes a pipe to Major Robert Rogers in 1760. Pontiac let Rogers and his forces pass through Indian territory unmolested during the French and Indian War. (Library of Congress)





reputed courage as a warrior had raised him to leadership. By 1763, Pontiac also had formed military alliances with eighteen other Native peoples from the Mississippi River to Lake Ontario.

After the British defeat of the French in 1763, Pontiac found himself faced on the southern shore of Lake Erie with an English force that included Robert Rogers' legendary Rangers, who were self-trained as forest warriors. Rogers told Pontiac that the land he occupied was now British, having been ceded by France, and that his force was talking possession of French forts. Pontiac said that, while the French might have surrendered, his people had not. After four days of negotiations, Rogers agreed with Pontiac's point of view. Rogers was allowed to continue to the former French fort on the present-day site of Detroit, and power was transferred as hundreds of Indians watched. Rogers and Pontiac became friends.

Pontiac now looked forward to peaceful trading with the British, but, when Rogers left the area, fur traders began swindling the Indians, getting them addicted to cheap liquor. Pontiac sent a belt of red wampum, signifying the taking up of arms, as far east as the Iroquois Confederacy, then southward along the Mississippi. He appealed for allies, telling the assembled chiefs of each nation he visited that if they did not unify and resist colonization, the English would flood them, like waves of an endless sea.

By the spring of 1763, a general uprising was being planned by combined forces of the Ottawas, Hurons, Delawares, Senecas, and Shawnees. On May 9, each group was to attack the nearest English fort. Pontiac's plan was betrayed to the commander of the British fort at Detroit by an Ojibwa woman, known as Catherine among the English, with whom he had made love. Pontiac laid siege to the fort at Detroit, and other members of the alliance carried out their respective roles, but an appeal for the support of the French fell on deaf ears. After a siege that lasted through the winter and into the spring of 1764, the fort received outside reinforcements, tipping the balance against Pontiac after fifteen months.

After the rebellion, European-American immigrants moved into the Ohio Valley in increasing numbers, and the prestige of the aging Pontiac leader began to decline among his former allies. Pontiac now counseled peace. The younger warriors were said to have "shamed" him and possibly beat him in their frustration. With a small band of family

and friends, Pontiac was forced to leave his home village and move to Illinois.

On April 20, 1769, Pontiac was murdered in Cahokia, Illinois. According to one account, he was stabbed by a Peoria Indian who may have been bribed with a barrel of whiskey by an English trader named Williamson.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Cahokia; Fur Trade; Wampum.

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## Powhatan

Wahunsonacock, better known to the early Virginia colonists as Powhatan (ca. 1547–1618), was the principal chief of a federation usually called the Powhatan Confederacy. He also was the father of Pocahontas.

The name "Powhatan" (meaning "falling waters") was taken from one of his favorite dwelling places, the falls of the James River near present-day Richmond. Powhatan was probably born during the 1540s. He inherited control over six small tribes in Virginia (most likely from his mother) and systematically added other tribes to his dominion through warfare and intimidation until he was the chief of an estimated thirty tribal groups united in what has become known as the Powhatan Confederacy. In total, he was the leader of more than 14,000 people and oversaw an estimated 8,500 square miles of land.

In spite of Powhatan's control over the Tidewater Virginia region, other hostile Native American tribes frequently came into conflict with his people. A series of Indian wars in the sixteenth century compelled Powhatan to maintain a strong warrior class, composed of an estimated 3,000 men. The Native Americans in Virginia were therefore a warring soci-





Powhatan, also known as Wahunsonacock, was the principal chief of the Powhatan Confederacy in Virginia during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. (Library of Congress)

ety and constantly fighting to either defend or expand their hunting grounds against other tribes in the area.

By the late sixteenth century, Powhatan had heard about white men who occasionally appeared in North America. In fact, it is possible that a contingent of his warriors killed the last of the Roanoke settlers sometime in the early seventeenth century. Powhatan was wary of Europeans but viewed them as possible allies in his struggles against other Native American tribes in the region.

About sixty years of age when Jamestown was founded, Powhatan initially greeted the English colonists with a degree of cordiality. Captain John Smith described him as a man of dignified bearing. As relations between the two peoples deteriorated, Powhatan developed a harsher attitude toward the newcomers. Nevertheless, for the first few years of

the Jamestown settlement, colonists relied heavily on Powhatan and his people for food.

There were periodic outbreaks of violence between the two groups, but in general Powhatan managed to maintain peace, and no major wars between the Indians and the settlers erupted during his lifetime. Most devastating to the Powhatans, however, were the diseases that the immigrants brought with them from Europe, particularly smallpox, which nearly obliterated the Indian population. After Powhatan's death from smallpox in 1618, he was succeeded as chief of the Powhatan Confederacy by his half brother, Opechancanough, who was more aggressive when dealing with the Jamestown colonists.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Pocahontas.

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## Red Cloud

Red Cloud, whose Oglala name Makhpiya-luta literally means "Scarlet Cloud," was a major leader of the Oglala Lakota during the late phases of the Plains Indian wars. His name refers to an unusual formation of crimson clouds that hovered over the western horizon as he was born. At one point, during the 1860s, Red Cloud and his allies forced the United States to concede considerable territory in and around the Black Hills. The Sioux reservation at that time was defined in the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868.

When he was born, about 1820, the world of Red Cloud's people was largely independent of non-Native immigrants. When he died, in 1909, his people had been pushed onto a tiny fraction of their former land and imprisoned in a concentration camp. Born into the heyday of the Plains horse culture, Red Cloud died in the era of the "vanishing race."

As a young man, Red Cloud learned like most other Sioux boys to fight and hunt. Very quickly, he proved himself adept at both. Red Cloud was especially known as a fierce warrior who was always





*Red Cloud, an Oglala Lakota leader, with William Blackmore.  
(National Archives and Records Administration)*

ready to take an enemy's scalp. He had five children and possibly as many as six wives.

In 1865, Red Cloud and his allies refused to sign a treaty permitting the passage of immigrants across their lands from Fort Laramie, along the Powder River, to the gold fields of Montana. Red Cloud was angered by the rapid and ruthless encroachment of non-Natives on the lands of his people. In the first Fort Laramie Treaty (1851), the United States had promised to "protect the aforesaid Indian nations against the commission of all depredations by the people of the said United States." However, while non-Natives were swarming onto the northern Plains and committing depredations and treaty violations, the energies of the U.S. Army were being directed not toward protecting the Indians but toward fighting the Civil War.

Following the war, the Army turned its attention to protecting not the Indians, according to the treaty obligation, but the invading non-Natives. In

December 1866, Captain William J. Fetterman bragged that he could ride with eighty men across the whole of Sioux country. He set out with eighty-one men and high ambitions, only to be led into a deadly ambush by Crazy Horse and a dozen warriors, who killed all of them. Still, at this time the Sioux dominated the northern Plains. When U.S. Army troops built forts without the Indians' permission, war parties cut off food supplies to Fort Phil Kearney in northern Wyoming and laid siege to the outpost for two years. In 1868, with the wagon road still closed, the government signed a treaty at Fort Laramie that caused the forts to be dismantled. According to the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty, the Powder River country and the Black Hills were reserved for the Lakotas forever.

Red Cloud advised trading with whites but otherwise avoiding them. His valor as a warrior was legendary. He had counted more than eighty coups (strikes against an enemy), and once returned from battle against a contingent of Crows with an arrow through his body. In the late 1860s, Red Cloud was about forty-five years old. Once a trader at Wolf Point asked him why he continued to pursue the diminishing herds of buffalo rather than settle on a reservation. "Because I am a red man," he said. "If the Great Spirit had desired me to be a white man, he would have made me so in the first place. He put in your heart certain wishes and plans, in my heart he put other and different desires. Each man is good in his sight. It is not necessary for eagles to be crows. Now we are poor but we are free. No white man controls our footsteps. If we must die, we die defending our rights" (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 313).

Despite the best efforts of Red Cloud and other patriots, however, by the mid-1870s, most Plains Indians knew they could not persevere against the invaders. As the Plains wars ended, Red Cloud settled at Red Cloud Agency, Nebraska. He counseled peace and was even accused of "selling out" by some younger Oglalas. He later was moved to the Great Sioux Reservation where, in 1881, Indian Agent V. T. McGillicuddy stripped Red Cloud of his chieftainship.

During the 1870s and 1880s, Red Cloud fought the Army's regulations and opposed the reservation system, but at the same time he provided aid to Yale Professor Othniel C. March, who was searching the area for dinosaur bones. In exchange, March said he would take Sioux allegations of mistreatment "to the highest levels" of government (Milner, 1990, 387).





March investigated Red Cloud's complaints of rotten food and unmet promises. The Yale professor uncovered massive profiteering by Indian Rings in the Grant administration, sparking a congressional investigation and several newspaper exposés. At one point, March confronted Grant personally. March and Red Cloud became friends for the rest of their lives. Red Cloud said that he appreciated the fact that March did not forget his promise after he got what he wanted.

Red Cloud's biographer George E. Hyde characterized him in old age as "wrinkled, stooped, and almost blind" (Hyde, 1967, 336). Red Cloud was sometimes given to ironic bitterness over what had become of him and his people: "I, who used to control 5,000 warriors, must tell Washington when I am hungry. I must beg for that which I own" (Hyde, 1967, 336). Red Cloud spent his final years in retirement, having little to do with his people's affairs. He died on December 10, 1909.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Treaty of Fort Laramie (1851); Fort Laramie Treaty (1868).

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## Red Jacket

Red Jacket (ca. 1758–1830) considered himself, first and foremost, an orator. An avowed traditionalist, he is most famous for his speeches denouncing the presence of Christian missionaries on the reservations and for opposing the sale of Indian lands. Never actually appointed a sachem, he nonetheless became a very influential Seneca chief. Although he

was sometimes accused of cowardice, demagoguery, and alcoholism, Red Jacket's speeches are among the most compelling explanations of aboriginal sovereignty in U.S. history. In addition to his significance as a political figure in the early national period, Red Jacket became popular because he was an extraordinarily dynamic speaker. His speeches, of which dozens are extant, are notable for their sarcasm and disarming humor.

Red Jacket's birth name was Otetiani ("Always Ready"). According to Arthur C. Parker, he was born to a Seneca mother of the Wolf Clan named Ahweyneyonh ("Drooping Flower" or "Blue Flower"). His father was Thadahwahnyeh, a Cayuga of the Turtle Clan. There are a number of rival stories about the date and location of his birth, but Christopher Densmore argues that he was probably born in 1758 on the west side of Lake Cayuga, near either Geneva or Canoga. He was drawn to public speaking at a young age and was rumored to practice the art by himself in the woods, although this story seems fanciful.

Red Jacket served as a message runner for the British during the Revolutionary War. For this work, he was awarded a red jacket, from which his English name derived. Later in life, he was as well-known as Red Jacket as by his Seneca name, with his Christian children taking the last name of Jacket. Shortly after the war, Red Jacket was recognized by the Senecas for his verbal skills, appointed as a minor chief, and renamed Sagoywatha (roughly pronounced, Shay-go-ye-watha), which has been variously translated as "disturber of dreams," "keeper awake," or "he keeps them awake." In the early years of his political work among the Seneca, he served to convene councils with condolence speeches. He also served as speaker for the clan mothers, charged with conveying their deliberations to the councils of sachems and warriors.

Although distinguished for his verbal abilities during the Revolution, he also earned a reputation for cowardice that followed him for many years afterward. Cornplanter, an influential Seneca warrior, claimed that Red Jacket fled from the Battle of Newtown. Joseph Brant was fond of retelling a story that Red Jacket and a friend smeared themselves with the blood of a slaughtered cow to claim that they had been in battle. As a result, Brant called him Cowkiller, an unflattering name by which he was designated in most British council records of the 1790s and early 1800s. Fighting on the American side during the War of 1812, however, Red Jacket





*Although Red Jacket fought against the United States during the American Revolution, he became a steadfast ally in the War of 1812. (Library of Congress)*

redeemed his martial reputation by fighting with distinction at the Battle of Chippewa.

Several diplomatic triumphs in the 1790s significantly raised Red Jacket's stature. He was an active participant at the U.S.–Haudenosaunee (Six Nations, or Iroquois) councils of Tioga Point and Newtown in 1790 and 1791. He served as a leading spokesman for a Seneca deputation that met George Washington in Philadelphia in 1792. While in Philadelphia, Red Jacket (among other chiefs) was given a large chest medal by the president, which he wore proudly for the rest of his life. Most importantly, he was a principal negotiator at the 1794 Treaty of Canandaigua, where the Seneca secured nearly four million acres of land in perpetuity. The terms of this treaty have served as the basis for a series of successful Haudenosaunee land claims in New York State since the 1970s.

In 1797, Red Jacket attended the Treaty of Big Tree, where the Senecas sold much of the land guaranteed to them by the Treaty of Canandaigua. At this famous council, Red Jacket spoke on behalf of the sachems to oppose the sale, but, once the warriors and clan mothers overruled the sachems, Red Jacket successfully argued to double the proposed size of the Buffalo Creek Reservation. Because of this apparent change in position, the historian William Leete Stone charged him with duplicitous conduct. The allegation was supported by his Indian political rivals, such as Joseph Brant, but it has little substance to it.

Red Jacket's most famous speech, a reply to the Reverend Jacob Cram in 1805, was one of several speeches he gave in the early 1800s that explained why the Indians did not want Christian missionaries in their midst. The speech is noteworthy for his condensed history of white–Native relations and his objection to Cram's attempt to "force your religion upon us." Although the level of sarcasm is difficult to gauge, Red Jacket told Cram that the Senecas might ask him back only if they saw that Christianity could soften the habits of the white frontiersman living on their borders. The speech's authenticity has been a topic of debate, but Red Jacket gave many such speeches on the topic over the decade (Densmore, 1999; Robie, 1986). Furthermore, Red Jacket had become a minor celebrity on this issue. He often took pride in the publication of his speeches, and he saw to it that they were properly translated.

In addition to his reply to Cram, other famous performances include his May 1811 replies to the Ogden Land Company agent, John Richardson, and the missionary, John Alexander. These speeches contain very clear examples of Red Jacket's acerbic wit. After rejecting Alexander's overtures, Red Jacket concluded with the gentle request that the missionary forbear his generous offers, "lest our heads should be too much loaded, and by and by burst" (Stone, 1841, 204).

By the end of the War of 1812, the Senecas lived on ten reservations totaling about 200,000 acres. They were beset by land companies externally and Christianity internally.

By 1819, two leading Seneca chiefs, Young King and Captain Pollard, had become Christian. After the conversion of his grandson, Red Jacket allied with the so-called Pagan party, and he began to stridently condemn the encroachment of missionaries and land companies. Every year, he and other traditionalist chiefs lobbied the governor and legislature





to support Seneca self-determination. He succeeded in obliging the state to pass a law that prohibited missionaries living on Native lands from 1821 to 1824.

Red Jacket spent the 1820s denouncing the corrupt practices of the Ogden Land Company agents who succeeded in buying large portions of Seneca lands in August 1826. Red Jacket traveled to Washington to overturn the sale but he was unable to do so. At the same time, Secretary of Indian Affairs Thomas McKenney convinced the Christian chiefs to depose Red Jacket as a troublemaker, which they did in 1827. A year later, having proved corruption during the federal inquiry into the sale, Red Jacket was reinstated as a chief in July of 1828. Even though Red Jacket's protests were successful in preventing federal ratification of the Ogden sale of 1826, the lands were not returned. (Shortly afterward, the land sale of 1838 rendered it a moot issue.) Exhausted by his political efforts, pinched for money, and trying to make peace with his Christian wife, Red Jacket went on a commercial speaking tour the following year, traveling in museum shows from Boston to New York. He died of cholera on January 20, 1830.

There are four principal biographies of Red Jacket. The first, by William Leete Stone, was published in 1841. It contains a wealth of primary and anecdotal information because Stone was able to interview and correspond with many people who knew Red Jacket personally. More importantly, Stone reprinted as many of Red Jacket's speeches as he could obtain, thinking that future generations of historians would benefit more from the original documents than from historians' glosses of them. Stone's transcripts compare very accurately with extant manuscripts. Stone occasionally changes a preposition or inserts a period for clarity, but he did not dress up the vocabulary. The translations Stone used were principally those of Jasper Parrish, a federal Indian agent who was captured as a child by the Senecas and who spoke both Mohawk and Seneca fluently. The only major weakness of Stone's biography is that he accepted the opinions of Red Jacket's lifelong opponents, namely Thomas Morris, Joseph Brant, and Thomas McKenney, all of whom were invested in protecting their own reputations.

Niles Hubbard's 1886 biography largely reprints Stone's material without Stone's biases. Arthur C. Parker's 1952 biography is important for its sources in Seneca oral tradition, but it seems to have been intended as a children's book, not an academic history. The best recent biography is Christo-

pher Densmore's, which avoids the demonization and hagiography of the earlier works and which puts dates and places to many of the events Stone did not document.

Granville Ganter

See also Canandaigua (Pickering) Treaty; Cornplanter; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Parker, Arthur C.

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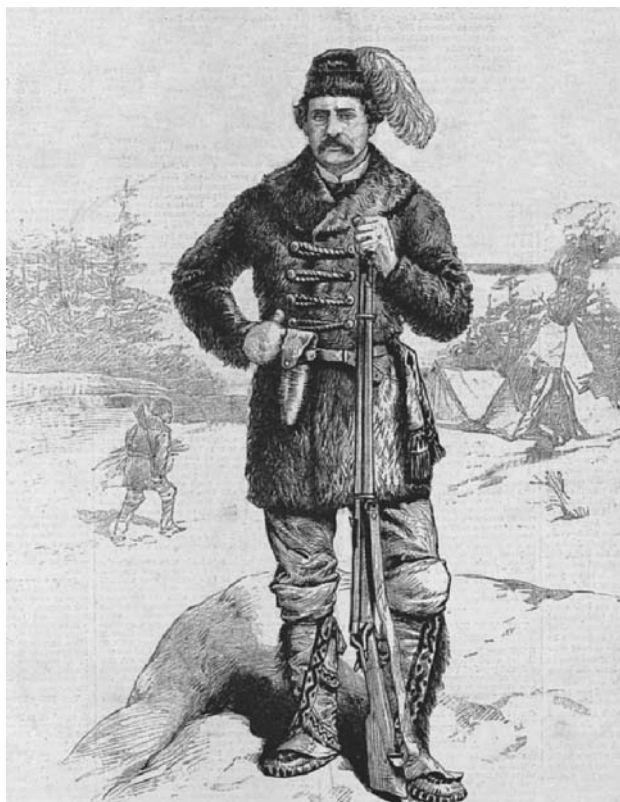
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## Riel, Louis

More than a century after his execution, Louis Riel (Métis) remains perhaps the most controversial figure in Canadian history. Considered a traitor by some and a hero by others, Riel twice attempted to establish independent provinces in an effort to secure the rights of Native and Métis peoples in the Canadian west. Something of a mystic, Riel led two rebellions against the Canadian government, fifteen years apart, in 1869–1870 and again in 1885.

The son of a Fort Garry (present-day Winnipeg) miller, Riel's father, also named Louis, led the successful Courthouse Rebellion in 1849. The younger Riel attended college in Montreal and returned west





*Louis Riel, Métis chieftain and leader of the Northwest Rebellion. (Corbis)*

in 1869. Canada had become a confederation in 1867, and the newly established federal government wished to establish its control over the western territories as quickly as possible, beginning with present-day Manitoba. In 1869, the government began surveying lands along the Red River and dividing them into 800-acre square townships, ignoring Métis land-use patterns that were based on the older French system of dividing land into narrow strips, beginning at the waterfront, stretching back through individual fields, and terminating in a common pasture known as the “hay privilege.”

Many of the first government allotments were given to the Canada Firsters, Protestant Orangemen from Ontario who detested Catholicism, the French language, and Native peoples. Expecting resistance from the Métis, a party of Canada Firsters seized a small post near Fort Garry but surrendered when Riel arrived with a larger and better armed force. Riel formed a governing body for Manitoba, the *Comité National des Métis* and became its president.

Unwilling to launch an invasion of the western territories, the Canadian government chose to negotiate with the Métis. At this point Riel made his first miscalculation.

The Métis released most of their Canadian prisoners, but one of them, Thomas Scott, became embroiled in a confrontation with Riel. Tried by Riel and the *Comité National des Métis* for bearing arms against the state, Scott was executed in 1870, a move that turned public opinion against the Métis. In response, the Canadian government sent a force to Manitoba to arrest Riel, who fled for his life. Over the next few years, other members of the jury that had convicted Scott were murdered, while Louis Riel disappeared. However, the Métis elected him to three terms in the Canadian Parliament in absentia.

As Protestant Canadians began moving into Manitoba, Métis peoples moved farther west, settling along the Saskatchewan River. By the 1880s, the Métis, Cree, and other Native peoples recognized that the northern plains were undergoing a dramatic transformation. Violence increased as American whisky traders sold their goods. Bison herds shrank drastically due to overhunting by American and Canadian hide hunters. Canadian government surveyors appeared in Saskatchewan, and, just as they had done fifteen years earlier in Manitoba, they began laying out new square townships.

The most dramatic change, however, was the building of the Canadian Pacific Railroad (CPR), which increased the white presence on the Canadian plains. Worried about retaining their lands and way of life, the Métis decided to organize an opposition to the government under Louis Riel. There was just one problem: No one knew where Riel was. A small party of Métis were assigned the task of finding Louis Riel, and they found him quietly teaching Native children in Montana, where he had married and was raising a family. He agreed to return to Canada to organize a Métis government.

Riel quickly organized the Provisional Government of Saskatchewan, authored a Métis bill of rights, and put together a 400-man strong army. Riel's initial campaigns against the government attempted to avoid bloodshed. The Métis seized government stores, cut communications, and interfered with the building of the CPR. However, the Métis got into a shooting battle with a force of Mounties at Duck Lake, Saskatchewan. This encounter had two immediate results. First, it persuaded some Crees (but not most) to join Riel. It also prompted the Canadian government to organize a





large military expedition to crush the Métis. The troops were shipped west, traveling part of the way on the not yet completed CPR. The Métis were defeated at Batoche, and, after hiding in the woods for a few days, Riel surrendered to government troops.

Riel was tried in Regina, charged with the murder of Thomas Scott some fifteen years before. Despite questions concerning his fitness to stand trial and calls for mercy from French Catholics, he was hanged in November 1885.

Roger M. Carpenter

See also Métis Nation Accord.

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## Rogers, Will

Born in 1879 to a Cherokee ranching family in Oologah, Indian Territory (now Oklahoma), Will Rogers, an enrolled member of the Cherokee Nation, became an internationally known vaudevillian, actor, writer, orator, and humanitarian before his death in an airplane crash in 1935. He was extraordinarily well-known during the 1920s and 1930s—some suggest the most well-known celebrity of his day—because of his multifaceted career and keen wit.

During his youth, Rogers became an adept trick roper, a line of work that would affect his life's work. He left the Territory in 1897 to work as a cowboy but came across a better opportunity, especially considering the declining role of cowboys at the turn of the century: He joined Texas Jack's Wild West Show and later the Wirth Brothers Circus as a livestock handler and trick roper, taking the stage name the Cherokee Kid. Rogers moved to vaudeville in 1904, where he added humorous, usually political, commentary to his stage performances. Rogers' act eventually offered as much (if not more) personal commentary



Will Rogers on horseback with his children, ca. 1941. (Library of Congress)





as trick roping. In 1918, Rogers joined the Ziegfeld Follies, where he was one of its few male performers. He became such a popular performer that President Woodrow Wilson attended his performances. Other presidents maintained close ties to Rogers. Calvin Coolidge invited him to stay at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, and Franklin Roosevelt communicated with Rogers often.

In 1922, Rogers began writing a weekly column for McNaught Syndicate. These were the most widely read columns in the country in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Rogers' column, which discussed current politics in a palatable way, was published in 600 newspapers across the country, from the *New York Times* to the *Tulsa Daily World*, and read by 40 million people. Rogers consistently defined himself as an American Indian in his writings and occasionally offered biting commentary about the sordid ties between his tribe and the U.S. government. His fans became so enthusiastic that he was considered a possible Democratic candidate for president of the United States in 1924, 1928, and 1932.

In addition to his stage and journalistic careers, Rogers spent the late 1920s mastering two new technologies that ignited a technological revolution: radio and film. His film celebrity—he starred or appeared in seventy-one films—exceeded that of Clark Gable, Shirley Temple, and Mae West by 1934. And his radio shows were listened to by millions.

Rogers traveled extensively from the latter part of the 1920s until the end of his life. In 1926, he traveled Europe on an assignment to write a series of articles entitled "Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President" for the *Saturday Evening Post*. In 1927 he visited Russia and Mexico; in 1931 he toured Central America for the benefit of Managua's earthquake victims (he donated \$5,000 of his own money to the relief effort); and in 1932 he explored Asia, dining with the emperor of Manchuria and sipping tea with Japan's minister of war. Finally, in 1934 Rogers and his family—comprised of his wife Betty and his three children, Bill, Mary, and Jim—toured the world.

These trips were all made with the assistance of emerging air technology, which Rogers supported wholeheartedly. Rogers befriended many early aviators, including Charles Lindbergh and Wiley Post. During 1935, Post and Rogers died in an airplane crash in Alaska. A tremendous outpouring of grief followed Rogers' death, and many memorials were erected in his honor, including the Shrine of the Sun in Colorado. A statue of Rogers stands in National

Statuary Hall in Washington, D.C., a testament to his influence on American politics, as well as on U.S. popular culture and humor.

Amy M. Ware

*See also* Humor, as Value.

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## Rose, Wendy

A noted poet and anthropologist with over twelve books to her credit, Wendy Rose, of Hopi, Miwok, and European ancestry, is also a visual artist. Rose was born Bronwen Elizabeth Edwards on May 7, 1948, in Oakland, California. She grew up with her mother, brother, and stepfather in the San Francisco Bay Area. A high school dropout, she became involved in San Francisco's bohemian culture in her teens and began writing.

Rose attended Cabrillo and Contra Costa Junior Colleges and the University of California at Berkeley from 1966 to 1980, taking a master's degree in cultural anthropology at Berkeley in 1978 and completing coursework for a Ph.D. in anthropology. From 1978 to 1983, Rose taught in the Native American studies and ethnic studies programs at Berkeley, then at Fresno State University in 1983–1984. Since that time, she has served as head of the American Indian studies program at Fresno City College. She was nominated for a Pulitzer Prize in poetry in 1980.

Ranging in themes from personal and cultural identity to activism to indictments of genocidal acts, her writing has been anthologized widely. Her first volume of poetry, *Hopi Roadrunner Dancing*, was published in 1973 and contains several poems that refer to the occupation of Alcatraz Island by an intertribal group of Indians in an attempt to raise public awareness of Native issues. *Long Division: A Tribal History* (1976) and *Academic Squaw: Reports to the World from the Ivory Tower* (1977) both include poems that chronicle Rose's ongoing issues with the conflict between anthropological methods and respect for the people and cultures studied. "Academic Squaw"





is written from the perspective of a Lakota woman murdered and dismembered along with her infant in the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890. It is preceded by an epigraph from the *Plains Indian Art Auction Catalog*, chronicling prices for the items stolen from the men, women, and children slain there. This is a common technique of Rose, and this particular poem has been often reprinted. *Lost Copper* (1980), which contains the shorter "Builder Kachina: A Home-Going Cycle" and was originally printed as a twelve-page chapbook in 1979, further explores Rose's quest for a sense of connectedness to her people and asserts an association with the earth from a personal and cultural perspective.

*What Happened When the Hopi Hit New York*, published in 1982, focuses on landscapes and investigates the graffiti of contemporary culture using an anthropological method. *Going to War with All My Relations* (1993) and *The Halfbreed Chronicles & Other Poems* (1985) contain many strong poems protesting injustice on the behalf of oppressed people, who include such diverse figures as Truganinny, the last full-blooded Tasmanian, a woman whose body was put on display in museums for over eighty years despite her protest at seeing her husband's remains defiled in this way prior to her death, and Julia Pastana, a Mexican woman who was put on tour as a curiosity because of her facial deformities and a medical condition that caused excessive hair growth.

Rose's subsequent books of poetry include *Now Poof She Is Gone* (1994), *Bone Dance: New and Selected Poems, 1965–1992* (1994), and *Itch Like Crazy* (2002). Her poetry continues to explore her earlier themes as well as feminism from a Native perspective. Rose also authored a monograph entitled *Aboriginal Tattooing in California* in 1979. "Neon Scars," an autobiographical essay published in 1987 in Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat's collection, *I Tell You Now: Autobiographical Essays by Native American Writers*, recounts her personal experiences as a survivor of abuse and its impetus for her poetry. Rose has served as an editor for *American Indian Quarterly*, one of the most noted scholarly journals in the field of Native studies, and remains involved in community and academic projects.

Kimberly Roppolo

See also Katsinas; Ortiz, Simon J.

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## Ross, John

John Ross (1790–1866) acted as principal chief of the Cherokee Nation from 1828 to 1866. While only one-eighth Cherokee according to blood quantum, he served his people as a dedicated and passionate public servant during a tumultuous time in Cherokee history. He led his nation through a remarkable revitalization after the majority of Cherokees were forced to move from their southeastern homeland to the Indian Territory along the devastating Trail of Tears (1838).

Ross was born in Turkey Town, Cherokee Nation, now located in Alabama. His father and grandfather were traders who married into the Cherokee Nation. He received private tutoring during his early years and became a successful young merchant and plantation owner. Like other well-off Cherokees of his day, Ross owned African slaves. By the 1830s, he was one of the Cherokee Nation's wealthiest men.

As evidenced by his early life, Ross advocated, as Cherokee leader, a particular form of assimilation—one that maintained Cherokee sovereignty and independence—as a means of preservation in the face of encroaching white pressure and influence, but he did so in the context of mainstream U.S. values, including those of Christianity. Despite the fact that he spoke little, if any, Cherokee, Ross was adamantly supported by Cherokee traditionalists because of his intense dedication to the preservation of a unified nation located in their southeastern homeland. These followers called him Tsan Usdi, or Little John, and later Cooweescoowee.

Beginning in 1816, Ross became increasingly involved and dedicated to Cherokee politics. In 1827, Ross was chosen to head the Cherokee's constitutional convention. Once ratified, this constitution became the first such written document among





Native North American tribes. The following year, Ross was elected chief of a government that challenged what remained of the Cherokees' traditional governing system.

Pressures on the Cherokees from the state of Georgia to relocate west of the Mississippi River mounted in the 1830s. Georgians began settling on Cherokee lands, and with Andrew Jackson, a well-known Indian fighter, elected to the U.S. presidency in 1828, the state had a strong sympathizer in Washington, D.C. Despite Supreme Court decisions that supported the Cherokees' right to their land, Jackson and later President Martin Van Buren would force the tribe to relocate.

Still, Ross had the support of the majority of Cherokee citizens and was fighting to keep his nation's homeland intact. However, a small group of dissenters, who considered removal to Indian Territory a promising solution to white encroachment, signed the Treaty of New Echota in 1835, ceding Cherokee land for new land to the west. Ross fought the sham treaty as best he could and then led his people along the Trail of Tears in 1838, a disastrous trip that would take the lives of at least one-quarter of the traveling population. Once these Cherokees reached those already settled in the West, they faced division and near civil war trying to create a unified government. It was not until 1846, after the revengeful executions of several treaty signers (not with Ross's direct knowledge), that the Cherokee Nation became unified once again.

From 1846 until the outbreak of the American Civil War in 1861, the Cherokees prospered under Ross's leadership. A newspaper, the *Cherokee Advocate*, was established, Cherokee education became a top priority, and the new settlers experienced general prosperity. With the outbreak of war, however, the Cherokees were once again divided, this time between Union and Confederate sympathies. This split, however, echoed that which occurred in the tribe thirty years before: New Echota Treaty signers sided with the Confederate cause. Ross and his supporters hoped the Cherokee people would remain neutral, but challengers such as Stand Watie, who raised a Cherokee regiment for service in the Confederate Army, dashed Ross's hopes of continued peace within the nation. After a victory at Wilson's Creek, Missouri, increased the Confederacy's strength in the region, Ross resigned himself and his people to an alliance with the South. Ross continued to serve as head of the Cherokee Nation and as emis-

sary to the United States. Ross returned to the Cherokee Nation before his death in 1866.

Amy M. Ware

See also *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*; Trail of Tears; *Worcester v. Georgia*.

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## Sacagawea or Sakakawea

Sacagawea (also Sakakawea) was the American Indian woman who served as interpreter, guide, emissary, and counselor for the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804–1806. She assisted the group as they surveyed the continent between Fort Mandan near Bismarck, North Dakota, and Fort Clatsop near Astoria, Oregon. She and her husband, Toussaint Charbonneau, joined the exploring party on April 7, 1805, and left it on August 17, 1806, spending a period of seventeen months with the American explorers. Sacagawea, was nicknamed Janey by William Clark, has become an historic icon symbolizing the ingenuity and endurance of Native American women. Among the most engaging figures in U.S. history, her own genealogical history is claimed by at least two major Indian communities, and there is some disagreement over the spelling, pronunciation, and meaning of her name. As a historical personage her young adult life was documented, but her ensuing years remain a mystery: She died either in South Dakota in her middle twenties or in Wyoming when nearly 100 years old. The contention over her history, coupled with the unique legacy of being the only woman to participate in the Corps of Discovery, has made her larger in death than she was in life. More than a century after her death, she is one of the most well-known, studied, revered, and celebrated American women.

Sacagawea, it is asserted, was born in the late 1780s in a northern Shoshone village located near present-day Tendoy, Idaho. The people to which she would have belonged were known as the Agaidikas, or the Salmoneaters, and were the ancestors of today's Lemhi Shoshone living at Fort Hall and near Salmon, Idaho. Around 1800, when Sacagawea was about twelve or fourteen years old, she and her band





were in winter camp near the Three Forks area of the Upper Missouri River in Montana, when a hunting or warring party of the Hidatsa tribe captured and took her to the Knife River village of Metaharta near Washburn, North Dakota. In that region, she met French Canadian fur trader Toussaint Charbonneau whom the Americans later hired as an interpreter. When Lewis and Clark arrived in late 1804 to stay among the Hidatsa and to build Fort Mandan, Sacagawea was one of Charbonneau's two wives. She was fluent in Hidatsa and Shoshone, and Charbonneau spoke Hidatsa, French, and Gros Ventre. Her knowledge of topography and her familiarity with Native custom inspired Lewis and Clark to ask that she, with her infant son Jean Baptiste, join the exploring party. The baby had been born only weeks earlier, on February 11, 1805, and was affectionately nicknamed Pomp or Pompy by Clark.

Sacagawea's contributions to the success of the Lewis and Clark expedition were substantial, if not undisputed. As a mother with baby in arms, she lent credibility to the peaceful intentions of the Corps of Discovery. She augmented the health and diet of the explorers, bringing to the attention of the captains a variety of berries as well as edible plants such as wild artichokes, onions, camas, and nuts, where they could be found, and how they could be prepared. She identified roots for medicinal purposes, provided information that Lewis used in writing scientific descriptions, translated languages, recognized geographical landmarks, and recommended the best routes to travel. On one occasion she rescued journals and instruments after a boat capsized, and in November 1805 she cast her vote in favor of the group's remaining on the Pacific Coast. At Fort Clatsop she traded the beads off her buckskin dress to help procure needed supplies.

In a fortuitous reunion with her estranged brother, the Shoshone Chief Cameahwait, she indirectly lent much needed assistance when he allowed the explorers to trade with his band for horses and he provided the Americans with a knowledgeable escort (Old Toby) for the journey west across the Bitterroot Mountains and on to the Columbia River. Modern historians have largely dismissed Sacagawea's services as a pilot and guide, but her assistance was truly remarkable when considered in the broader context of what her role encompassed.

Following the return of the expedition to the Hidatsa-Mandan villages in August 1806, Sacagawea faded into the mists of temporal obscurity. There are



*Statue of Sacagawea, a Native American woman who accompanied the Lewis and Clark Expedition during its journey to the Pacific Ocean during 1804–1806. Sacagawea's presence made the expedition seem less threatening to the various tribes that the group encountered. The explorers also probably would have become lost without her knowledge of local peoples and the terrain. (Library of Congress)*

two predominant theories concerning her origins and ultimate fate. The first one asserts that around 1810 William Clark invited Sacagawea (Hidatsa for "Bird Woman"), Charbonneau, and their son to St. Louis, so that Jean Baptiste could begin his education. The Charbonneaus would assume possession of 320 acres of land given by the U.S. government as partial compensation for Toussaint's services to the expedition. The Charbonneaus left Jean Baptiste in the care of Clark and by 1812 were reported to be at Fort Manuel, a fur trading post on the Missouri River. There, on December 20, Sacagawea died of what was called putrid fever.

The alternate version alleges that Sacajawea (Shoshone "Boat Pusher" or "Launcher") lived for many years and died on April 9, 1884, on the Wind





River Indian Reservation in west central Wyoming. According to this version, she traveled through a large part of the West, remarried perhaps several times, and eventually reunited with her tribe, becoming a respected and influential elder.

Today Sacagawea is one of the most venerated women in American history. She has been memorialized in movies, documentaries, and books and in countless magazine and newspaper stories. Her hypothetical likeness has been the subject of numerous artworks, paintings, and statues, and her face adorns both a postage stamp and a one dollar coin. In 2003, the state of North Dakota installed a bronze of her in National Statuary Hall, U.S. Capitol Building, Washington, D.C.

SuAnn M. Reddick and Cary C. Collins

See also Clark, George Rogers; Oregon Trail.

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## Scholder, Fritz

Born in Breckenridge, Minnesota, Fritz Scholder (1937–2005) was, along with Oscar Howe, Allan Houser, R. C. Gorman, Maria Martinez, and T. C. Cannon, among the first Native American artists to receive international acclaim. Although he maintained an ambivalent relationship to his indigenous identity throughout his lifetime, Scholder is best-known for his vivid, unconventional images of Native Americans. Juxtaposing figures in traditional dress with contemporary elements, Scholder's work reevaluated and reinterpreted stereotypical, romantic, and conventional representations of Native Americans. The series of Native American paintings Scholder produced are simultaneously brutal and beautiful, magical and humorous, reflecting the lived, quotidian experiences of late twentieth-century indigenous people.

For example, one of his most famous images, *Super Indian #2 (with ice-cream cone)*, features a buf-

falo dancer in traditional regalia taking a break to eat strawberry ice cream. As with most of his Native-themed paintings, the dancer appears in disembodied space with no familiar background to give the figure context. In the painting, the dancer seems to be sitting against a wall in a gymnasium or some other indoor public space. The ambiguity of the figure's location leads the viewer to question the ways in which Native Americans are often distilled in timeless space, outside the context of the various communities to which they belong.

Scholder's images of Native Americans aren't comfortable or comforting. His Indians smoke and drink alcohol, and they are often draped in the U.S. flag. They critique Euro-American colonization in paintings such as *Portrait of a Massacred Indian*, which portrays a Plains warrior whose head has been shattered, and illustrate the Indian Everyman in works such as *Indian with Beer Can*, a study of a grim, sunglasses-wearing man seated next to a Coors can who flashes his sharp, skeletal teeth at the viewer. As a result, his work has been controversial with non-Natives who prefer romantic visions of Indians, as well as with Native Americans who find his representations of the paradoxical and darker aspects of living as an indigenous person in the United States to be disrespectful.

Scholder's father, who was of Luiseño and German ancestry, worked for the Bureau of Indian Affairs. At various times during his career, Scholder alternately embraced and maintained a distance from his identity as a tribal person, an attitude that created distrust in the larger Native American community. In an interview, Scholder claimed that "I was mislabeled an Indian artist . . . I grew up in public schools and I'm not Indian" (Academy of Achievement, 1996, 3). Similarly, he wrote, "I am a non-Indian Indian" (Scholder, 1979).

Although he didn't grow up near his tribal relatives in San Diego County, California, Scholder did spend much of his childhood on or near reservations. As a high school student in Pierre, South Dakota, he took classes with Oscar Howe, the acclaimed Lakota artist. In addition to indigenous influences, Scholder's work was shaped by the San Francisco Bay area figurative style of Wayne Thiebaud, with whom he shared gallery space in the 1950s, as well as work by artists as far ranging as Picasso, Matisse, Bacon, and Rauschenberg. In addition to painting Native American images, Scholder has produced sculpture, photography, poetry, and multimedia work, touching on themes from his trav-





els to places as far-reaching as Romania and Egypt. Scholder's work has substantially influenced the American art scene and was the subject of two major retrospectives and a PBS documentary.

Scholder taught art history at the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe in 1964 but left to pursue his own artistic ambitions full-time. In 1967 he began his Indian series, possibly because of his experience working with Native American students at IAIA and becoming excited by the fresh, innovative, and contemporary works the young people were generating there. In 1972, the Smithsonian Institution and the U.S. Information Service organized an exhibition of Scholder's work and invited him to tour Europe with T. C. Cannon, a Caddo/Kiowa artist and former student, a trip that launched both of the artists' international careers. Scholder's work in the 1980s grew out of the Indian series but returned to broader and more abstract themes. In the 1990s, he painted a new Indian series, *Rot/Red*, and in 2002 his last major show, *Orchids and Other Flowers*, dealt with the artist's reaction to 9/11.

*Michelle H. Raheja*

*See also* Gorman, R. C.

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## **Seattle**

Seattle (ca. 1786–1866) was a Duwamish Indian village leader, born on Blake Island in Elliott Bay, near the site where a town was founded in 1853 and today, as a great city, still honors his memory. Seattle's people were the Coast Salish, who spoke a form of Lushootseed. As the correct pronunciation of his name (Seath'tl, Duwamish-Suquamish Lushootseed) would be impossible to render exactly in English, its spelling has taken a number of forms, among them See-yat, Sealth, Seath'tl, and S'ia. He was descended from nobility through both maternal ancestors of the Duwamish and his father's Suquamish tribes, and he is still held in high esteem by the Coast Salish and other Native people.

Long before non-Native settlers began to arrive in the Puget Sound region, Seattle had established



*Chief Seath'tl (anglicized as "Seattle") was a Duwamish and Suquamish leader whose people moved from the present-day site of the city that bears his name. (Library of Congress)*

an impressive reputation as a warrior among local groups. With the arrival of the Americans and their lust for Indian land, Seattle refocused his energies on peacemaking, and, having proven his leadership capabilities in both war and peace, he was the logical choice for the American officials to appoint as chief prior to treaty negotiations with Washington Governor Isaac I. Stevens. Seattle and Patkanim,





representing the Duwamish and Snoqualmie bands, met in March 1854, when the newly appointed governor was called to mediate a dispute between whites and Indians near Whidbey Island.

Although Seattle was an exceptional orator in his own language, he rarely spoke the trade language, Chinook Jargon, and used little or no English. An American settler, Henry A. Smith, later claimed that he had been present when Seattle spoke to Governor Stevens and, supposedly hearing the chief speak through an interpreter, kept notes on the chief's oration. In 1887, the *Seattle Sunday Star* published an article in which Smith reconstructed and published a version of Chief Seattle's statement. Through translation, appropriation, modification, and embellishment by a series of non-Native writers over the ensuing century, the speech is still embraced and marketed as an eloquent prophecy and environmental plea from a wise Native American elder and leader. However, as the historian Clarence B. Bagley has observed, "Doubtless Chief Seattle and the other chiefs present expressed its thoughts and sentiments in their own language forming the thread of the speech, but to Doctor Smith belongs the credit for its beautiful wording and delightful imagery" (Bagley, 1931, 255).

The earliest documentation of Seattle's name and activities in Puget Sound were contained in the records of the Hudson's Bay Company at Fort Nisqually. The company built a trading post in 1833 and established the Puget Sound Agricultural Company on a large land claim located between the Nisqually River and Commencement Bay. Seattle was on several occasions mentioned in the fort's *Journal of Daily Occurrences*, sometimes as "Le Gros" in reference to his physical appearance. His early relationship with the British, known by the Indians as King George men, was not always positive. One of the chief traders, knowing that Seattle was a frequent visitor at the fort and that he often engaged in violent raids and vengeful attacks on other local Indians, asked him to sign a peace treaty.

In 1847, Seattle led a Suquamish war party against the Chemakums near Port Townsend, losing a son during the battle. According to some sources, that event affected him deeply and prompted his conversion to Christianity. Other historians have suggested that his motives were more pragmatic and that he reinforced his political and social status through expanded allegiances. In either circumstance, records indicate that Catholic priests baptized him sometime before 1850, christening him Noah.

Seattle's family name, Si'a, derived from the Duwamish matrilineal line through his mother, Sholitza, but Seattle predominantly represented the Suquamish tribe of his father, Shweabe. He also made his home among the Suquamish at Agate Pass where, under his jurisdiction, the plank longhouse known as Oleman House was extended to 1,000 feet in length to accommodate his followers. Two of his wives bore him several children and some of his sons and grandsons became tribal leaders. His daughter, Angeline, was a famous citizen of Seattle and together they were the subjects of Clarence Bagley's article "Chief Seattle and Angeline."

Around 1904, the American Benjamin F. Shaw wrote about an encounter with Seattle in 1850 when the Native chief supposedly expressed a desire for white settlement. Shaw was affiliated with Colonel M. T. Simmons, and both of them were assigned in 1853 to appoint leaders of the Puget Sound tribes for the purpose of negotiating treaties with Governor Stevens. Seattle was officially designated as the chief of the Duwamish and Suquamish by Simmons and Shaw, and on January 22, 1855, he signed the Treaty of Point Elliott. The two tribes had been traditional enemies for generations and a separate reservation was established at Port Madison for the Suquamish, but the Duwamish never received land of their own.

Chief Seattle died on June 7, 1866, when he was approximately eighty years old. He was buried at Suquamish, Washington.

*SuAnn M. Reddick and Cary C. Collins*

*See also* Fishing Rights; Potlatch.

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## Sequoyah

Sequoyah (ca. 1770–1843), the inventor of the Cherokee syllabary (a set of written symbols that represent spoken syllables), became the only individual





in world history to invent a written language by himself.

Sequoyah was born in Taskigi, now within the state of Tennessee. His father was an American trader and his mother a Cherokee. He spent his early life as a hunter and fur trader but was crippled in a hunting accident (he subsequently worked as a silversmith). In the Creek War of 1813 and 1814, Sequoyah served under General Andrew Jackson.

In 1809, Sequoyah initiated work on a Cherokee alphabet. He hoped to aid his tribe in becoming literate in their own tongue, a tool that not only would help the tribe communicate in new ways and over many miles, but also would ensure, he hoped, the survival of the Cherokee language and cultural identity. After much frustration—and after his workshop was burned down by skeptical tribespeople—Sequoyah realized that an alphabet based on the Cherokee language would be exceedingly difficult to master. A syllabary based on phonetics would be easier to learn, Sequoyah concluded, and worked to perfect his system. His syllabary consists of eighty-six characters.

Although Sequoyah's project was met with skepticism by some Cherokees, his project was embraced within a few years after the official recognition of the project by tribal leaders. Nearly twelve years after the commencement of his project, Sequoyah presented his syllabary to the Cherokee Council in 1821. In a short time—some suggest only a few months—children and adults were able to read and write using Sequoyah's system. Soon after, parts of the *Bible* were translated into Cherokee, showing how missionaries hoped to incorporate the language into their work. In addition, the Cherokee constitution (1828) and the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate*, a weekly newspaper first published in 1828, were printed in both English and Cherokee. Today, the syllabary is still used by many Cherokees, both in Oklahoma and North Carolina, and it represents a strong tie to a heritage distinct from other American cultural groups.

The syllabary's completion and dissemination throughout the Cherokee Nation in 1821 occurred at an important time of change for the Cherokees and other tribes. Unlike the tribes that used a lack of literacy as a powerful form of resistance, the Cherokee used their syllabary as a form of defiance in the face of growing pressures from the United States, pressures that would eventually force the relocation of most of the Cherokees. The syllabary continues to



*Born half-Cherokee Sequoyah originated the Cherokee alphabet in 1821, thereby helping thousands of Native Americans to become literate. He is probably the only person to have invented a written language single-handedly. (Library of Congress)*

symbolize cultural independence among many Cherokees.

Sequoyah accompanied the Cherokees forcibly removed by the U.S. government on the Trail of Tears in 1838 to Indian Territory, which would later become Oklahoma. Once there, he became president of the western Cherokees and presented the Cherokee Act of Union, which united the eastern and western Cherokee peoples. Sequoyah's death is something of a mystery. In 1842 he joined an expedition to locate a lost band of Cherokees who migrated west during the American Revolution. He never returned and his remains were never found. Many believe that Sequoyah died in Mexico and is buried somewhere near San Fernando, Tamaulipas. Still, Sequoyah, who never learned English fluently, is honored in a variety of ways by his tribe, by the state of Oklahoma, and by the giant redwood trees along the northern California coast that bear his name.

*Amy M. Ware*

*See also Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate; Ross, John; Trail of Tears.*





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## Sitting Bull

The Siouan words “*Tatanka-Iyotanka*” describe a stubborn buffalo seated on his haunches. The name was given to a Hunkpapa Sioux who emerged as a resistance leader against U.S. colonialism in the northern Plains. He was called Sitting Bull.

Around 1831, Sitting Bull was born along the Grand River at a place known as Many Caches in present-day South Dakota. Originally, he received the name Jumping Badger from his father, who bore the name Sitting Bull. His mother, Her-Holy-Door, created a close bond with him during his formative years. His childhood behavior earned him the alias Slow. He entered combat at age fourteen, counting his first coup on the Crow and earning the honor of his father's name. With distinction, he entered the Strong Heart, the Kit Fox, and the Silent Eaters societies. He married his first wife in 1851, but she died during childbirth. After his father died in 1859, he married two additional wives. They gave birth to two daughters and a son. In addition, he adopted his nephew, One Bull, as a son.

Sitting Bull became known as a *blotaunka*, or war chief, in the Strong Hearts, a warrior society. Standing five feet ten inches in height, he possessed a muscular frame and dark braided hair. As he matured, Sitting Bull earned acclaim as a singer, an artist, and a dancer. The scars on his chest, back, and arms testified to his repeated sacrifices in Sun Dances. He embodied the cardinal virtues of his people, that is, bravery, fortitude, generosity, and wisdom. He traded furs with the Chouteau company at Fort Pierre and encountered U.S. soldiers at Fort Berthold. In 1864, he fought against blue-clad regulars at the Battle of Killdeer Mountain. Thereafter, he laid siege to the newly established Fort Rice as well as Fort Buford.

By the 1870s, Sitting Bull's reputation as a *wichasha wakan*, or holy man, elevated his power among the Lakota Sioux. He was anointed *wakiconza*, a supreme chief, seeking to unite the diverse bands

and contentious factions into a spirited resistance movement. In a ceremony, he was borne into a large circle on a buffalo robe and crowned with a magnificent headdress. He denounced the *wasichu*, or white people, who were invading Sioux country along the Powder and Yellowstone Rivers.

Sitting Bull tried to stop their invasion into the *Paha Sapa* (Black Hills), where gold was found by prospectors. Even though the Fort Laramie Treaty guaranteed the “unceded” territory near the Great Sioux reservation as a traditional hunting ground, officials in Washington, D.C., broke their promises. They announced that tribes not settled on the reservation by January 31, 1876, would be considered “hostile.” In fact, three columns of soldiers were deployed to drive them into confinement under the surveillance of government agents. One column, led by Brigadier General George Crook, moved north from Fort Fetterman. Under Colonel John Gibbon, another column headed east from western Montana. The third column, commanded by General Alfred Terry, marched westward from Fort Abraham Lincoln. Surrounded on all sides, the off-reservation Sioux had nowhere to escape.

Thus began the Great Sioux War. In the Spring of 1876, Sitting Bull communicated with Wakan-tanka, or the Great Mystery, at the top of a butte. He received a dream about a dust storm propelled by high winds from the east. He saw uniformed troops advancing, their weapons and horse trimmings glistening in the sunlight. When the approaching fury crashed into a rolling cloud, thunder pealed, lightning cracked, and rains poured. The tempest passed, leaving an open sky.

On June 6, 1876, roughly 3,000 Lakotas and Cheyennes joined Sitting Bull for a Sun Dance along the Rosebud Creek in Montana. Following purification in a sweat lodge, he entered the dance circle. After staring into the blazing orb overhead, he offered his flesh and slashed his arms 100 times. As blood flowed from his body, Sitting Bull received another vision. He foresaw the mounted bluecoats attacking—“as many as grasshoppers.” However, they descended upside down toward the ground as they rode. They possessed no ears and therefore could not heed the warnings to turn back.

Inspired by his visions, the Oglala war chief Crazy Horse organized a band of 500 warriors for action. On June 17, he surprised Crook's troops at the Battle of the Rosebud. Then the Sioux and their allies moved their camps to the valley of the Little Bighorn River at a place the Sioux called Greasy





*A Hunkpapa Lakota Sioux, Sitting Bull is one of the most celebrated Indian leaders in American history. Sitting Bull participated in many famous battles, most notably the Battle of the Little Bighorn in 1876, and joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show in 1885. (Library of Congress)*

Grass. In search of an elusive enemy, Colonel George Armstrong Custer of the Seventh Cavalry located their camps on June 25 with the help of Crow scouts. Outnumbered more than four to one, he ignored the warnings of his scouts and led the troops toward the camps. Along the Little Bighorn, 261 men of the Seventh Cavalry died that day.

After the stunning loss at the Little Bighorn, Lieutenant General Phil Sheridan deployed 2,500 additional troops to avenge the death of Custer. Congress took away the Black Hills in violation of the Fort Laramie Treaty and seized another 40 million acres of promised land. Sitting Bull, however, refused to accept defeat. He and his loyalists fled beyond the reach of the armed forces by crossing the border into Canada. General Terry traveled north to offer Sitting Bull a pardon in exchange for settling on the reservation, but he defiantly rejected the offer.

With the buffalo herds dwindling, Sitting Bull finally decided to end his exile. On July 19, 1881, he told his young son, Crow Foot, to hand his rifle to the commanding officer of Fort Buford in Montana. After the gesture, he spoke: "I wish to be remembered as the last man of my tribe to surrender my rifle." He donned a pair of sunglasses to protect his sensitive eyes and boarded a steamer for Bismarck. Dispatched to Fort Randall, he and his followers were prisoners of war for nearly two years.

Assigned to the Standing Rock Agency after 1883, Sitting Bull lived in a cabin. Devoted to his family, he retained his two wives. His two adult daughters were married and presented him with grandchildren. He continued to raise five children in his immediate household, including two pairs of twins and a daughter named Standing Holy. His mother, Her-Holy-Door, lived with the family until her death in 1884. He fathered two more children thereafter. Although he eschewed Christianity, he sent his children to a nearby Christian school to learn to read and to write.

The government agent, James McLaughlin, permitted Sitting Bull to participate in a traveling exhibition in 1884. In 1885, the legendary figure was allowed to join Buffalo Bill's Wild West show, earning \$50 a week for appearing on horseback in an arena. On tour, he profited from the sale of his autograph and pictures. He stayed with the show only four months, having the opportunity to shake hands with President Grover Cleveland while in Washington, D.C.

After returning home, Sitting Bull spoke against the unjust policies of the agency. He openly defied the land agreements of 1888 and 1889, which threw half the Great Sioux Reservation open to non-Indian settlement and divided the rest into six separate reservations. "I would rather die an Indian," he prophetically stated, "than live a white man." Indeed, he received a vision of a meadowlark telling him that he would die at the hands of the Sioux.

In the fall of 1890, a Miniconjou Sioux named Kicking Bear came to Sitting Bull with news of the Ghost Dance religion, which promised to restore the traditional way of life. Though skeptical of the religion at first, he planted a prayer tree at Standing Rock. He began dancing while wearing a shirt with a painted red cross. When attempting to arrest him at his cabin on December 15, 1890, a Lakota Sioux policeman shot him in the head, and his final vision came to pass. His killing led to the tragic events at Wounded Knee two weeks later.





Sitting Bull died a martyr in the last days of Sioux resistance to U.S. colonialism. He was originally buried at Fort Yates, North Dakota, but in 1953 according to some sources, his remains were relocated to Mobridge, South Dakota. Researchers continue to disagree about the actual location of his bones, and grave sites are maintained in both locations. On March 6, 1996, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council voted to change the name of the tribal community college to Sitting Bull College (SBC). As a tribute to his spirit, the institution adopted its motto from his words: "Let us put our minds together to see what we can build for our children."

Brad D. Lookingbill

*See also* Battle of the Little Bighorn; Black Hills (*Paha Sapa*); Cody, William Frederick; Crazy Horse; Wounded Knee, South Dakota, Massacre at.

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## Smith, John

One of the best-known figures from the period of early American history, John Smith was briefly the leader of the first successful English colony at Jamestown and a lifelong promoter of English colonization efforts in North America. Born in England in 1580, Smith fought as a soldier against the Turks in Hungary. Upon returning to England, he joined the Virginia Company's colonization venture to the Chesapeake in 1607. As a soldier with worldly experience, and not a respecter of class, Smith made himself unpopular with some of the gentry during the trip, who, upon arriving in Virginia, opened the company's instructions for the colony and were

appalled to learn that Smith had been appointed their leader.

Fearful that the Spanish were attempting to find and destroy the colony, the English established Jamestown at a defensible site a few miles inland along the James River. However, the Jamestown colony was situated next to a swamp teeming with disease-carrying mosquitoes, and, taking their water from the sluggish, brackish, and salty James, many colonists soon became ill. Smith managed to alleviate the effects of disease somewhat by having the colony disperse to smaller settlements during the summer months.

Most of the colonists lacked useful skills and were unused to the hard labor needed for the colony to succeed. When a number of the colonists refused to work, Smith issued an order proclaiming that "He that doth not work shall not eat." Nevertheless, the colony ran short on food. Lacking the hunting skills to take advantage of the local game and fearful of the local Powhatan Indians, the colonists remained inside Jamestown's palisades and starved.

While much of Europe was aghast at tales of Spanish atrocities in the Americas, Smith admired the actions of Cortes, Pizzaro, and other conquistadores, and he thought it best for the English to emulate Spanish policies (or what he believed were Spanish policies) toward Native peoples. However, Smith found that he lacked the military wherewithal to coerce the local Powhatan Confederacy, and he may have also realized that the Powhatans were very different from the Natives of Central and South America. Smith managed to obtain food from the Powhatans through a combination of barter, bullying, and theft. At one point, he seized the half brother of Powhatan, Opechancanough, as a hostage in exchange for maize. This act earned the colonists Opechancanough's undying hostility, and he later led two destructive wars against Virginia.

Captured by the Powhatans during one of his explorations, Smith was apparently marked to die. Smith later described a scene in which he was restrained while an executioner prepared to cudgel him to death. At the last moment, Powhatan's favorite child, Pocahontas, threw herself between Smith and the executioner's club and persuaded her father to spare his life. Smith seemed to think that Pocahontas acted on her own initiative. However, it has been argued that Smith misunderstood what happened. Pocahontas's act of rescuing him and her father's granting him his life may have been part of a ritual that, in the eyes of Native peoples, made Smith





The English soldier and adventurer Captain John Smith helped found the Jamestown colony in 1607 and provided leadership during its crucial early years. (Library of Congress)

a tributary of Powhatan. There is also the possibility that the incident may have never occurred. Smith's narrative of his adventures in Virginia went through several editions, but not until 1625, long after the other principals in the drama (Pocahontas and Powhatan) were dead, did he mention this incident.

Smith's considerable leadership skills and his imposition of a military style of discipline helped the Jamestown colony to survive. However, his wariness of the Powhatans set the tone for an uneasy relationship for the next half century.

Smith remained a proponent of English colonization until his death in 1630. To his credit, Smith's writings about North America were realistic descriptions of the land and its commodities. But for the most part, Smith viewed Native peoples as savages and valuable only as trade partners. He believed that they must either become "civilized" or be pushed aside by the English.

Roger M. Carpenter

See also Pocahontas; Powhatan.

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## Smohalla

Like Wovoka, the Paiute progenitor of the Ghost Dance, the Wanapam prophet *šmúxala* (generally rendered as Smohalla, meaning "dreamer") rose to prominence during the late nineteenth century as the symbolic head of a major religious revitalization movement. Like the Ghost Dance, Smohalla's creed, called *waasaní* (Washani, "dancers" or "worship") in the Sahaptin language, mingled indigenous beliefs with Christian concepts but explicitly renounced Euro-American culture. By urging the Indians of the Columbia Plateau to reject white ways and refuse land cessions, the so-called Dreamer Cult inspired strong resistance to federal policies designed to isolate and assimilate Native Americans.

Smohalla lived during a period of wrenching change for the indigenous peoples of the Plateau. Born around 1815 in present-day eastern Washington State, he may have witnessed the arrival of the first British and American fur traders to enter Wanapam territory along the Columbia River. The newcomers brought useful goods, but they also introduced alcohol and diseases that ravaged Native communities and undermined the status of traditional shamans. With the traders came Catholic Iroquois and Jesuit priests, from whom Smohalla probably learned the Christian theology and rituals that influenced Washani. Missionary activity intensified in the 1830s with the arrival of Protestant ministers, but Indian enthusiasm quickly waned as anger mounted over the growing stream of Euro-American emigrants arriving on the Oregon Trail. By 1850, Smohalla and other "dreamer prophets" had begun preaching that their people should shun white "civilization" and never sell any piece of their Earth Mother. Despite such spiritual objections, four treaties signed in 1855 ceded millions of acres to the United States and established reservations where Plateau Indians would presumably settle down as yeomen farmers. Many refused to obey, however, and among the "renegades" Washani became a powerful source of hope.





Smohalla built his reputation and his religion on a series of prophetic visions. Already deemed a potent *iyánca* ("one who trains or disciplines") by his own people, he attracted numerous followers from across the Plateau by promising them deliverance from the American onslaught. His methods and message closely resembled those of Indian prophets of earlier eras. Besides predicting eclipses and other natural phenomena, he periodically entered deep, death-like trances during which he claimed to visit the afterworld and receive instructions from the Creator. Above all, Smohalla declared, Indians must stop tilling the earth or face divine retribution. When a military officer attempted to convince him otherwise, he retorted:

You ask me to plow the ground! Shall I take a knife and tear my mother's bosom? Then when I die she will not take me to her bosom to rest.

You ask me to dig for stone! Shall I dig under her skin for her bones? Then when I die I can not enter her body to be born again.

You ask me to cut grass and make hay and sell it, and be rich like the white men, but how dare I cut off my mother's hair?

The Creator would reward obedience to his creed with world renewal. If Indians faithfully performed the *wáashat* (Washat, or Prophet Dance), the whites would die off or disappear, deceased relatives would return to life, and the land would revert to its pristine state. Until then, Indians must cast off white ways, seek wisdom in dreams, and reject the reservation system and allotment. Smohalla also preached pacifism, as did most of his disciples, but their teachings gave spiritual sanction to the defiance of federal authority.

By the late 1860s, Smohalla's growing influence had earned him the enmity of government officials and some tribal leaders. He clashed repeatedly with Chief Moses of the Columbia-Sinkiuse, who considered him a rival, and a bitter quarrel with the Walla Walla dreamer Homily prompted Smohalla to move his base from Wallula to the winter village of P'na near Priest Rapids. His greatest enemies, however, were the Indian agents who accused him and his disciples of corrupting their reservation kin. Agency officials clamored continually for the removal and confinement of all renegade Dreamers, but Smohalla maintained amicable relations with the military authorities at Fort Walla Walla. Because the Wanapams remained peaceful and their lands were unde-

sirable to white settlers, the Army saw little reason to force the issue. Smohalla stayed off the reservation until his death in 1895, and his creed survived continuing efforts to suppress it. Although Washani's millenarian and Nativistic aspects soon faded, its forms of worship continue to influence tribal life through the Seven Drums Religion practiced across the interior Northwest.

Andrew H. Fisher

*See also* Dreamer Cult; Handsome Lake; Seven Drums Religion; Wovoka.

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## Society of American Indians

The Society of American Indians (SAI, 1911–1920s) was a cross-tribal group created on the tide of progressive feeling that swept through American politics during the early decades of the twentieth century. It developed alongside the religious intertribalism of the peyote faith and the Native American Church and eventually was completely eclipsed by the city-based fraternal intertribalism that crystallized during the 1920s. It pushed for national Indian reform, sought to initiate and direct change in government policy, and presented itself as the modern, united Indian representative body of the era. Made up primarily of educated, middle-class Indians, it can be seen positively as an important fraternity that laid the foundations for the more effective Indian reform of the rest of the century. It built on a long tradition of intertribal unity and action, invoking the legacy of Joseph Brant (Thayendanege) and Tecumseh. Less positively, its disintegration can also be seen as indicative of the illusory nature of the inclusive dream at the core of American rhetoric at the beginning of the twentieth century. The SAI hoped to serve as a modern, proud, and unified Indian elite



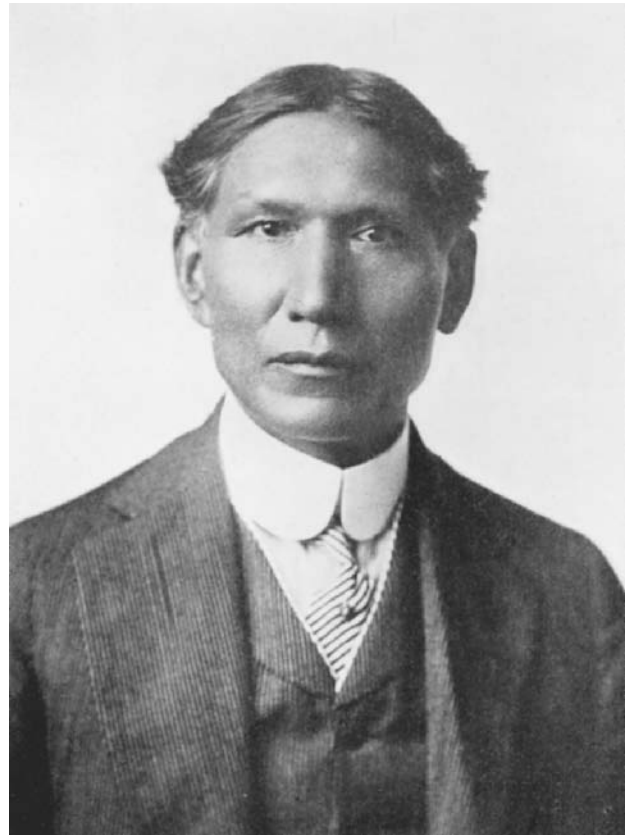


and to spearhead the full integration of Indian people in American culture, but found instead that the general reevaluation of Indian capabilities they desired was not about to happen. The “race leadership” the SAI offered was neither wanted nor understood by the most Indians, nor was it desired by the dominant society.

The SAI’s agenda was comparable to that of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), formed just a few years previously; both organizations campaigned for the legal and political recognition of their people and spread the word through their own journals. A specifically Indian identity made the SAI unique among the other bodies, such as the Indian Rights Association and the Lake Mohonk Conference of the Friends of the Indian, with a voice in Indian reform debates. Yet although it was “of Indians, by Indians, and for Indians,” the SAI shared the same basic agenda as other non-Indian reform organizations: final detribalization and the individual absorption of Indians into American society as patriotic citizens.

SAI core leadership was always small but it included men like Dr. Charles A. Eastman, the prominent physician, lecturer, and author; Dr. Carlos Montezuma, at the time one of the most recognized Indians in the country; the writer, museum man, and anthropologist Arthur C. Parker; the then most powerful Indian executive within the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Supervisor of Employment Charles E. Daganett; the community activist Gertrude Bonnin; the Reverends Sherman Coolidge and Henry Roe Cloud; and the Indian lawyers Thomas L. Sloan and Hiram Chase. SAI successes included its *Quarterly Journal* (renamed in 1916 *The American Indian Magazine*), a number of well-received conferences, a meeting with President Woodrow Wilson in 1914, the inauguration of an Indian Day and various other efforts designed to move perceptions of Indians away from the Wild West show stereotype and to foster Indian citizenship and self-help. Almost from the outset, however, the organization was plagued by internal conflict, by apathy on the part of the membership, and by a lack of funding. Especially bitter disputes arose over the appropriate role of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, both in Indian life and in the organization, over the role of peyote in Indian life, and over Indian citizenship.

What Indian people wanted most at this time was recognition of their claims and a resolution of their complaints, rather than rhetoric about self-help as a panacea for all social ills. The SAI was run by



*Charles Eastman, a Sioux, championed Native American causes from the Wounded Knee Massacre in 1890 until he died in 1939. His writings interpreted Native American ways of life for white Americans during a time of considerable misunderstanding. (Library of Congress)*

and for the emerging educated Indian middle class, and it failed to bring about any practical legislative change. It also failed to garner either the funds or the broad-based support needed to renegotiate the Indian position in American society. However, when the Committee of One Hundred met in 1923, it included much of the core membership of the SAI and its resolutions were generally similar to the SAI’s early overall agenda. In turn, that consensus fed into the Meriam Report of 1928, the document that revealed in a politically significant fashion the failures of previous government policy and that fueled the ensuing movement to revive tribalism and to use social science to ease Indian integration into American society.

*Joy Porter*

*See also* Brant, Joseph; Meriam Report; Montezuma; Parker, Arthur C.; Tecumseh.





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## Sohappy, Sr., David

The name David Sohappy, Sr. (Wanapam), has come to symbolize the struggle of Indian peoples of the Columbia River and its tributaries to preserve the salmon runs that have nourished and sustained their societies for thousands of years.

Sohappy's ancestors traded fish with the 1805 Lewis and Clark expedition. Kettle Falls in Washington and Celilo Falls near The Dalles in Oregon were two of the largest Indian fisheries in North America and gathering places for the Indian nations of the Plateau and beyond. The biggest part of the Native diet has always been fish. Catching salmon is a way of life, and religious beliefs and ceremonies are closely tied to preserving the fish runs. In 1855, treaties were signed with Northwest Indian nations pledging that "for as long as the sun shines, as long as the mountains stand, and as long as the river flows," the River People would be able to fish at their accustomed places. Yet by the end of the nineteenth century, environmental degradation caused by fish wheels (mechanized fish harvesters), canneries, logging, and agriculture had seriously endangered the fish and impacted the lives of the "River People."

Seventeen dams constructed on the Columbia and Snake River spawning grounds also had a deleterious effect. Nevertheless, since the late 1950s, the Indians of the Northwest have found themselves the official scapegoat for the salmon decline, accused of overfishing. "Can an Indian save a salmon" was one of the racist slogans gracing bumper stickers on non-Indian cars in the 1980s.

David Sohappy, Sr. was born in 1925. His name is derived from *souiehappyie*, meaning "shoving something under a ledge" in the Wanapam Indian language. (*Wana* means "river," and *pam* means "people of.") The original Wanapam villages ranged from the mouth of the Little White Salmon River upstream to Priest Rapids. Sohappy's family was evicted from their ancestral home at Priest Rapids and White Bluff in the 1940s to make room for the Hanford nuclear facility. Eventually, David and his family moved to Cook's Landing at the mouth of the Little White Salmon River in Washington.

David Sohappy followed the old Wanapam religion his entire life, a religion that spurns violence and alcohol consumption. He is a lineal descendent of the Indian prophet Smohalla, who founded the Waashat (or dreamer) religion. He told his followers that "God commanded that the lands and fisheries should be common to all who lived upon them; that they were never to be marked off or divided, but that the people should enjoy the fruits that God planted in the land, and the animals that lived upon it, and the fishes in the water . . . This is the old law." The Wanapam refused to participate in the 1855 treaty negotiations with the United States and resisted government efforts to remove them to the Yakama Indian Reservation. Smohalla's teachings inspired resistance to federal assimilationist policies.

Sohappy grew up on his grandmother's allotted land on the Yakama Indian Reservation. He was taught to follow the seasonal food cycles of traditional Wanapam culture that consisted of wild game, fish, roots, and huckleberries. He fished for salmon without regard to season or limit, and he followed the traditional practices of salmon conservation handed down by his ancestors. He was taught that to fish is to give thanks to the Creator and to show respect for the Creator's gift of life, salmon. He believed that only the Creator—not the state, federal, or even Native governments—could control his traditional fishing practices.

Sohappy believed that he could live where he fished, at Cook's Landing on the Columbia River, especially since the government never kept its promise to provide new houses and fishing sites for those displaced by dam construction. Cook's Landing is one of five small fishing sites approved by the federal government "in lieu" of the thirty-seven Indian communities flooded out by the construction of Bonneville Dam in 1933. No matter what the need, he never accepted welfare, unemployment compensation, or surplus commodities. Instead, he and his family ate salmon at almost every meal, traded or sold fish for other food staples and their modest cash needs, gathered roots and berries, and hunted. Sohappy also provided salmon for tribal ceremonies and conducted religious ceremonies in the family longhouse.

In 1981, fish runs were at an all-time low, and federal enforcement agencies proclaimed the disappearance of 40,000 Chinook salmon between Bonneville and McNary dams on the Columbia River. This was District Six, an area designated by the courts exclusively for Indian fishing. Federal officials





then charged that the fish were taken by Indian poachers, chief among whom were David Sohappy and members of his extended family.

On June 17, 1982, David Sohappy, his wife, son, and seventy-five other Indian fishermen were arrested for fishing out of season. The Sohappys' front door was kicked down and the house ransacked by local, state, and federal agents. A sting operation, code-named *Salmonscam*, had been under way for fourteen months to entrap the Indian fisherfolk who openly took salmon in defiance of state regulations, asserting their treaty right to fish. David Sohappy and his son were convicted under the Lacey Amendment to the Black Bass Act, and each was sentenced to five years in federal prison. Other Indian fishers received lesser sentences. In contrast, two non-Indian poachers received only thirty days in prison and a suspended sentence, respectively.

During the trial, testimony about Sohappy's religion and traditional fish conservation practices was not allowed. It was later found that most of the "missing fish" Sohappy and his fellow River Indians were accused of poaching were not missing after all. Finding the dams difficult to navigate, the fish had simply spawned in tributaries along the Columbia before reaching McNary Dam. In addition, an aluminum plant located upriver from The Dalles Dam had spilled fluorides into the river, confusing the fish that were not killed by the effluent.

David, an elder and spiritual leader in the Feather Cult of the Waashat or Seven Drums Religion, spent twenty months in a federal prison before an international protest and the intervention by Senator Daniel Inouye, chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, led to his release in June of 1988. A ruling by the Yakama tribal court had already found Sohappy and the other defendants not guilty of the poaching charges. Meanwhile, at Sohappy's home at Cook's Landing, federal officials issued an eviction notice. He took the eviction notice to court and won in what turned out to be his last battle before his untimely death three years later. Having suffered diabetic strokes in prison, Sohappy's health broke and he died in a nursing home on May 6, 1991.

This was not the first time that David Sohappy had tested the white man's unjust laws that violated Indian treaty rights. During the 1960s and 1970s the Northwest fishing struggle centered on the much publicized fish-ins in western Washington at Frank's Landing. Meanwhile, on the Columbia, Sohappy

fished according to his traditional religious beliefs, using fish traps he had built from driftwood until state game and fishing officials raided his camp and beat family members. In 1968 he and his cousin, Richard Sohappy, and a dozen others were jailed on the charge of illegal fishing.

The two Sohappys then became plaintiffs in the landmark federal case of *Sohappy v. Smith*. On July 8, 1969, U.S. District Court Judge Robert C. Belloni ruled that Indian fishers are allowed to harvest their fair share of the Columbia River salmon runs. A few years later in 1974, Judge George Boldt ruled that the "fair and equitable" in the earlier decision meant 50 percent of harvestable fish and that authority to regulate tribal fishing on and off the reservations was reserved for the Indian treaty nations. Yet despite these favorable legal decisions, the states of Washington and Oregon continued to interfere with Indian fishing, and federal authorities stepped up their harassment of the Sohappys.

When he died, David Sohappy was buried according to the old religion of his ancestors, with traditional songs and wrapped in a Pendleton blanket. His attorney, Tom Keefe, Jr. recalled that solemn occasion:

And while the sun chased a crescent moon across the Yakima Valley, I thanked David Sohappy for the time we had spent together, and I wondered how the salmon he had fought to protect would fare in his absence. Now he is gone, and natural runs of Chinook that fed his family since time immemorial are headed for the Endangered Species Act list. "Be glad for my dad," David Sohappy, Jr., told the mourners. "He is free now, he doesn't need any tears" (Grinde and Johansen, 1995, 166).

Steve Talbot

*See also* Fishing Rights; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Seven Drums Religion.

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## Spotted Tail

Spotted Tail (*Sinte Gleska*) was a *Sicangu* (upper Brûlé Lakota), born in 1823 in the Ring band (*tiyospe*), a community of bilaterally related extended families on the White River in south central South Dakota. He learned to hunt bison, to conduct raiding expeditions against the Pawnee, to protect his community's southern lands that lay beyond the Platte River in western Nebraska, and to take the proper path toward leadership under the guidance of Little Thunder, leader of the Ring band. By midcentury, he became a Shirt Wearer (*Wicasa*), the official band executive for the council (*Wiscas Itacans*), locating good hunting and campgrounds, deciding family disputes, and negotiating with foreign officials.

Traders were part of Spotted Tail's early life, but increased non-Native immigration to Oregon in 1843, to Utah in 1847, and to California in 1849 brought overland travelers through the Brûlés' Platte River territories, and soon the American military followed to protect the immigrants. These events forever changed Spotted Tail's life.

In 1854, a Mormon emigrant abandoned a lame cow and a Minniconju Lakota killed the animal. This "Mormon cow affair" convinced the brash recent West Point graduate Lieutenant John Lawrence Grattan to take a detachment and demand that Little Thunder's Brûlé band pay compensation and release the guilty Lakota to military control. After an unfruitful negotiation, Grattan's men fired their heavy artillery and the Lakota retaliated, killing the entire unit. After learning of Grattan's fate, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis ordered General William S. Harney to prepare a punitive campaign against the guilty tribespeople. The following year at Ash Hollow in western Nebraska, Harney's expedition attacked Little Thunder's band, killing eighty-six people and taking prisoners. Harney then demanded the surrender and imprisonment of the leading men. Spotted Tail (among others) surrendered at Fort Laramie in the fall of 1855. He was incarcerated at Fort Leavenworth and later Fort Kearny before returning to his people the following fall. Upon his return, he decided to stand with Little Thunder and avoid war with the whites but to continue to fight the traditional Pawnee foes.

In 1866, Spotted Tail succeeded Little Thunder as headman of the Ring Band and joined with Swift Bear of the Corn band for protection. Together they stood for peace, signing the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868 and moving to the Whetstone Agency on the Missouri River. There Spotted Tail killed Big Mouth



*Spotted Tail was a leader of the Brûlé Lakota who sought compromise with the invading whites. Spotted Tail disagreed with Red Cloud, wanting to negotiate to allow whites to pass through Indian lands on their way to the gold mines in Montana. Spotted Tail became a leader of the Oglala Sioux after Red Cloud was deposed in 1881, but he was assassinated shortly thereafter. (Mercaldo Archives)*

during a leadership dispute in 1869. The agency was moved to northwest Nebraska shortly afterward, and then war began in the north when Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse's followers refused to stay inside the boundaries of the Great Sioux Reservation. At the same time, miners violated Lakota boundaries and invaded the Black Hills. The escalating frustration culminated on the banks of the Greasy Grass Creek when Lakota soldiers and their allies destroyed Brevet General George A. Custer's entire command.

While Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull fought, Spotted Tail's agency was known as a peace camp. As General Nelson Miles pursued the warring chiefs, General George Crook sought Spotted Tail's help and in the fall of 1876 unilaterally and illegally declared that the United States "recognized Spotted Tail as chief of all the Sioux." Spotted Tail, with U.S.





backing, maintained his status by signing the Black Hills Treaty (Agreement) in 1876 that enabled the United States to take control of that region. In early 1877, with Crook's urging, Spotted Tail went north on a peace mission seeking Crazy Horse's surrender. The two men met and Crazy Horse accepted the terms Spotted Tail presented. The war was nearly over when Crazy Horse surrendered in late spring and Sitting Bull and his people went to Canada in an effort to retain their independence.

After briefly moving their people to the old Ponca Agency on the Missouri River, Spotted Tail and other upper Brûlé leaders moved in the summer of 1878 to the Rosebud Agency in south central South Dakota. At Rosebud, old tribal conflicts merged into new battles. Spotted Tail tried to follow Lakota tradition but lacked credibility because he owed his position to U.S. intervention. As he attempted to maintain control over all the Brûlé bands, Spotted Tail encountered increasing tension between himself and Two Strike, White Thunder, Crow Dog, and Hollow Horn Bear. Rosebud leaders sent some children to the Carlisle boarding school in 1879, and Spotted Tail removed the children without Brûlé authority, violating tribal political protocol. These ill feelings erupted following a meeting in early August 1881, when Crow Dog shot Spotted Tail, killing him instantly.

Richmond Clow

*See also* Black Hills (*Paha Sapa*); Crazy Horse; Sitting Bull.

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## Squanto

Best-known for serving as an interpreter for the Pilgrims and for showing them how to survive in New England, Squanto (died 1622) was a Patuxet Indian who, in a few short years, traveled (sometimes

unwillingly) from North America, to Spain and England, and back to New England.

Squanto (rendered as Tisquantum by William Bradford) stepped into history in 1614, when English sea captain Thomas Hunt abducted roughly twenty Native men from Cape Cod. Hoping to sell the Indians as slaves, Hunt took his human cargo to Spain, where he sold a few of the Indians before Spanish authorities seized the rest and sent them to live with Catholic friars so that they could be instructed in Christianity. Little is known about Squanto's time in Spain or how he left the country, but by 1617 he was living in the London home of the Newfoundland Company's treasurer, John Slany. Hoping to use Squanto as an interpreter and go-between, the English took him to Newfoundland in 1618. He returned to his native Patuxet while serving as a guide and interpreter for Thomas Dermer's 1619 expeditions to Cape Cod and Martha's Vineyard. As Dermer prepared to sail around Cape Cod, Squanto left to seek out his own people. In the few years since Squanto had been abducted, New England's Native populations had been devastated by European diseases, often carried by English fishermen who came ashore to dry their catch and to trade. Squanto returned to Patuxet and discovered that nearly all of his people had perished in an epidemic.

Without Squanto to act as an interpreter, Dermer had difficulty dealing with the Native peoples of the area, who had good reason to be suspicious of English intentions. The Indians rightly viewed the English as kidnappers, and they also rightly believed that the English had something to do with the diseases that ravaged their communities in coastal New England. When Dermer returned to the southern New England coast a year later, he was captured by a group of Native people and held until Squanto interceded. Squanto joined Dermer, but the expedition was attacked by Native people at Martha's Vineyard. The Pokanokets seized Squanto as a captive, while Dermer, wounded several times, made his way back to Virginia, where he died shortly thereafter.

In November 1620, the Pilgrims landed on Cape Cod. The Pokanokets were undoubtedly aware of the English presence, but, like other Native peoples, they maintained a cautious distance from the Plymouth settlement and its inhabitants. In the spring of 1621, Samoset, an Abenaki, made the initial contact with the English. A few days after this meeting, Samoset and Squanto translated the terms of the first treaty between the English and the Pokanoket





leader, Massasoit. For his part, Massasoit probably looked upon the English as potential allies against the more numerous and powerful Narragansetts, who had been relatively untouched by the recent epidemics of European disease.

Due to his extensive contact with the English, Squanto had far better command of their language than did Samoset, and the Pokanokets permitted him to remain in the Plymouth settlement. Squanto helped the Pilgrims obtain a quantity of maize, trained them in the planting and harvesting of the crop, and guided them on their excursions out of the Plymouth settlement. He also attempted to rebuild the Patuxets, scouring the region for survivors of the smallpox epidemic. This angered the Pokanokets, who saw this as a challenge, but the Plymouth colony protected Squanto. Squanto attempted to gain a measure of influence among other Native people in the area, claiming that, if they did not heed him, he could persuade his English friends to send a plague among them. While the Plymouth settlers did not approve of Squanto's actions, they realized that he was critical to their success, due to his abilities as a translator. At one point, the Pilgrims nearly went to war with nearby Native groups over the mere rumor that they had killed Squanto. When Squanto died in 1622, he asked the English to pray for him so that he could go to their heaven.

Roger M. Carpenter

*See also* Canonicus; Massasoit.

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## St. Clair, Arthur

Arthur St. Clair was born in England in 1737. In his youth, he entered the British Army with the rank of ensign. He came to America during the French and Indian War as an officer in the Sixtieth of Foot. At the end of hostilities, St. Clair retired from his commission, settling first in Boston and then moving to the Pennsylvania frontier, where he purchased some 4,000 acres in the Ligonier Valley, the title to which was disputed because it was west of the 1763 Royal Proclamation Line and controversial because only

the Haudenosaunees gave up claims to that area in the 1768 Treaty of Fort Stanwix. Other Native nations, such as the Delawares and the Shawnees, still considered the area to be Indian Country. Later, in the Ohio country, St. Clair continued his willingness to participate in the extension of disputed white settlements.

As the political situation between Great Britain and her North American colonies deteriorated in the early 1770s, St. Clair sided with the opposition to British rule. In July 1775 he was commissioned as a colonel in a regiment of Pennsylvania militia. Within a year, he joined the Continental Army and participated in the battles of Trenton (1776) and Princeton (1777).

In the course of his campaigning with the Continental Army, St. Clair earned the trust of George Washington. This trust led to St. Clair's appointment and brief service as an adjutant general of the Continental Army in 1777. Then Washington sent St. Clair to the northern department to help shore up the defenses. There he committed his most well-known act of the war when he abandoned Fort Ticonderoga between July 2 and 5, 1777, during General John Burgoyne's invasion of New York. While some assert that his military reasoning was sound, many contemporaries suspected St. Clair of disloyalty for abandoning the post. Many Patriots, including important figures in Congress feared that the campaign was lost and worried that they were henceforth risking their lives uselessly on other fronts in New York.

St. Clair's poor military planning at Ticonderoga would be evident again on the Ohio frontier. St. Clair could have delayed Burgoyne either by fortifying the heights across the lake from the fort (by failing to do this, he was careless at best and incompetent at worst) or by sustaining what would have been a long and admittedly bloody siege, which at least would have thrown Burgoyne even further off schedule. St. Clair held no important field commands for the remainder of the war. His last command was at West Point in October 1780. On November 3, 1783, Arthur St. Clair retired from the Continental Army, having attained the rank of Major General.

The retired officer next involved himself in national politics, serving in the Continental Congress from November 2, 1785, until November 28, 1787, eventually securing election to the post of president of the body. Next he was made first governor of the Northwest Territory, a post he held from 1789 until





1802. It was in his role as territorial governor that St. Clair had his most profound effects with respect to Native American history.

As governor, St. Clair speculated in Ohio land and ignored Indian rights as he oversaw the rapid, often tumultuous, and often illegal settlement of the Northwest Territory under the Ordinance of 1787. In January of 1789, as one his first acts in the new office, Arthur St. Clair presided over the Fort Harmar Conference, to speed European-American immigration to the area.

Shortly after the conference ended in a series of agreements known as the Fort Harmar Treaty, a force under Colonel Josiah Harmar was defeated in a concerted attack by a Native American alliance under Little Turtle. Harmer's defeat stunned the Army, whose commanders knew that the Old Northwest would remain closed to immigrants as long as Little Turtle's alliance held. Harmar's defeat pulled St. Clair back into military service.

St. Clair resumed his rank of major general, and gathered an army of 2,000 men during the summer of 1791, then marched into the Ohio country. About a quarter of the men deserted en route. To keep the others happy, St. Clair permitted about 200 soldiers' wives to travel with the army. Despite Harmar's defeat, they seemed to have little inkling of what lay in wait for them.

On November 4, 1791, the Miami/Mohican Little Turtle was one of the principal chiefs among a coalition of Shawnees, Miamis, Delawares, Potawatomis, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Wyandots in the Old Northwest (Ohio country), which defeated St. Clair's army of 1,400 soldiers. About 1,200 warriors, rallied by Little Turtle and aided by an element of surprise, lured St. Clair's forces into the same sort of trap as Colonel Harmar's force had fallen into, this time near St. Mary's Creek, a tributary of the Wabash River. Thirty-eight officers and 598 enlisted men died in the battle; 242 others were wounded, many of whom later died. Fifty-six wives also lost their lives, bringing the total death toll to about 950, a death toll higher than any inflicted on the United States by the British in any single battle of the American Revolution. The death toll was four times the number sustained by General George Armstrong Custer's unit at the Little Bighorn in 1876. After the battle, St. Clair resigned his commission in disgrace.

A Congressional Court of Inquiry later found St. Clair blameless in the defeat, instead placing the blame on Congress for not authorizing the campaign until late in the season, thus forcing it to

rely heavily on militia. The work of subjugating the Indian nations in the Northwest Territory next fell to Anthony Wayne. His campaign led eventually to the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794 and to the subsequent Treaty of Greeneville (also known as Greenville) in 1795. Arthur St. Clair died in poverty in 1818.

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*See also* Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Northwest Ordinance.

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## Standing Bear (Ponca); *Standing Bear v. Crook* (1879)

The *Standing Bear vs. Crook* court case began with the last request of a dying son and ended with a groundbreaking legal decision. For the first time, Native Americans were considered human beings under the law.

In 1877, the U.S. government told Chief Standing Bear ("Machunazha") and his Poncas that they must move from their Nebraska reservation to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). The government sent several tribal leaders to examine their new land, promising the Ponca that they could return to Nebraska if they were dissatisfied. The chiefs rejected the land as being barren, full of rocks and unsuitable for farming. However, they were told they had no choice; the tribe was moving.

Many Poncas died en route. By the end of 1878, only 430 of the 710 Poncas who had been sent to the Indian Territory were still alive; the rest had been lost to starvation and disease. One of the last to die was Standing Bear's 16-year-old son. He asked that his body be buried with those of his ancestors. Standing Bear promised, and in January 1879, he





headed north with a small burial party. They traveled by hidden trails and reached the Omaha Indian reservation before soldiers caught up with them.

General George Crook was ordered to arrest and return the Poncas. When he saw them, Crook was saddened by their pitiable condition and impressed with their stoicism. He contacted the *Omaha Daily Herald's* assistant editor Thomas Henry Tibbles, and enlisted his help. Crook believed his removal order was cruel, but felt powerless to do anything about it himself. He encouraged Tibbles to use his newspaper to "... fight against those who are robbing these helpless people" (Brown, 1970, 340–341).

Tibbles was able to enlist the help of two prominent attorneys, A. J. Poppleton and J. L. Webster. Using the Fourteenth Amendment as the basis of their case, they persuaded Judge Elmer S. Dundy to grant an application for a writ of *habeas corpus*. Webster quoted from the amendment, which states that all *persons* born or naturalized in the United States are citizens of the United States and cannot be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. Webster inferred that the Indians must then be citizens since they were born "on our soil. "If they are not citizens," he said, "what are they? Are they wild animals, deer to be chased by every hound?" (*Omaha Herald*, May 3, 1879, 8).

The second day of the trial climaxed with Standing Bear's testimony: "... You see me standing here. Where do you think I come from? From the water, the woods or where? God made me and he put me on my land. But, I was ordered to stand up and leave my land. When I got down there it seemed as if I was in a big fire. One-hundred and fifty-eight of my people were burned up; now I stand before you. I came away to save my wife and children and friends. I never want to go back there again. I want to go back to my old reservation to live there and be buried in the land of my fathers ... " (*Omaha Herald*, May 3, 1879, 8).

The trial ended with Judge Dundy declaring Standing Bear "a person under the law," and thus entitled to basic human rights. (*Omaha Republican*, May 12, 1879, 1). When the news reached the Ponca still in Oklahoma, Standing Bear's brother, Big Snake, decided to test the law and headed north with thirty of his followers. However, Dundy had written the law to apply only in the case of Standing Bear, so orders were sent to arrest Big Snake. He was bayoneted and killed while resisting arrest.

The first attempt by Indians to fulfill the high hopes created by Judge Dundy's decision had ended in the tragic death of an innocent man. Standing Bear, who had started the entire process by his simple desire to return his dead son to the land of his birth, now had a brother to bury as well. It had only been a few months since newspapers across the country had called for citizenship rights for peaceful Indians, but it was not until 1924, forty-five years later, that those citizenship rights, which had seemed so attainable in the spring of 1879, would finally be given to the First Americans.

Hugh J. Reilly

See also Jackson, Helern Hunt; LaFlesche, Susette.

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## Standing Bear, Luther

Remembered for his work as an author, school-teacher, rancher, store clerk, post office assistant, minister's aide, actor, lecturer, and chief of his *tiospaye* (extended family), Luther Standing Bear was one of the most widely known Lakota advocates for Indians in the early twentieth century.

Standing Bear was born between 1863 and 1868 at Ota Kte ("Breaking Up of Camp") at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. He was among the first class enrolled in 1879 at the U.S. Indian Industrial School in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, located in an abandoned U.S. Army military facility. He completed his final term in 1884 and returned to the Rosebud and Pine Ridge Reservations in South Dakota, where he lived off and on again for the next twenty-one years.



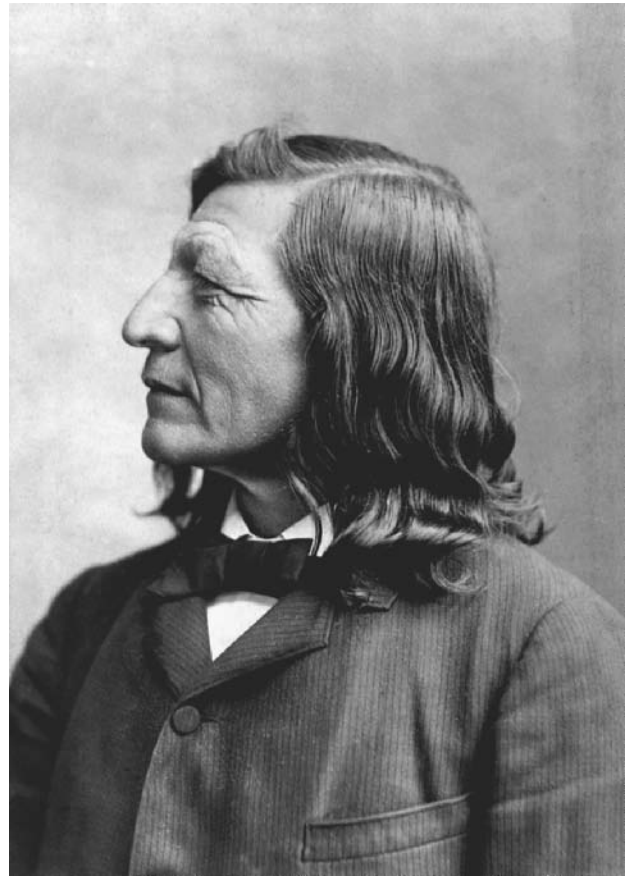


Standing Bear's experience at Carlisle taught him lessons that the non-Indian architects of government Indian education never intended. He became an advocate for using education as an instrument to defend Indian nations. In his third book, *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (1933), Standing Bear recognized that the subjects taught with the well-being of Indian peoples in mind would be different from those that non-Indians taught: "The Indian, by the very sense of duty, should become his own historian, giving his account of the race—fairer and fewer accounts of the wars and more of statecraft, legends, language, oratory, and philosophical conceptions" (Standing Bear, 1933, 254).

In 1891, Standing Bear was among the founders of the Oglala Society of the Pine Ridge Reservation, where gatherings in the Allen Issue Station District offered opportunities, in his words, "where we could discuss matters of importance to the tribe, and suggest ways and means to better our conditions" (Standing Bear, 1928, 235). In 1912 he joined the Society of American Indians, a critical forum at the headwaters of a century-long process among Indians to reclaim the authority to represent themselves in culture, policies, and politics. After 1916, in California, he was a member of the American Indian Progressive Association and the National League for Justice to the American Indian.

For one season, until the serious injuries he suffered in a train wreck almost ended his life in 1904, Standing Bear was an actor in the Wild West shows produced by William F. Cody. In 1905 he was chosen to replace his deceased father as chief of his *tiospaye*. After the government reclassified him as a U.S. citizen, Standing Bear worked in Iowa at a dry goods firm and at the 101 Ranch in Oklahoma. He moved to Los Angeles in 1916, where he became an actor in Hollywood Westerns. Standing Bear's early silent films included *White Oak* (1921). His later sound movies included *The Santa Fe Trail* (1930), *The Conquering Horde* (1931), *Circle of Death* (1935), and *Fighting Pioneers* (1935).

In addition to essays and articles, Standing Bear published four books between 1928 and 1934 with the help of his niece: *My People the Sioux* (1928), *My Indian Boyhood* (1931), *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (1933), and *Stories of the Sioux* (1934). Negotiating the problem of representing Indians in a second language was his most enduring accomplishment. Standing Bear wrote to correct injustices—to represent, in his words, "explanations [of things done by the Indian] that are more often than not



Luther Standing Bear was one of the most widely known Lakota advocates for Indians in the early twentieth century. (Library of Congress)

erroneous" (Standing Bear, 1933, 42). In the language of the destroyers of indigenous worlds, he fought back against predictions of Indian demise, destructive government policies, and the contagious diseases that slaughtered his and other extended families. He located the cause of these problems outside of Indian cultures. "The Lakotas were blessed with good health . . . [a]nd as far as I can remember there was no such thing as a contagious disease" (Standing Bear, 1933, 60). He located the cure inside Indian cultures: "It is the unquenchable spirit that has saved him—his clinging to Indian ways, Indian thought, and tradition, that has kept him and is keeping him today" (Standing Bear, 1933, 190).

Standing Bear died in Huntington, California, on February 19, 1939, during the filming of *Union Pacific*.

D. Anthony Tyee Clark (Meskwaki)





See also Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Crook, George; Society of American Indians.

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## Sullivan, General John and the Haudenosaunee Holocaust of 1779

The term "holocaust" is wedded in the public mind to the experience of the Jews of Europe from 1933 to 1945. However, the Iroquois experienced a holocaust during the eighteenth century in upstate New York, western Pennsylvania, and Ohio during the American Revolution (Parker, 1926, 126). Ever since the 1779 scorched-earth attacks by General John Sullivan, General James Clinton, Colonel Goose Van Schaick, and Colonel Daniel Brodhead, the immigrants have been known to eastern Natives as the Town Destroyers (ASP, 1998, 1: 140).

Typically, American histories slim the coordinated assaults by these military operatives down to the Sullivan campaign, ignoring the full intent and extent of the orders of George Washington, their commander in chief. Washington ordered his lead general, Sullivan, to destroy the Iroquois utterly, not because of their alliance with the British, but very specifically because he considered "the Six Nations of Indians, with their associates and adherents" the enemy. He consequently announced his "immediate objects" to be "the total destruction and devastation of their settlements" (Sparks, 1855, 6: 264). The Revolutionary Army was "to lay waste all the settlements around, with instructions to do it in the most effectual manner, that the country may not be merely overrun, but destroyed" (Sparks, 1855, 6: 265). Washington even specified that terrorism was part of his order, for the Army was to make it a point "to rush on with the war-whoop and fixed bayonet" because "[n]othing w[ould] disconcert and terrify the Indians more than this" (Sparks, 1855, 6: 265).

Washington thus ordered total war, for the people being rushed upon with fixed bayonet were women, children, and old folks. The American battle cry of danger to settlers on the "frontiers"—i.e., Native lands as yet unseized—was a pretext and a rationale for whipping up armies to commit genocide, the preferred method for "clearing" the land of its original people in favor of European settlers (Mann, 2005, 51–54). Furthermore, Washington had what today would be viewed as a serious conflict of interest in ordering the attacks, for the ultimate prize was Ohio, and the Washington family basically owned the Ohio Company, which speculated heavily in real estate that was then in the fiercely protected possession of Native nations (Kutler, 2003, 6: 175). He had personally surveyed Ohio Company land for speculation during the French and Indian War (Clark, 1995, 22, 27–28; Fitzpatrick, 1925, 1: 43–46, 77, 416, 449).

Moreover, the Continental Congress paid its army recruits in land warrants, issued on property to be seized in Ohio. The only way to pay its debts was actually to break the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) League and appropriate Ohio, a move that would enrich Washington. Should the new United States fail to take Ohio, to pay its debts, and to establish its financial and political credit, European nations would reclaim the states as their colonies. These complex interactions explain the absolute and driving need of Washington to break the League and seize Ohio, a feat that he finally managed in 1795 (Mann, 2004, 135–201).

Washington's plan called for a two-pronged attack by the major forces under Sullivan at Easton, New Jersey, and under Clinton at Canajoharie, New York, converging on upstate and western New York. Van Schaick was specifically to target the Onondagas (as the perceived seat of Iroquoian government). Meantime, Brodhead was to rush north from Fort Pitt to meet up with the combined forces of Sullivan, Clinton, and Van Schaick in western New York, thus cutting the New York Iroquois off from Pennsylvania and Ohio aid. If possible, the combined armies were, after devastating the Iroquois, to march on Niagara, the British headquarters, but that was always more of a desire than an actual goal.

In fact, due to Sullivan's petulant dawdling, Van Schaick's attack occurred in April 1779, well before the main force left (Egley, 1992, 60–65). Also ready in April, Brodhead was told to stand down, given the laggardly pace of the main army, but he went ahead with his original orders, setting up forts along the





Allegheny Mountains in the spring and summer and setting off on August 6, 1779, to meet Sullivan's main force (Cook, 1972, 307–308; Hammond, 1939, 3: 88; Sparks, 6: 206, 224–225). Finally, on August 9, 1779, Sullivan and Clinton simultaneously lumbered out of their separate headquarters, meeting up at Tioga (Cook, 1972, 84, 93, 201). Whereas Van Schaick marched with the main body, Brodhead never quite hooked up with it, attaining only Olean Point, forty miles distant from the main force (Edson, 1879, 663; Mann, 2005, 46; Stone, 1924, 95).

It is important to understand that the Iroquois did not want the war, avoided participating in it as long as they could, and, once coerced into it, chose removing women, children, and elders from harm's way over standing to fight the Revolutionary Army. At the outset of British–American hostilities, League speakers explicitly told both sides that they were neutral. This did not stop the Americans from attacking any and all “Indians,” including those allied with them, or the British from deliberately engineering an attack by the Americans on the neutral Senecas at the Battle of Oriskany to drag the League into the war on the crown's side. The resultant disagreement among League nations as to their stances led to the incident in which the fire at Onondaga was put out in 1777, but this simply meant that the issue was tabled, with each of the League's constituent nations free to form its own policy. The League itself was not dissolved, as many Western historians still erroneously assert (Mann, 2005, 10–15).

To ensure that the Iroquois would be wiped off the face of the earth, Congress authorized Washington to raise a total army of 5,163, to be shared among Van Schaick (558), Clinton (1,500), and Sullivan (2,500), with Brodhead to join the fray, bringing his 605 men from Fort Pitt (Egly, 1992, 61; Hammond, 1939, 3: 147; NYSHA 1933, 4: 202). By contrast, the Iroquois League, at its peak in 1777, had but a thousand soldiers (Cruikshank, 1893, 35). By 1779, those numbers had dwindled. By the time of the one “battle” of the Sullivan campaign, fought at Newtown (Elmira, New York) on August 29, 1779, the Confederate forces under Thayendenegea (Joseph Brant), the Mohawk war chief, and Colonel John Butler, the British commander, had seriously thinned.

According to Butler, the *combined* strength of the British and Native Confederates amounted to fewer than six hundred men the day of the Newtown battle (Flick, 1929, 282). In his formal report, Sullivan greatly exaggerated this number to 1,500, but even his own commanders falsified that count at the time,



*John Sullivan became a brigadier general in the Continental Army. In 1779 he led a brutal, “scorched earth” expedition against elements of the Six Nations whom he defined as enemies. (Library of Congress)*

and historians since then have pegged the Native numbers at those reported by Thayendanegea and Butler (Cook, Journals: 298, officers. Graymont, 1972, 208; Mann, 2005, 80, 82–84). Furthermore, whereas Sullivan's men had been feasting their way across Iroquois on crops they were destroying, the British and Native troops were literally starving, living on rations of seven ears of green corn per day each, with many suffering greatly from the “Ague” (Cruikshank, 1893, 71; Flick, 1929, 284, 293). The Battle of Newtown was therefore a complete rout of the Confederacy, but the Native purpose had never been to defeat the Sullivan army. The Iroquois were buying time to evacuate their people.

The American attacks of 1779 had the intended genocidal effect, destroying a total of at least sixty towns, a number that would, even today, knock out any state of the Union. Van Schaick racked up three towns (Cook, 1972, 17, 193; Egly, 1992, 62; Mann, 2005, 28–36); Brodhead, sixteen (Edson, 1879, 663; Flick, 1929, 285, 291; Mann, 2005, 39–48; Stone, 1924, 94, 95, 96); and Sullivan–Clinton, forty-one (Cook, 1972, 380–82). The destruction was complete, with all





housing within the sweep of the combined armies completely burned, all crops looted (to support the Americans) and/or burned, all household and farm implements destroyed or looted, and all of the once magnificent peach and apple orchards of the League cut down. In addition, all animals of the fields and forests were consumed by the Americans, along with the fishes of the waters. The American soldiers took numerous scalps for the lucrative bounties that the states and Congress offered on Native dead, with one soldier, Timothy Murphy, racking up thirty-three scalps by himself (Cook, 1972, 162). American soldiers also skinned Natives, making shoes and other items from their tanned "hides" (for skinning, see Cook, 1972, 8, 240, 244, 279; for a detailed description of the destruction, see Mann, 2005, 58–106).

Because the American attacks of 1778 had already induced famine in Iroquoia (Mann, 2005, 20–22), there was no buffer for the effects of the Sullivan campaign. In addition, the winter of 1779–1780 was the severest on record, with New York harbor freezing solid and snows drifting several feet high from New York through Ohio, precluding hunting (Edson, 1879, 667; Seaver, 1990, 60). As the Seneca adoptee Mary Jemison so wrenchingly documented the effect on Natives at the time, "but what were our feelings when we found that there was not a mouthful of any kind of sustenance left, not even enough to keep a child one day from perishing with hunger" (Seaver, 1990, 59). Thousands of Natives died as an immediate result of the dire starvation caused by the attacks. Many more died as refugees, 5,036 at Niagara (Graymont, 1972, 220; Mann, 2005, 106–108), and another 5,000 at British Detroit (Haldiman Papers, 10: 444–445, Mann, 2005, 111).

The Americans lost no time in seizing the land that had recently hosted Iroquoian farms; the settlers ploughed up corn charred in the Sullivan despoliation (Wright, 1943, 4: 3). In 1879, a massive centennial was mounted in New York to celebrate the Sullivan campaign as a great moment in U.S. history (Cook, 1972, 331–579), and it is still celebrated to this day by Euro-Americans who, hopefully, do not realize that they are exalting an act of genocide.

Barbara Alice Mann

**See also** American Revolution Native American Participation; Brant, Joseph; Genocide; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System.

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## Tammany Society

Many colonial Americans viewed American society as a synthesis of Native American and European cultures. The Tammany Society, a classic example of the blending of the two cultures, was a broad-based popular movement that reinforced the founders' usage of symbols and ideological concepts indigenous to North America. The celebration of Tammany Day may have been an attempt to adapt May Day and other Old World holidays to the new American environment.

Subsequently, when it inherited the patriotic mantle of the Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia, the Tammany Society espoused a philosophy that America was a unique synthesis of the best and noblest aspects of Europe and America. Building on their own experiences with American Indians, founding fathers like James Madison and Thomas Jefferson used the Tammany Society and its membership to forge a new democratic party after the formation of the U.S. Constitution. Other founding fathers like Benjamin Franklin, John Dickinson, and Benjamin Rush became influential members of the Society.

To the Tammany Society, American Indians were more than a symbol of freedom. To members of the Revolutionary generation, American Indians represented a wellspring of new ideas that freed Europeans from the antiquated ideas of class and autocratic government that had so long existed in Europe. In the late eighteenth century, Tammany Society members from Georgia to Rhode Island to the Ohio River frequently consulted with American Indian leaders and sought to study American Indian languages and ideas. The Society's members emphasized concepts and values that founders such as Franklin and Jefferson found in Native societies, including a weak executive (except in war), popular participation in government, and charity for the poor. Even James Madison was compelled to seek out the Iroquois and their council when he became disillusioned with the Articles of Confederation in 1784.

Although the early history of the Tammany Society is ambiguous, it appears that King Tammany, a Delaware chief friendly to William Penn, became a popular figure in the folklore of early Pennsylvania. The Tammany Society became an avenue for the expression of a regional American identity by the mideighteenth century. The Society's ability to synthesize American and European values and to forge a new identity made it a potent force in creating a national identity as well. Its use of an amalgam of American Indian symbols and the figure of Christopher Columbus denotes that the American colonists were willing and able to change both American Indian and European values in their quest for a viable American identity before, during, and after the American Revolution.

The Tammany Society believed that Penn's friendship with the Delaware chief, Tammany, was a product of Penn's sincerity in dealing with the Delawares. Perhaps Penn's initial successes with the Delawares and also with the Iroquois were based on the common understanding of the amicable feelings of peace among all human beings that leads to an equitable and just society.

Initially, Penn dealt with the Unami (Turtle Totem) Leni Lenápe (Delaware) tribe when he came to Pennsylvania, and Delaware Chief Tammany played a prominent role in the early treaties negotiated with Penn. Although the real Tammany's mark appeared on only two treaties (June 23, 1683 and June 15, 1692), he was destined to become a legendary figure in U.S. and Pennsylvania history and folklore. Tradition has it that Tammany's name





meant “the affable” and that he was one of the Delaware Indians who welcomed William Penn on his arrival in America on October 27, 1682. By July 6, 1694, in a meeting between the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania and a delegation of Indians, Tammany had become a strong supporter of the whites and their policies. From these facts and folklore, a legendary Tammany was constructed in the early eighteenth century that was the white man’s friend and counselor.

Chief Tammany’s mythic importance among the people of Philadelphia crystallized when a group of Quakers established the Schuylkill Fishing Company in 1732. Claiming that their fishing rights in the Schuylkill River had been given to them by the Delaware chief and friend to William Penn, Tammany, the company adopted him as its patron saint. The saint’s day was designated as May 1, the traditional beginning of the fishing season. At this time, Chief Tammany was viewed by many Philadelphians as a nature spirit whose ritual day was celebrated to ensure a bountiful fishing season, but he seems also to have been associated with a resolve to protect the fishing rights (and, by proxy, the political rights) of its members.

Within a decade, the Schuylkill Fishing Company began to fictionalize Tammany by creating mottoes attributed to him. In 1747, the company gave a cannon to the Association Battery of Philadelphia, stamped *Kwanio Che Keeteru* [“This is my right, and I will defend it”], a phrase attributed to Tammany. The phrase was ripe with implications for the increasingly restless colonists. By the time of the Stamp Act crisis eighteen years later, images of the American Indian, often as Tammany, were being used widely as a symbol of resistance to British authority. The colonists were beginning to forge a new identity, calling themselves “Americans,” a word used in place of their former European nationalities. The colonists were surprisingly conscious of the composite European-American identity they were creating.

The influence of the Tammany Society extended to the end of the nineteenth century; its members often brought prominent Iroquois leaders, such as Cornplanter, to Philadelphia to meet with important political figures, including George Washington.

Bruce E. Johansen

See also Cornplanter; Penn, William, Quakers, and Native Americans.

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## Tecumseh

The Shawnee Tecumseh (ca. 1768–1813), was a major military leader and alliance builder who sought to stop European-American expansion into the Ohio Valley area early in the nineteenth century, after alliances led by Pontiac and Little Turtle had failed. For a time, Tecumseh assembled an alliance that posed the last major obstacle to Anglo-American expansion across the Ohio Valley westward to the Mississippi River.

Tecumseh was born about 1768 near present-day Oldtown, Ohio. He fought as a young warrior at the Battle of Fallen Timbers. Tecumseh’s influence grew rapidly as he came of age, not only because of his acumen as a statesman and a warrior, but also because he forbade the torture of prisoners. Immigrants and Tecumseh’s Native American allies trusted Tecumseh implicitly.

Tecumseh was raised from birth to make war on the encroaching European-Americans by his mother, Methoataske, whose husband, the Shawnee Puckeshinwa, had been killed in cold blood by immigrants when Tecumseh was a boy. Tecumseh and his mother found him dying. As he watched his father die, Tecumseh vowed to become like “a fire spreading over the hill and valley, consuming the race of dark souls” (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 383). A few years later, Tecumseh’s hatred for the immigrants was compounded by the murder of Cornstalk, a Shawnee chief who had been his mentor.

By the turn of the century, as the number of non-Indian immigrants grew, Tecumseh began to assemble the Shawnees, Delawares, Ottawas, Ojibwas, Kickapoos, and Wyandots into a confederation with the aim of establishing a permanent Native American confederation that would act as a buffer zone between the United States to the east and English Canada to the north. One observer recalled Tecumseh as a commanding speaker. His voice was





said to have “resounded over the multitude, his words like a succession of thunderbolts” (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 384).

Rallying Native allies with an appeal for alliance about 1805, Tecumseh urged all Indians in the area to unite as brothers, as sons of one Mother Earth. He scoffed at the idea of selling the land. Why not sell the air? He asked. The sale of land, to Tecumseh, was contrary to the ways of nature. He tried to unite the southern tribes by appealing to history:

Where today are the Pequot? Where are the Narragansett, the Mohican, the Pocanet, and other powerful tribes of our people? They have vanished before the avarice and oppression of the white man, as snow before the summer sun. Will we let ourselves be destroyed in our turn, without an effort worthy of our race? Shall we, without a struggle, give up our homes, our lands, bequeathed to us by the Great Spirit? The graves of our dead and everything that is dear and sacred to us? I know you will say with me: never! Never!” (Armstrong, 1984, 45).

Tecumseh told representatives of southern Native nations that they faced extinction: Our broad domains are fast escaping from our grasp. Every year our white intruders become more greedy, exacting, oppressive, and overbearing. Before the palefaces came among us, we enjoyed the happiness of unbounded freedom, and were acquainted with neither riches, wants, nor oppression. How is it now? Wants and oppression are our lot. Dare we move without asking, by your leave. Are we not being stripped, day by day, of the little that remains of our ancient liberty? Do they not even kick and strike us as they do their black-faces? How long will it be before they will tie us to a post and whip us, and make us work for them? Shall we wait for that moment or shall we die fighting before submitting to such ignominy? (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 384).

Territorial governor (and U.S. Army general) William Henry Harrison tried to undermine the growing strength of Tecumseh’s Native alliance by negotiating treaties with individual Native nations. Because only a portion of each nation’s warriors elected to follow Tecumseh, Harrison found it easy enough to find “treaty Indians” among those who

did not elect to fight. By 1811, Harrison had negotiated at least fifteen treaties, all of which Tecumseh repudiated.

Harrison’s wariness of Tecumseh’s power sprung from a deep respect for him. “The implicit obedience and respect which the followers of Tecumseh pay to him is really astonishing and more than any other circumstance bespeaks him [as] one of those uncommon geniuses, which spring up occasionally to produce revolutions and to overturn the established order of things,” said Harrison. He continued: “If it were not for the vicinity of the United States, he would, perhaps, be the founder of an Empire that would rival in glory Mexico or Peru. No difficulties deter him” (Hamilton, 1972, 159).

Tecumseh was particularly galled by Harrison’s choice as his territorial capital the village of Chilli-cothe, the same site (with the same name) as the Shawnees’ former principal settlement. The name itself is anglicized Shawnee for “principal town.” At one treaty council, Tecumseh found himself seated next to Harrison on a bench. Tecumseh slowly but aggressively pushed Harrison off the edge of the bench, then told him that this was what the immigrants were doing to his people. They were being slowly squeezed off their lands. During his last conference with Tecumseh, Harrison bid the chief to take a chair. “Your father requests you take a chair,” an interpreter told Tecumseh, to which he replied, defiantly: “My father! The sun is my father and the Earth is my mother. I will repose upon her bosom” (Gill, 1987, 14). Tecumseh then sat, cross-legged, on the ground.

Tecumseh also was angry over Harrison’s treaty of September 30, 1809, with the Delawares, Potawatomies, Miamis, Kickapoos, Wea, and Eel River peoples. For \$8,200 in cash and \$2,350 in annuities, Harrison had laid claim on behalf of the United States to roughly 3 million acres of rich hunting land along the Wabash River in the heart of the area in which Tecumseh wished to build his Native confederacy. When Tecumseh and his brother, also a Shawnee war chief, complained to Harrison that the treaty terms were unfair, Harrison at first rebuked Tecumseh by saying that the Shawnees had not even been part of the treaty. The implicit refusal to recognize Tecumseh’s alliance angered the Indians even more. Realizing that Tecumseh’s influence made it politic for him to do so, Harrison agreed to meet with him. At a meeting on August 12, 1810, each side drew up several hundred battle-ready warriors and





soldiers. Harrison agreed to relay Tecumseh's complaints to the president, and Tecumseh said that his warriors would join the Americans against the British if Harrison would annul the treaty.

Nothing came of Harrison's promises, and, the following year, bands of warriors allied with Tecumseh began ranging out of the settlement of Tippecanoe to terrorize nearby farmsteads and small backwoods settlements. Harrison said he would wipe out Tippecanoe if the raids did not stop; Tecumseh said they would stop when the land signed away under the 1810 treaty was returned. Tecumseh then journeyed southward to bring the Creeks, Chickasaws, and Choctaws into his alliance. Tecumseh carried the message that he had used to recruit other allies:

Brothers—When the white men first set foot on our grounds, they were hungry. They had no place on which to spread their blankets, or to kindle their fires. They were feeble; they could do nothing for themselves. Our fathers commiserated with their distress, and shared freely with them whatever the Great Spirit had given his red children. They gave them food when hungry, medicine when sick, spread skins for them to sleep on, and gave them ground so that they might hunt and raise corn. Brothers—the white people are like poisonous serpents: when chilled, they are feeble, and harmless, but invigorate them with warmth, and they sting their benefactors to death (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 385–386).

Tecumseh failed, for the most part, to bring new allies into his alliance. While he was traveling, the command of the existing alliance fell to Tecumseh's brother, Tenskwatawa, who was called The Prophet. On September 26, 1811, Harrison decamped at Vincennes with more than 900 men, two-thirds of them Indian allies. He built a fort and named it after himself on the present-day site of Terre Haute, Indiana. Harrison then sent two Miamis to The Prophet to demand the return of property Harrison alleged had been stolen in the raids, along with the surrender of Indians he accused of murder. The Miamis did not return to Harrison's camp. The governor's army marched to within sight of Tippecanoe and met with Tenskwatawa, who invited them to make camp, relax, and negotiate. Harrison's forces did stop, but set up in battle configurations, as The Prophet's warriors readied an attack.

Within two hours of pitched battle, Harrison's forces routed the Indians, then burned the village of Tippecanoe as Tenskwatawa's forces scattered into the woods. Returning to the devastation from his travels, Tecumseh fled to British Canada, where, in the War of 1812, he was put in command of a force of whites and Indians as a British brigadier general. Harrison's forces met Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames, in what is now Ontario, east of today's Windsor. Tecumseh was killed during that battle on October 5, 1813. After it, some of the Kentucky militia who had taken part in it found a body they thought was Tecumseh's and cut strips from it for souvenirs. His warriors, who had dispersed in panic when Tecumseh died, said later that they had taken his body with them. Having committed twenty thousand men and \$5 million to the cause, the United States had effectively terminated armed Indian resistance in the Ohio Valley and the surrounding areas.

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*See also* Fallen Timbers, Battle of; Harrison, William Henry; Tenskwatawa.

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## Tekakwitha, Kateri

Kateri (Catherine) Tekakwitha, a seventeenth-century Mohawk, is the only Native American to have been beatified (acclaimed at one step from sainthood) by the Roman Catholic Church. Her life also reflects the tensions between Christians and the Mohawks who refused to be converted.





Tekakwitha, who became known as the Lily of the Mohawks, was born in 1656 in Ossernenon (also known as Auriesville), New York, to a Mohawk father and an Algonquian mother who had been Christianized, then taken captive by the Mohawks a few years before Kateri's birth. She was born into a world of deadly tension between Native peoples and immigrant Jesuit priests. During the 1640s, eight Jesuits were tortured and killed in Ossernenon, after which, in 1667, the French sent troops to avenge the murders. Kateri thus spent much of her youth in a village under French military and religious occupation; the Mohawks had been compelled to accept Jesuits in their midst under duress.

Some of the priests had done their best to convince Mohawks in Ossernenon and the vicinity that their God would punish Natives who did not adopt their faith. After a deadly smallpox epidemic swept the area during Tekakwitha's youth (killing her younger brother, mother, and father), the priests were marked men. Catherine contracted smallpox and her face was disfigured by it, but she didn't die. Orphaned at the age of four, an uncle took responsibility for her.

Despite the fact that the uncle detested the Jesuits, he was ordered to lodge three of them in his home following the occupation of the village in 1667. Kateri became their hostess at the age of eleven. In subsequent years, she continued to bond with the missionaries to the point of refusing to marry in order to maintain her virginity. In retaliation, some of Kateri's relatives withheld food and threatened her life. Resisting these pressures, however, Tekakwitha continued to befriend the priests as several of her neighbors were converted gradually to Catholicism. She was baptized with the name Catherine in 1676. After that, she was harassed as she walked to the village chapel; on one occasion, a warrior taunted Kateri with a wax axe. Others accused Tekakwitha of inviting her uncle into bed to compromise her purported Christian virginity.

Shortly after the sexual rumors, Kateri moved to the Saint Francis Xavier mission in Kahnawake, near Montreal. Her uncle is said to have followed her, threatening to kill Kateri and family members who had accompanied her to Kahnawake; He was not successful. At the mission, she studied Christian theology intensively. Kateri continued to resist pressure to marry, eventually becoming associated with the nuns at the Hotel Dieu hospital in Ville Marie (Mon-

tréal). In 1679, Tekakwitha took a formal vow of chastity under Catholic auspices, the first Iroquois to do so.

Controversy attended her vow, however. Kateri stopped participating in hunting expeditions after her half-sister alleged that her husband had been seduced by the purported virgin. Instead, Kateri remained at the mission, practicing penance to the point of self-punishment, saying the Rosary for long periods of time barefoot at the foot of a cross planted in snow, eating food laced with ashes, and sometimes sleeping on a bed of thorns. The mission's priests did not dissuade her. Instead, they acclaimed her reverence and dedication to God.

On April 17, 1680, at the end of a long winter of self-inflicted suffering, Kateri fell ill and died during Holy Week. Since that time, a body of myth has grown up around her life and premature death. It is said, for example, that as Kateri died her face radiated light and lost all the scars inflicted on her by smallpox. Some people who pray in her memory are said to have experienced miracle cures.

In 1884, the Jesuits petitioned the Vatican for her canonization as a saint. In 1943, she was venerated by the Vatican, and, in 1980, she was declared beatified, another step toward sainthood. At least 300 full or partial biographies of Kateri's life have been published, in twenty languages, the most recent in 2005 (Greer, 2005, xi). She also has been the subject of several plays, operas, and films; places where she was known to have lived have become pilgrimage sites for devout Catholics.

Despite all of her postmortem acclaim, at least one ethnohistorian, K. I. Koppedray, asserts, based on his examination of historical records, that the Jesuits invented Kateri Tekakwitha to provide an exemplary model for conversions of Native Americans to Catholicism. He points to a lack of independent oral history as an indication that she was an entirely fabricated figure.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Missionaries, French Jesuit.

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## Tenskwatawa

Tenskwatawa probably was born in 1775 at Old Piqua, Ohio; he died November 1836 at present-day Kansas City, Kansas. Tenskwatawa, also known as the Shawnee Prophet or simply The Prophet, was an important religious political leader in the early nineteenth century Great Lakes–Ohio Valley region.

Tenskwatawa was born as part of a set of triplets into a family of at least six older brothers and sisters. Prior to his birth, their Shawnee war chief father, Puckeshinwa, died in the 1775 Battle of Point Pleasant, Ohio. Their Creek mother, Methoataske, left the Ohio in 1779 and entrusted her children—Tenskwatawa, Tecumseh (who would grow up to be one of the most famous orators and military leaders of all time), and another child—to an older sister, Tecumapease. His childhood name was Lalawethika (“rattle” or “noisemaker”).

In 1804 Lalawethika assumed the role of community shaman when the renowned shaman Penagashea died. Lalawethika had been studying with him since 1795. After a series of visions in 1805, Lalawethika changed his name to Tenskwatawa, meaning “The Open Door.” In the visions Tenskwatawa met the Master of Life who showed him heaven and hell, as well as giving him instructions on how to avoid one while gaining admission to the other. Tenskwatawa preached that Indians must give up alcohol, reject Christianity, destroy their medicine bags, and respect all life. If the Master of Life’s teachings were followed, Tenskwatawa claimed that the dead and animals would be restored. Adherents were given “prayer sticks” inscribed with prayers for the Master of Life (Edmunds, 2004). He also claimed that Americans were products of the evil Great Serpent who, assisted by witches, spread death and destruction. Tenskwatawa nonetheless proposed that trade continue with the Anglo-Americans, but only on terms set by the Indians until it was no longer needed. Finally, the Nativist vision of Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh included a call for pan-Indian unity to resist encroachments on Indian lands by Europeans (Dowd, 1992, 382–383). Of the brothers, Tenskwatawa’s approach was more spiritual, while Tecumseh’s was more pragmatic, but both were very persuasive.

Immediately following his vision and explanations, Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh established a village near Greenville, Ohio, and called for all Indian people to settle there. This settlement was a direct challenge to the 1795 Treaty of Greenville. Tenskwatawa participated in witchcraft trials among the



*A Shawnee mystic and the brother of Tecumseh, Tenskwatawa appointed himself prophet in 1805. Laulewasika was his given name, but he adopted the name Elkskwatawa, and later Tenskwatawa, The Prophet. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)*

Delawares and Wyandots in 1806. Those accused of witchcraft were individuals who appeared to be acculturated to the immigrants’ ways. As his prestige and popularity grew, the settlement of Greenville proved to be inadequate. This resulted in the establishment of Prophetstown in 1808 at the mouth of the Tippecanoe River.

Here the brothers’ influence was interpreted as a threat by governor of Indiana William Henry Harrison. In 1811, when Tecumseh was in the South building a pan-Indian coalition, Harrison and about 1,000 men attacked Prophetstown, defeating Tenskwatawa and his followers. This event was the nadir of Tenskwatawa’s power among the Great Lakes nations. Prophetstown was rebuilt shortly after Harrison left the area, and Tenskwatawa continued to participate in the major events of the War of 1812, although he did not participate in any of the





actual fighting. In 1813, at the Battle of the Thames, Tenskwatawa fled with the British, leaving Tecumseh and dozens of other warriors to die while protecting their retreat. The American victory in this battle effectively ended British and Indian power in the Old Northwest.

Denied admission to the United States in 1815, Tenskwatawa and a few Shawnee followers remained in Upper Canada until 1824. In 1826, two years after his return, Tenskwatawa and the Shawnees were removed from the Ohio Valley. They traveled to Kaskaskia and western Missouri, eventually reaching the Shawnee reservation in Kansas in 1828. Tenskwatawa sat for a portrait by American artist George Catlin in 1832 and died in 1836.

Karl S. Hele

See *also* Catlin, George; Harrison, William Henry; Tecumseh.

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## Thorpe, Jim

Hailed as the greatest athlete during the first half of the twentieth century, Jim Thorpe excelled in football, baseball, and track. Born James Francis Thorpe on May 28, 1888, in Indian Territory (now Okla-

homa), Thorpe and his twin brother Charles were the second and third children of six. His father, Hiram Thorpe, was of Irish and Sac-Fox Indian descent. His mother was one-quarter French and three-quarters Chippewa, being the granddaughter of the famous Sac-Fox leader, Black Hawk. Thorpe's Indian name was Wa-tho-huck, meaning Bright Path.

One year after Jim and Charles were born, the Thorpe family acquired a 160-acre farm in Oklahoma during the Oklahoma land rush of 1889. Thorpe was an extremely active child and learned how to ride, swim, and hunt at a young age. He was educated at the Sac-Fox reservation school, the Haskell Institute in Lawrence, Kansas, and finally the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania beginning in 1904.

Thorpe wanted to study to become an electrician at Carlisle, but ended up learning to be a tailor. While at Carlisle, he became more active in organized sports, particularly football. His athletic ability brought him to the attention of Carlisle's athletic coach, "Pop" Warner, who decided to groom Thorpe for track, as well as football. Warner elevated Thorpe from the junior varsity to the varsity football team, where he spent most of the 1908 season on the bench.

During the summer of 1909, Thorpe traveled southward to work on a farm as part of his work commitment to the Carlisle School. He joined the Carolina League and played professional baseball for Winston-Salem, Fayetteville, and Rocky Mount, remaining for the 1910 season as well. In 1911, he returned to Carlisle for two years to complete his education and, at Warner's urging, set his sights on competing in the 1912 Olympics in track and field.

The Olympic Games of 1912 at Stockholm, Sweden, represented the pinnacle of Thorpe's athletic career. He competed in both the five-event pentathlon (running broad jump, javelin throw, 200-meter race, discus, and 1,500-meter race) and the ten-event decathlon (100-meter dash, running broad jump, shotput, running high jump, 400-meter race, discus throw, 110-meter high hurdles, pole vault, javelin throw, and 1,500-meter race). In the pentathlon, Thorpe placed first in four out of the five events. In the decathlon, he set a record that would not be broken for another fifteen years. His achievements earned him the gold medal in both events. King Gustav V of Sweden proclaimed him to be "the greatest athlete in the world," to which Thorpe famously replied, "Thanks, King."





*Hailed as the greatest athlete of the first half of the twentieth century, Jim Thorpe excelled in football, baseball, track, and other sports. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

In January 1913, however, a scandal erupted when Olympic officials realized that Thorpe had played professional baseball, thus making him ineligible for the Olympics because he had compromised his amateur standing. The Amateur Athletic Union stripped him of his Olympic medals and removed his accomplishments from the Olympic record.

When Thorpe returned to the United States, in 1913, he married Iva Miller in the first of his three marriages. The couple had four children, three daughters, and a son. Thorpe continued to play college football and was named to the all-American

team. Upon his graduation from Carlisle in 1913, Thorpe returned to professional baseball and joined the New York Giants as a right fielder. Thorpe continued playing baseball until 1919, at various times for the Giants, the Cincinnati Reds, and the Boston Braves. In 1920, Thorpe helped organize the American Professional Football Association (which became the National Football League in 1922) and served as the organization's first president. He also played for teams in Canton (Ohio), New York, and St. Petersburg (Florida).

Following his divorce from Iva in 1924, Thorpe married Freeda Kirkpatrick. The couple had four sons. He retired from football in 1929 and moved to Hollywood, where he tried to sell his life story. Although Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) bought the rights, the picture was never made, and Thorpe turned instead to writing, publishing a book for the 1932 Olympics held in Los Angeles entitled *Jim Thorpe's History of the Olympics*. Ultimately, he ended up working construction and appearing in bit parts in films. His one significant role was as a supporting character in the 1937 Errol Flynn film, *The Green Light*.

He returned to Oklahoma in 1937 and became active in Native American affairs. In 1940, he embarked on a public lecture tour across the United States, speaking on current sports, his own career, the importance of sports in American life, and Native American culture. Too old for active military service during World War II, Thorpe briefly joined the merchant marines in June 1945. Divorced from Freeda in 1949, in June of the same year, he married for the third time, to Patricia Gladys Askew. After the war ended, he returned to California, where in late 1949 Warner Brothers acquired the rights to his life story and began production on *Jim Thorpe, All-American* (1951), with Burt Lancaster playing the title role. Thorpe was given a generous payment for his story and was retained as a technical advisor.

In 1950, a poll among nearly 400 Associated Press sports writers selected Thorpe as the greatest athlete and greatest football player of the first half of the twentieth century, choosing him over Babe Ruth, Ty Cobb, Red Grange, and Jack Dempsey, among others. At the same time, he was inducted into the college and pro football halls of fame. He died in 1953.

Efforts to have Thorpe's Olympic medals and records reinstated had begun in the late 1930s. Finally, in 1982, these efforts by his supporters paid off when the International Olympic Committee





returned Thorpe's name to their record books and restored his medals to his family.

*See also* Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Mills, William M.

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## Tribal Colleges

Tribal colleges are unique institutions of higher education that cater specifically to the needs of Native American students to facilitate their educational achievement. Tribal colleges have existed for more than thirty years and have grown in number to more than thirty individual institutions. They are governed by Native American nations and tribes, but they remain separate from the reservation governments. They stress Native values and service to Native communities, while providing the essentials of a typical educational experience beyond secondary level. A traditional liberal arts curriculum is taught from a Native perspective, with an emphasis on preparing students for success in either their tribal community or beyond.

## Community

Since first contact with Europeans, American Indians have been stripped of large parts of their homelands, their means of subsistence, and, in some cases, almost every facet of their cultures, including language, religion, and even family ties. Wherever Native American peoples have managed to hold together the remaining fragments of their culture it has been a community effort. When these communities have had disagreements, they have generally resolved them by consensus, procedures still used today. Now, many of these communities have been able to reconstruct their fragmented cultures, as best they can, in a new venue: tribally controlled community colleges (TCCCs).

During the second half of the twentieth century, American Indians began to assert their entitlement to national sovereignty, legally, economically, and culturally. This assertiveness led to empowerment,

which in turn led to the acts signed into U.S. law allowing for Indian self-determination. One of these acts is the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978.

## Governance

During the 1960s, the civil rights movement was affecting change across the nation. Newly active minority groups were embroidering their specific ideas for justice into the social fabric of the United States, often by force. The Nixon administration responded to this outcry by acting on the ideals set in place during the Kennedy administration. The Indian Empowerment Assistance Program was manifested in signing into law several acts to encourage and assist Native American nations and tribes to create a new future for themselves (Boxberger, 1989, 130–132). A series of new federal laws resulted from this program, including the Indian Financing Act of 1974, the Indian Education Acts of 1972 and 1974, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978, and the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978 (Boyer, 1989, 24).

Possibly the most important and most empowering act to have come out of this era is the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978 (Boyer, 1989, 24). This act provides the basis for a system of institutions of higher education that would operate in accordance with a unique set of principles and guidelines based on Native values and traditions. The Act makes it possible to acquire an education that shares, rather than stifles, the worldview of its Native American students.

Each TCCC is chartered by a specific tribe or tribes. Most are governed by boards made up of tribal community members, which operate with autonomy from the tribal government (Boyer, 1989, 32).

Generally, the presidents of these colleges and their administrative staffs are Native Americans, and often the positions are held by women; roughly one-third of the presidents were women at the time of Boyer's study (Boyer, 1989, 32).

## Curriculum

These centers of Native American education offer an opportunity to reconstruct the missing elements of tribal cultures and to reverse the economic decay that





afflicts Native peoples. These schools can provide a way of regaining self-esteem and a sense of autonomy, viable options for the control of common resources and local prosperity, without compromising traditional tribal values.

Tribal colleges seek not to transport students to a life in the past, but to understand the past as the origin of traditional Native values that can offer a sound coping mechanism for contemporary life and the basis for a future in which Native peoples can find self-realization and continued self-determination. At the same time, tribal colleges can prepare students to manage their own affairs and those of their communities, thus breaking the cycle of dependency (Boyer, 1989, 51–52).

Both individual students and communities in which they live can profit from the reconstruction and revitalization of tribal culture that occurs in the reservation community colleges. In an effort to reestablish the knowledge and pride in tribal heritage, the tribally controlled institutions create what can be described as a cultural renaissance in the communities they serve (Boyer, 1989, 52–53).

The important distinction to be made about the Native American experience in a tribal college, compared to that of a non-Indian institution, is that value is placed on tribal knowledge, beliefs, and lifeways; in other words, the tribal college builds self-esteem and pride in the Native heritage. In addition, students in Native community colleges are also provided a viable education in mainstream areas of study, so that they are prepared for careers in the world inside or outside the tribal realm (Boyer, 1989, 54).

When a core group of tribal college graduates achieves academic success and becomes educational and community leaders, their accomplishments serve entire communities. For example, a growing number of Indian graduates are entering the ranks of tribal teaching staffs. Graduates who remain on their reservations after graduation offer the seeds of social stability, economic growth, and future leadership (Boyer, 1989, 60).

An important aspect of Indians teaching Indians is the creation of an environment that emphasizes traditional cultures. An ability to transcend the shortcomings of European language, for example, is necessary to comprehend such ideas as the “numinous” aspects of Native American culture, such as the infusion of divinity into the natural world (Boxberger, 1989, 133).

## Faculty

Many faculty positions at tribal colleges are filled by non-Indians. However, Native Americans fill most administrative positions and account for most of the student body. Tribal colleges are working to produce more Native American teachers. Due to failed policies of the past, however, Indian instructors are scarce. Fortunately, many of the available non-Indian instructors understand the individual and common needs and are aware of community values. Often they come to Native communities planning to stay for a short time. Still other non-Indian instructors make their homes in Native communities and are accepted by the members of tribes with whom they work (Boyer, 1989, 32–33).

Short-time faculty often keep programs going, only to be replaced. Such turnover changes the character of programs and upsets their continuity, affecting the perceptions of students. A high turnover rate of faculty and staff can be attributed to a combination of factors such as isolation, low pay, and heavy teaching loads compared to their colleagues’ at non-Indian community colleges (Boyer, 1989, 33).

However, many institutions forge strong, lasting administrations, and manage the frequent changes well. This relative lack of turmoil is one of the goals of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium: to promote the kind of professional relationships in the administration that will reduce pressure and create a stable environment and working relations for tribal and college administrators (Boyer, 1989, 33).

## Students

At the heart of any discussion about education are the students. Without them, all other facets of education are irrelevant. No matter what their ethnicity or cultural background, all students enter education with some learned behaviors, outlooks on life, and patterns of learning and understanding, or lifeways, already in place. Many students share attributes of the dominant or mainstream society, and their lifeways are similar. Learning within the mainstream methodology is relatively easy for them. However, many members of minorities—American Indians among them—have their own unique lifeways. These lifeways may be fragmented, but they are still ingrained and still different from those of mainstream students. Thus, learning and understanding





in a mainstream environment may prove to be extremely difficult for them. This, coupled with many forms of ethnic bias, can cause an individual of any minority group—in this case, an American Indian—to have a negative self-image and low self-esteem. When one of the fundamental differences in lifeways is the method of learning or understanding, then persons in a minority may believe that they are intellectually incapable of academic success.

Jim Cummins has written that most Western indigenous groups “have been conquered, subjugated, segregated, and regarded as inherently inferior by the dominant group. Educational failure is regarded by the dominant group as the natural consequence of the minority group’s inherent inferiority” (Cummins, 1988, 3). This idea not only becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy, but part of the generational, stereotypical baggage that the members of this group have to bear.

Students at Native-controlled colleges are typically older than most college students (about twenty-nine to thirty-three years of age). Most are women, and most (as high as 68 percent in some colleges) have children. In the Native-controlled colleges that Boyer cited, more than half of the students were unemployed the year before attending school; up to 98 percent below Census Bureau poverty guidelines. Most students attending tribal colleges are residents of the reservation. Many Indian students see the tribal college as a place to transition from high school to a non-Indian college (Boyer, 1989, 31).

Daniel R. Gibbs

See also American Indian Higher Education Consortium; Education.

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## Uncas

For most Americans, the name “Uncas” conjures up the fictional character of James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Last of the Mohicans*. The historical Uncas (1588?–1683), however, was a Mohegan (not a Mohican) and far from being the last of his tribe. Uncas recognized, earlier than other Native leaders, that the arrival of English colonists permanently altered the balance of power in southern New England. He closely allied himself with the newcomers, and for more than four decades he presided over the rise of the Mohegans. Under his leadership, the Mohegans rendered valuable military assistance to both the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay colonies during the Pequot War and King Philip’s War. Because of Uncas’s willingness to enter into alliances with the New England colonies against other Native peoples, as well as his part in slaying the Narragansett sachem Miantonomo, some scholars of Native America have cast him as a historical villain. However, his actions also strengthened the Mohegans, enabling them to retain a measure of independence in colonial New England, long after other Native peoples had been displaced or coerced into moving into one of the Praying Towns.

At the time of English and Dutch settlement, the Mohegans were a small southern New England tribe that occupied the lands between the Connecticut and Thames Rivers. Dominated by the more numerous and powerful Pequots, the Mohegans paid them tribute in the form of goods and wampum. On at least five occasions, Uncas attempted to undermine the authority—whether by a coup or other means is not documented—of the Pequot sachem, Sassacus. He always failed, and Sassacus forced him into exile among the Narragansetts. Each time, however, Sassacus permitted Uncas to return and retain leadership of the Mohegans, but only after ritually humiliating himself. Sassacus further punished Uncas each time by reducing the amount of Mohegan territory under his control. Uncas and the Mohegans were finally





able to throw off Pequot domination by siding with Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth Bay Colonies when the Pequot War erupted in 1637. The colonial military leaders were distrustful of Uncas and the Mohegans at first, but he demonstrated his loyalty by delivering to them four Pequot heads and a captive. He also participated in planning and leading the attack on the Pequot's stronghold at Mystic. As a reward for his services, Uncas received a large share of the Pequot prisoners. While the colonists sold most of their Pequot prisoners as slaves and shipped them to British sugar colonies in the Caribbean, the Mohegans adopted most of their prisoners and incorporated them into the tribe.

Seeking even closer ties to the English, Uncas enhanced his standing with them by occasionally feeding them rumors of Indian plots against their colonies. By presenting himself as an ally, Uncas and his people avoided displacement and received comparably favorable treatment from the English. The Mohegans were able to retain a good deal of autonomy.

Uncas proved useful yet again to the New England colonies when the Narragansett sachem Miantonomo, who had been an English ally during the Pequot War, began to speak out against them. Miantonomo approached other Native groups and argued that, just as the English thought of themselves as "English," Native people should unite in the face of the European invasion and stop thinking of themselves as Narragansetts, Nipmucks, or Pokonokets. At about this time, Miantonomo signed a treaty with Massachusetts that required him to notify the colony if he went to war against another Native American tribe. Miantonomo sought, and was granted, permission to attack the Mohegans, who had been waylaying Narragansett hunters. Captured by the Mohegans during the ensuing war, Miantonomo reportedly attempted to purchase his freedom. Despite receiving a ransom from the Narragansetts for Miantonomo's safe return, Uncas turned him over to the colony of Connecticut. Wanting to be rid of a troublesome Native leader but not wanting Miantonomo's blood on their hands, the Connecticut authorities gave him back to Uncas, with the implicit understanding he would have Miantonomo executed.

Uncas lent further assistance to the New England colonies during King Philip's War in 1675–1676. While he could no longer lead warriors in the field himself, his son, Oweneco, assisted the English. After the war, Uncas reaffirmed his alliance to

the colony and began selling Mohegan lands to them until his death in 1683.

Roger M. Carpenter

*See also* Cooper, James Fenimore; Metacom and King Philip's War; Pequot War; Praying Villages of Massachusetts.

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## Victorio

Considered by historians to be one of the greatest guerilla fighters and military strategists (Keenan, 1998, 16), Mimbres Apache Chief Victorio was born about 1825 in southwestern New Mexico (Thrapp, 1988, 1483–1485). Legends about his origins persist, most stating that he was a captured Mexican boy raised among the Apaches, but proof is lacking. Biduyé, as he was called by tribal members, was renamed by his enemies when he became a respected war leader, even though he tried very hard to find a course other than war. Victorio kept on the path of peace until the American government, in the form of the Indian Bureau and the military, demanded too much and war ensued. Through it all, he had an unyielding desire to live at Ojo Caliente, New Mexico, Victorio's ancestral home.

Mimbres Apaches actually lived near what is today known as Monticello, New Mexico. They called themselves the *Chihenne*, the Red Paint people. Their early leader was Mangas Coloradas, a notable chief. Following their customs, the boy Victorio undoubtedly participated in long established ceremonies beginning when he received his first moccasins and his first haircut. Later, he competed with other boys in footraces, took baths in ice-cold water all year to "harden" his body, imitated in play the elders' decision-making process, and learned the names and characteristics of animals, birds, plants, and the elements.

At about age sixteen, as an apprentice, Victorio rode along on the first of four raids, on which the older warriors acted as his teachers and tested his skills in the many aspects of warfare, a necessary exercise before a young man made the transition to a fighter for his people. By 1850 Victorio started to be





noticed by the American military as a skilled warrior; in 1853 he affixed an "X" as his signature to a formal agreement with the American government. Although the document was never ratified by the U.S. Senate and thus became invalid, Victorio's signature was a sign of his growing leadership status.

Victorio conducted a successful raid in 1855, taking his accomplices into the Mexican states of Sonora and Chihuahua to bring back large numbers of captives and livestock. In July 1862, he took part in the significant Apache Pass battle and continued to participate in numerous skirmishes and depredations with white settlers and the American military. In 1863, after the death of Mangas Coloradas, Victorio assumed leadership of the group. In September 1879 he and sixty warriors raided a cavalry unit camped near a small Hispanic settlement in southwestern New Mexico. The Apaches killed five soldiers and three civilians, galloping off with sixty-eight horses and mules. The attack signaled the start of the Victorio War.

By January of 1880, Victorio had led his people in battles across three states, leaving the pursuing U.S. Army baffled at every turn. He fought Mexicans, settlers, Texas Rangers, and the Ninth Cavalry in New Mexico, Texas, and Mexico, winning engagements at almost every contact. The Ninth Cavalry, known as Buffalo Soldiers, was one of six black regiments formed after the Civil War to help keep peace on the Western frontier. On April 6, 1880, seventy-one members of the Ninth Cavalry, led by Captain Henry Carroll, cautiously approached Victorio's camp in the Hembillo Basin, a natural stronghold, in south central New Mexico. They were immediately surrounded by a larger force of about 150 Apaches under Victorio's leadership, firing volley after volley from behind stacked breastworks erected on the surrounding ridgetops. Despite all efforts, Victorio's warriors were ultimately driven from their positions (Laumbach, 2000, 248).

Victorio's son Washington was killed in a battle on June 5, 1880 (Thrapp, 1974, 282), after which the weary chief divided his forces and moved with about 200 followers toward Mexico. Victorio took his people to an unmistakable site on the plains, three rocky peaks called *Tres Castillos*, where they were eventually attacked by an irregular group of Mexicans and Tarahumara Indians. Fighting continued for hours until the dawn of October 15, 1880, when Victorio was dead, either by his own hand or from a bullet fired by one of the Indians, as were sixty warriors and eighteen women and children. Sixty-eight

women and children were taken captive, along with 180 animals. Prisoners were gathered, the adolescent boys were taken to a nearby arroyo and shot, while the remaining women and children were enslaved.

H. Henrietta Stockel

*See also* Mangas Coloradas.

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## Warrior, Clyde

Indian nationalist, social critic, student activist, renowned fancy dancer, and youth leader, Clyde Warrior (Ponca, 1939–1968) was a major figure in the Native American student–youth movement of the 1960s. He helped found the National Indian Youth Council (NIYC). His ideas changed how Indian people thought about activism and nationalism. Thousands were inspired by his charisma, commitment, and clamor for change.

Warrior was born during the Great Depression near Ponca City, Oklahoma. His grandparents raised him traditionally. As a young man, he became instrumental in the revival of Ponca songs and dances. By 1957 the newspapers were already calling him a world champion dancer. In 1958 Warrior won an award in the design category at a state-level high school art competition. By early 1961 he was attending Cameron Junior College in Lawton, Oklahoma.

Early in the spring of 1961, Warrior traveled to the University of Oklahoma to attend a regional planning conference for the American Indian Chicago Conference. Before the semester was over,





he returned to the University of Oklahoma to join 300 Indian youth and students for the annual meeting of the Southwestern Regional Indian Youth Council. Although he was a newcomer to the youth council movement, which had emerged in the Southwest, Warrior became its president. The young people who elected him were amazed at his confidence and Indian pride.

In June 1961, Clyde Warrior attended the American Indian Chicago Conference with nearly thirty students from the Workshop on American Indian Affairs. They were frustrated that older Indian leaders expected them to run errands. The students did this, but they also took matters into their own hands. Several won election to leadership positions at the conference. For instance, Warrior served on the Drafting Committee and helped revise the Declaration of Indian Purpose. The students also formed a youth caucus. During the conference Warrior performed a ceremonial song and announced that he had prayed in behalf of the confused delegates. He also helped the youth caucus to seize the microphone and told the conference delegates to stop being so deferential toward white people.

When the conference concluded, Warrior and several of the students returned to Colorado for the remainder of their summer workshop. Many of the students had been radicalized by their experience in Chicago and grew impatient with the slow and steady approach to change advocated by their instructors. Some of the students stayed, others left early, and the most committed among them, including Warrior, assembled in August at Gallup, New Mexico. At this meeting the students discussed their goals, elected officers, and decided to call their organization the National Indian Youth Council. Warrior was elected to its board of directors.

Between late 1961 and 1964 Warrior cemented his reputation as a national Indian leader. He was nominated for a spot on his tribal council. He presided over a National Indian Youth Conference and was in demand on college campuses as a speaker. He returned to the Workshop on American Indian Affairs, served as coeditor of its student newsletter, and soon became coeditor of the University of Chicago periodical *Indian Voices*. He worked with Marlon Brando and publicists in New York City to help tribes in Washington State secure their fishing rights. At the March on Washington and Freedom Summer, he increased his knowledge of civil rights strategies. He was invited to speak in Washington, D.C., on how the War on Poverty could bene-

fit American Indians. In late 1964 he published his influential essay, "Which One Are You? Five Types of Indians."

During the last four years of his life, Warrior maintained a demanding schedule. He married and became a father. The NIYC elected him its president. Colleges called him for speaking engagements. His testimony before the president's National Advisory Commission on Rural Poverty was reprinted as "We Are Not Free." He represented the NIYC at Martin Luther King Jr.'s anti-Vietnam peace march in New York City. The John Hay Whitney Foundation awarded him an Opportunity Fellowship for graduate work in American Studies. These activities took a toll on Warrior. He put on weight and the excessive drinking harmed his liver. He died suddenly while working on an Oklahoma summer school project in July 1968. In his honor, the NIYC organized the Clyde Warrior Institute in American Indian Studies.

*Sterling Fluaharty*

*See also* Fishing Rights; National Indian Youth Council.

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## Washakie

Washakie's Shoshonis allied with Plenty Coups' Crows to assist the U.S. Army against the Cheyennes, Sioux, and others who were defined by the United States as "hostile" during the final phases of the Plains Wars, beginning in the 1870s. Washakie's accommodation helped him bargain for a sizable, fertile reservation in the Shoshonis' homeland, while "hostile" Cheyennes, Sioux, and their allies were assigned to arid reservations and treated miserably after their surrenders.

Various accounts place Washakie's birth at between 1798 and 1804. His father, Pasego, was of mixed blood; his mother was Shoshoni. Pasego was killed by Flatheads when Washakie was a child. As a young man, Washakie developed his skills as a warrior by riding for several years with a band of Banocks. He stood six feet tall, married several women, and had twelve children. His reputation was mainly as a warrior (although he was rarely aggressive after





his youth), but he also was known among the Shoshoni as an excellent singer.

By the 1840s, large numbers of gold seekers on their way to California were passing through the Shoshonis' homeland in present-day Wyoming, but few settled in the area. A few years later, a large party of Mormons under Brigham Young settled on the southern edge of the Shoshone homeland at the Great Salt Lake. In 1851, Washakie rejected the terms of a proposed treaty that would have diminished Shoshoni lands, and allied for a time with the Mormons, before the federal government asserted authority over them as part of Utah's bid for statehood. In 1869, Washakie negotiated the Treaty of Fort Bridger, which set apart 3 million acres for the Shoshonis in their traditional homeland.

By the mid-1870s, the Plains Wars were drawing to a close. Washakie allied with the Crows and the U.S. Army at the Little Bighorn. Plenty Coups worried that General George Crook was not prepared for Crazy Horse's Lakotas when they met in battle, along with Washakie's Shoshones, June 16, 1876. He was correct; Crazy Horse routed Crook and his Indian allies in a battle that presaged Custer's Last Stand nine days later.

O. O. Howard, who is best-known as the commander who pursued Chief Joseph and other non-treaty Nez Percés on their Long March in 1877, recalled Washakie as "a tall, big man with fine eyes and a great deal of hair. He spoke broken English, but could make himself understood. He was a great eater. . . . He ate very politely, but was like a giant taking his food" (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 410).

Howard said that Washakie was famous for his skill as a buffalo hunter. Despite his support for the immigrants, Washakie and his people had their share of troubles with broken treaties. In 1870, land that had been set aside for the Shoshonis and Bannocks by a treaty signed in 1864 was demanded for white settlement. Many young Shoshoni warriors called for war, but Washakie forbade it.

Washakie allied with the whites out of necessity, not choice. He chafed at being confined on a reservation. In 1878, at a meeting called by the governor of Wyoming, Washakie said:

The white man, who possesses this whole vast country from sea to sea, who roams over it at pleasure and lives where he likes, cannot know the cramp we feel in this little spot, with the undying remembrance of the fact, which you know as well as we, that every foot of what



*Washakie was a Shoshoni chief and representative for both the Shoshoni and Bannock peoples. He negotiated the surrender of the Green River Valley in eastern Utah and southern Wyoming, which provided for the construction of the Union Pacific Railway. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

you proudly call America, not very long ago belonged to the Red Man. The Great Spirit gave it to us, [and] there was room enough for all his tribes; all were happy in their freedom (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 410).

The whites had superior tools and weapons, said Washakie, and "hordes of men" to use against the Indians. He continued: "We . . . sorry remnants of tribes once mighty, are cornered on little spots of the earth, all ours by right—cornered like guilty prisoners, and watched by men with guns who are more than anxious to kill us off" (Johansen and Grinde, 1997, 410).

When Washakie was an elderly man, his eldest son (also named Washakie) was killed in a drunken





brawl with a white man. The elder Washakie was grieved by the fact that his son had passed onto the Spirit World in disgrace, “like an Arapaho,” he said. (The Shoshonis and Arapahoe were bitter enemies, even in the face of overwhelming white encroachment.) Washakie also opposed the Ghost Dance, but he urged his people to continue the Sun Dance, which they had borrowed from the Sioux.

Despite such doubts, Washakie was such a source of support for the U.S. Army that in 1878 it named a frontier fort after him in the Wind River Valley. Washakie died in his sleep on February 20, 1900. He was buried with the honors accorded a captain in the post cemetery at Fort Washakie.

Two statues of Washakie memorialize him in the Salt Lake City area. The most notable is downtown, where he is part of the Brigham Young Monumental Group, along with other people (all American non-Natives) who gave great aid to initial Mormon settlement in the Salt Lake Valley.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* Mormon Church; Plenty Coups.

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## Watie, Stand

Stand Watie (1806–1871) was the only American Indian to hold the Confederate rank of brigadier general during the U.S. Civil War. He was also the last Confederate general to surrender, laying down his arms in June of 1865, more than two months after the surrender of the South at Appomattox. In addition, Watie served as principal chief of the Confederate Cherokee Nation, part of a governmental fissure that occurred within the larger Cherokee Nation due not only to the Civil War, but also to past disagreements over Cherokee removal.

Born into the Cherokee Nation in 1806 in what is now Georgia, Stand Watie was raised by a full-blood Cherokee father and a mixed-blood mother.

His family is full of well-known Cherokee leaders. Elias Boudinot, Watie’s brother, was the founder of the *Cherokee Phoenix* and a signer of the 1835 Treaty of New Echota, which ignited the removal of the Cherokee from their lands in the southeastern United States. Similarly, Major Ridge, Watie’s uncle, was a factional chief in the Cherokee Nation. John Rollin Ridge, Watie’s cousin, became a well-known Cherokee poet and author in California during the second half of the nineteenth century. While Watie may not be as well-known as his kin, his role in nineteenth-century Cherokee politics is crucial to understanding the tribe’s rocky transition from their eastern homeland to their new land in the Territory.

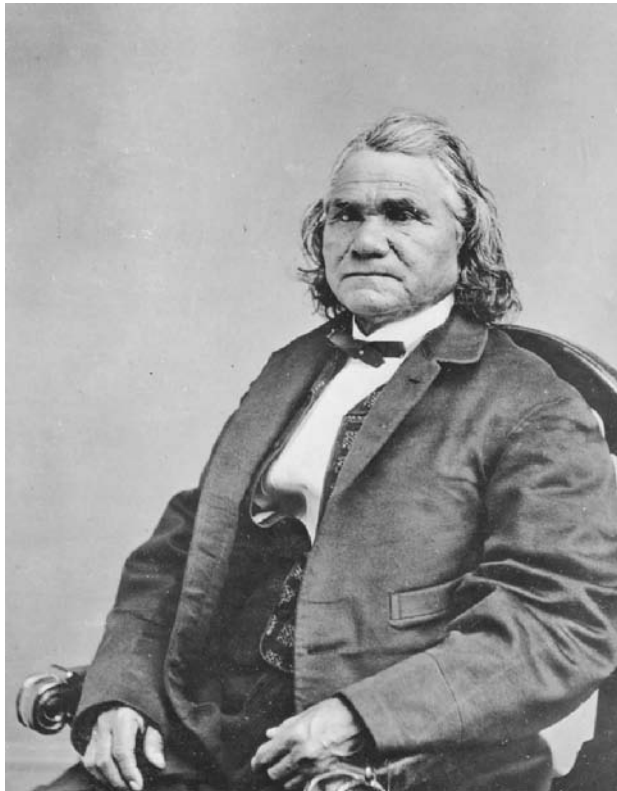
Watie was among a small group of dissenters who considered removal to Indian Territory a promising solution to white encroachment on Cherokee land. He was thus one of the signers of the Treaty of New Echota in 1835, which ceded Cherokee land for new land out west. This treaty was considered fraudulent by the majority of the Cherokees living in the East and solidified a divide between pro- and antiremoval parties in the tribe.

Watie and his cosigners moved to the Territory (today Oklahoma) in 1837, before the devastating forced removal of most remaining tribal members along the Trail of Tears in 1838. At least one-quarter (approximately 4,000) of the traveling population died along the way. Once the remainder of the tribe, led by John Ross, arrived and settled in the Territory, the pro- and antiremoval parties clashed. In 1839, Watie’s relatives—Boudinot, Major Ridge, and his son John Ridge—were executed by the antiremoval party for betraying their tribe. As a member of this influential family, Watie was now considered the leader of the proremoval Cherokees.

Strife among the tribe’s factions continued until 1846, when peace was made by way of a new treaty with the U.S. government. Between 1846 and the outbreak of the Civil War, Watie had a family and began a legal practice. He also became a member of the Knights of the Golden Circle, a mainly white proslavery organization.

In 1861, with the secession of the South from the Union, Watie raised the Cherokee Regiment of Mounted Rifles. He used this regiment’s influence to pressure John Ross, the Cherokee’s principal chief (and longtime foe of Watie and the Confederate States), to side with the Confederacy. Watie’s tactics worked and, soon after the war’s beginning,





Stand Watie was a Cherokee leader and served as a Confederate general. (National Archives and Records Administration)

Ross briefly sided with the South. In 1862, however, as Ross fled the Territory for Philadelphia, Watie was elected principal chief of the Confederate Cherokees.

Watie participated in battles at Pea Ridge (1861), Wilson's Creek (1861), and the first Battle of Cabin Creek (1863), among others, and was promoted to brigadier general in 1864. The general was known for his guerilla war tactics.

After the Civil War, Watie left politics behind in large part and returned home, where he died a few years later in 1871.

Amy M. Ware

See also Major Ridge; Ross, John; Trail of Tears.

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## Welch, James

James Welch (1940–2003), a novelist associated with the modern Native American literary renaissance, was born in Browning, Montana, of Blackfeet, Gros Ventre, and European heritage and spent his early childhood on the Blackfeet Reservation of Montana. His family lived in a number of western cities before turning to farming on the Fort Belknap Reservation following Welch's graduation from high school in Minneapolis, Minnesota. As a child he always wanted to be a writer. His literary career began in earnest as an undergraduate at the University of Montana (BA, 1965), where he was nurtured by the notable collection of writers who gathered around Richard Hugo and William Kittredge in Missoula, a city that remained the geographical center of Welch's life as a writer.

The five novels written by Welch present distinct episodes of American Indian experience that are unified by their portrayal of Indian culture's richness and the heartache of its dislocation. The reader can examine the novels in the order they were written or note that they can be reorganized into a historical chronology of Indian experience. *Fools Crow* (1986) is the story of the Blackfeet from the era of the American Civil War through the Marias River massacre of January 1870, which marked the end of independent life for the tribe.

Next in historical sequence is *The Heart Song of Charging Elk* (2000), the story of an Oglala Sioux who becomes separated from William F. "Buffalo Bill" Cody's Wild West Show while on tour in Europe and lives out his life in France. After a number of years he rejects the opportunity to rejoin the Cody show and return to South Dakota.

Two other works, *Winter in the Blood* (1974) and *The Death of Jim Loney* (1979), address isolated men negotiating indefinite time frames in the midst of twentieth-century reservation life. Their personal problems rise out of tenuous ties to their families and cultural traditions on the Fort Belknap reservation. *Winter in the Blood* suggests a recovery of cultural and family connections. Jim Loney pursues suicide at the hands of a law enforcement officer when he allows himself to be shot by his pursuers. The most recent historical setting occurs in *The Indian Lawyer* (1990), the story of a "successfully assimilated" Blackfeet Indian who used athletic prowess to advance his intellectual interests with college and legal degrees and a position in an





important Helena law firm. At the end of the book Sylvester Yellow Calf abandons his Helena legal practice and a campaign for Congress to return to the reservation and an unspecified future.

In addition to his novels, Welch began his writing career with a collection of poetry, *Riding the Earthboy* 40 (published in 1971, revised and expanded in 1976). He also has ventured into memoir and history with *Killing Custer* (1994), occasioned by his work as an advisor to a television program, "Last Stand at Little Big Horn."

Welch's work appears frequently in general literary anthologies and those devoted to Indian writers. Literary analysts have approached his work from a variety of angles, including his understanding of the importance of place and his status as an Indian writer. Welch's landscapes are not photographic images of the world of the Fort Belknap reservation and neighboring towns. Readers feel the importance of place even though it is not possible to locate the exact physical settings for the action in his books. His landscape details seep into his narratives in ways that present lives embedded in the land. Welch's mixed-blood ancestry includes ties to a white trader killed by Blackfeet warriors on the eve of the Marias River Massacre, the event that concludes *Fools Crow*. Critics concerned with blood quanta of Indian writers do not include Welch among those whose perspectives, visions, or ancestries are questionable.

Honors for Welch's work include the Native Writer's Circle's lifetime achievement award in 1997 and the French government's 1995 medal designating him a *Chevalier of the l'Ordre des Artes et des Lettres* (Knight of the Order of Arts and Letters) for *Fools Crow*. While speaking of the Blackfeet in *Fools Crow*, Welch revealed something of his overall goals as a writer: "They weren't particularly noble Indians. They weren't particularly bad Indians. They were human beings. That's really what I wanted to get across, the idea that historical Indians were human beings. They weren't clichés."

David S. Trask

See also Cody, William Frederick; Battle of the Little Bighorn.

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## Whitman, Marcus and Narcissa

On November 29, 1847, a small group of Cayuse Indians entered the Waiilatpu mission in the eastern reaches of the Oregon Country and killed fourteen white men, women, and children. Among the dead were Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, the Presbyterian evangelists who had established the station eleven years earlier in a blush of religious zeal and optimism. The killings, forever since memorialized as the Whitman Massacre, have been the subject of extensive historical study and widely differing interpretations. To early commentators, the Whitmans represented martyrs for the national cause of Manifest Destiny, fallen Christian soldiers in the battle between civilization and savagery that gave Americans title to the West. More recently, scholars have applied ethnohistorical methods in an effort to better understand the motives of the Cayuse perpetrators and the context in which they acted. What emerges from such analysis is not a simple story of victims and villains but a complex drama involving frustrated ambitions, clashing expectations, and cultural misunderstandings.

The Whitman Massacre ended the first phase of missionary activity on the Columbia Plateau. Initially, the Indians of the region had expressed substantial interest in learning more about Christianity. In the late eighteenth century, a Native oracle called the Spokane Prophet had reputedly foretold the coming of the whites, who would "bring with them a book and will teach you everything, and after that the world will fall to pieces." The idea that whites were spiritually potent but potentially dangerous people gained credence in the early 1800s, when fur traders introduced both miraculous new goods and terrible new diseases such as smallpox. While traditional shamans struggled to cope with the recurring epidemics and their concomitant loss of status, the survivors sought explanations and solutions for





American missionary Marcus Whitman was murdered by a Cayuse in his home on November 29, 1847, near present-day Walla Walla, Washington. His wife, Narcissa and twelve associates were also killed in what became known as the Whitman Massacre. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

their misfortunes. Many concluded that the whites' immense "spirit powers" stemmed from their religion, and in 1832 a delegation of four Nez Percé and Flathead men journeyed to St. Louis seeking the Book of Heaven. Their visit stirred tremendous excitement in the Protestant evangelical community, which perceived the delegation as a heathen plea for salvation and a chance to counteract Catholic influence in the region. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) quickly dispatched the Whitmans, among others, and in 1836 the Whitmans established their station at Waiilatpu to proselytize the Cayuses, Umatillas, and Walla Wallas.

After a promising start, the enthusiasm and idealism that had inspired the mission quickly dissolved into mutual disappointment and distrust. Profound cultural differences and communication problems hindered conversion efforts, while Christianity failed to deliver the tangible benefits many Indians had hoped to obtain. The Whitmans' deep ethnocentrism strained relations further, breeding resentment and suspicion on both sides. By the early 1840s, the Whitmans had begun limiting their con-

tact with Indians and catering primarily to the growing stream of immigrants on the nearby Oregon Trail. The ABCFM moved to close the station in 1842 after hearing critical reports from another missionary, but Marcus traveled back to Boston and convinced the board to rescind its order. The Indians were less favorably disposed when he returned a year later leading a train of a thousand new settlers. More arrived every year thereafter, and with them came fresh outbreaks of scarlet fever, whooping cough, and measles. A devastating measles epidemic in 1847 convinced some Cayuses of Whitman's evil intentions. A physician by training, Marcus had often treated their sick, but in the Plateau society a shaman with too much power could become a sorcerer who inflicted harm on others. The traditional sanction for sorcery was death.

On November 29, two Cayuse men named Tomahas and Tiloukaikt entered the Whitman house to request medicine. As Marcus argued with Tiloukaikt, Tomahas slipped behind the doctor and delivered the first of several tomahawk blows to his head. A party of Indians then killed Narcissa, ten other men, and two children before leaving with about fifty captives. As the news spread, most of the other Christian missions on the Plateau were abandoned. Although the Hudson's Bay Company ransomed the hostages a month later, war raged for two years until the Cayuses agreed to surrender five men to face American justice. They were hanged in Oregon City following a summary trial presided over by the mountain man Joe Meek. On the scaffold, Tiloukaikt declared, "Did not your missionaries tell us that Christ died to save his people? So die we, to save our people." The massacre and the war actually hastened the creation of the Oregon Territory, however, and in 1855 the remaining Cayuses signed a treaty ceding the bulk of their land to the United States.

Andrew H. Fisher

*See also* Oregon Trail; Hudson's Bay Company.

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## Williams, Roger

One of America's earliest cultural pluralists and advocates of the separation of church and state, Roger Williams founded Providence, Rhode Island, as a safe haven for early European settlers who had suffered religious persecution. He also believed in forging good relations with the Native peoples of New England. Rather than fight for title to the land, Williams argued that colonists should negotiate and pay a fair price for it. His policy proved effective, as Rhode Island had the most peaceful Indian relations in all the colonies.

Williams was born in London, England, about 1603. His father was a hardworking shopkeeper who hoped to carve out a better life for his children. Young Roger eventually went off to college at Cambridge University, where he studied to become a minister. He later landed a job as the private chaplain of nobleman, Sir William Masham. While work-

ing for Masham, Williams became increasingly interested in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, of which he had heard rousing stories. In 1631, Williams decided to give up his life in England and set off for America, where he hoped to establish himself in what was already being viewed in some quarters as a land of opportunity.

Once in Massachusetts Bay, Williams found himself at odds with the colony's leadership. He criticized the king and believed that the colony should completely separate itself from the Church of England, rather than try to reform or purify it. Williams believed in religious freedom, arguing that governments were not divinely sanctioned and therefore they had no right to establish state religions. He also claimed that the colony's royal charter was null and void because the settlers had not purchased the land from the Native people. The colony's leaders considered such talk as tantamount to blasphemy, and Williams was eventually banished from Massachu-



*Narragansett protect British colonist Roger Williams. Williams developed a good relationship with the Narragansetts, a situation that enabled him to negotiate an end to the Pequot War in 1637, thereby helping the Puritans who had exiled him. (Library of Congress)*





setts Bay in 1636. Rather than head back to England, he decided to move south and establish the colony of Providence near Narragansett Bay. Williams invited all religious refugees to the new colony and set up a trading post at Cocumscussoc, where he met and befriended the local indigenous people.

Unlike his belligerent neighbors to the north at Massachusetts Bay, Williams made peace and forged positive relations with the Natives. He insisted on adequately compensating the Narragansett Indians for their lands. Only after he fairly purchased the territory around Providence did he apply to London for a colonial charter. But Williams did not stop there. He went on to further the Narragansetts' trust by learning their language and familiarizing himself with their culture. He saw in Indian society a degree of harmony, humanity, and hospitality that was decidedly lacking among his own people. Williams documented his observations and the Narragansett language in his book, *A Key into the Language of America: Or, An help to the Language of the Natives in that part of America, called New-England* [sic]. Considered the first ethnoanthropological study of American Indians, Williams' account records Narragansett culture, analyzing everything from their religious beliefs to their sleeping habits.

Though Williams was a staunch advocate of Indian land rights, he was also a pragmatist and a realist. Hence, when the Pequots went to war with Massachusetts Bay over that colony's encroachment on Native land, Williams convinced the Narragansetts to remain neutral. He believed that only death and destruction would come to the Indians if they fought the colonists. Williams' peace policy and dealings with the Native peoples were effective; relations between whites and the Narragansetts remained cordial for nearly forty years. But the burgeoning white population's continual expansion onto Indian lands inevitably led to further conflict.

In 1675, Wampanoag Chief Metacom took on Massachusetts Bay, resulting in what came to be known as King Philip's War—the bloodiest conflict to that time. Though the Narragansetts had not taken sides in the war, colonists preemptively attacked them, resulting in the Great Swamp Massacre. With 500 to 600 dead—most of which were women and children—the Narragansett leadership ignored Williams' pleas and decided to side with Metacom in his fight against the colonists. They launched an assault on Providence, burning the town to the ground. Williams, in turn, accepted a commission as captain in the local militia and fought

his former friends. In the end, the Narragansetts and Wampanoags could not match the firepower of the colonists, and they suffered a devastating loss in the war.

After King Philip's War, Williams' vision of a peaceful land where Indians and whites lived side by side, each learning from the other, came crashing down. With all of his former Narragansett friends gone, he lived out his last days a broken man among the rubble and ashes of Providence. Roger Williams died in the winter of 1683.

Bradley Shreve

*See also* Canonicus; Land Cessions, Colonial, Early National

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## Wilson, Richard

Richard Wilson (Oglala Lakota, 1936–1990) was chairman of the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation tribal council during the 1973 Wounded Knee occupation, as well as during its violent aftermath. From the early 1970s until his defeat for the chairman's office by Al Trimble in 1976, Wilson outfitted a tribal police force that was often called the goon squad. This police force, which took "GOON" to mean Guardians of the Oglala Nation, was financed with tribal money from the federal government and cooperated closely with the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

One result of the escalating conflict between Oglala Lakota traditionalists allied with the American Indian Movement (AIM) and Wilson was the seventy-one-day occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. The conflict between Wilson and AIM likely sprang from political differences: Wilson, a supporter of the Viet Nam war, saw dissent by AIM and by students as acts of ungrateful citizens who were dupes of the Communists. The local context of the occupation included an effort to publicly confront Wilson's policies, which often favored non-Indian ranchers, farmers, and corporations.









known for feeding anyone who came to his door, and he had a major role in beginning a Lakota community college on the reservation, as well as a number of other tribal enterprises.

Wilson died of a heart attack in 1990, as he was preparing to run for a third term as tribal chairman.

*Bruce E. Johansen*

*See also* American Indian Movement; Banks, Dennis; Means, Russell; Peltier, Leonard; Pine Ridge Political Murders.

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## Winnemucca

A diplomatic, influential leader during a fraught time in northern Paiute (Numa) history, Winnemucca (died 1880) worked hard, yet ultimately unsuccessfully to ensure peaceful relations with non-Natives, and he earned the distinction (especially among non-Natives) of being first overall chief of the northern Paiute. The northern Paiute traditionally ranged in present-day central and eastern California, western Nevada, and eastern Oregon. Prior to assuming responsibility as chief, Winnemucca (also known as Po-i-to or Old Winnemucca) is remembered as a father, medicine man, and an antelope charmer (Hopkins, 1994, 55). Public knowledge of Winnemucca's life begins with his acquisition of political power. When Captain Truckee, Winnemucca's father-in-law, left on an expedition to California, probably when accompanying Captain John Fremont in the mid-1840s, he appointed Winnemucca the band leader. Winnemucca's status as "chief" was recognized internally among the northern Paiute, distinguishing him from leaders who were appointed and acknowledged only by non-Natives (Hopkins, 1994, 10, 194).

Winnemucca assumed leadership of the northern Paiute at a critical moment in Paiute history. Regular contact with non-Natives had begun only a few years earlier, under Truckee's leadership, and

changes to everyday life were imminent. Truckee had welcomed non-Natives with joy, because their arrival signaled the fulfillment of a Paiute prophecy (Hopkins, 1994, 6–7). In a dream, however, Winnemucca saw non-Natives bringing bloodshed and destruction among the northern Paiutes, and he did not celebrate the growing non-Native presence. He sought peaceful relations with non-Natives whenever possible but did not stand by to see his people abused.

In 1855 Winnemucca negotiated the Honey Lake Valley agreement with non-Native citizens of Honey Lake, California, to minimize conflict between the communities. According to the agreement, when a member of one party committed a crime against a member of the other, the communities would negotiate and turn over the perpetrator, thereby eliminating the need for continued conflict. By 1860, Winnemucca was accused of not abiding by the terms of his own agreement when he was unhelpful in the investigation of the murder of D. E. Demming, believed to be murdered by Paiutes. The agreement had collapsed on both



*Winnemucca (The Giver), was a Paviotso or Paiute chief of western Nevada. (National Archives and Records Administration)*





sides: Winnemucca would not turn over members of his community each time an Anglo accused a Paiute, and the Honey Lake community was rapidly filling with new citizens who had no regard for the 1855 agreement. At the same time, Winnemucca was outraged by the non-Natives' exploitation of another agreement in which non-Native cattle herders leased land from northern Paiutes. He traveled to Virginia City in hopes of gaining legal support but came away unsuccessful (Knack and Stewart, 1984, 65).

In the spring of 1860, tensions between Paiutes and non-Natives grew until they culminated in the Pyramid Lake War. Winnemucca participated in the conflict at Pyramid Lake, although by 1862 he was exchanging gifts with Governor James Nye on neutral ground in an effort to maintain peace. In 1865, thirty Paiutes were massacred at Pyramid Lake, including Winnemucca's wives, several daughters, and other family members (Knack and Stewart, 1984, 79). Nevertheless, in 1867 Winnemucca sent a letter to Carson City in hopes of negotiating peace for his people once again.

By this time, Winnemucca was widely recognized by the Mormons and other non-Natives, and some of his own people, as the first overall chief of the northern Paiutes. In 1870, the 5,000 northern Paiutes still operated in small, semiautonomous bands of fifty to 200 that acknowledged linguistic and cultural ties. Each had its own chief, yet many acknowledged Winnemucca as a form of chief over all (Stewart, 1939, 129). Notably, Winnemucca never organized all of his subchiefs but was known as the "traveling chief" (Stewart, 1939, 130). He negotiated with Indian agents and the military on behalf of his people as they lost land and freedom and became increasingly dependent on government rations for survival.

Following the Bannock Wars, Winnemucca and his daughter Sarah (who would become famous as an educator and writer) traveled to Washington, D.C., and met with Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz and President Rutherford B. Hayes to inform them of the northern Paiutes' primary concerns: their lack of essential supplies, exploitation by Indian agents, and the government's unfulfilled promises to help them settle in a permanent, peaceful home. Winnemucca and his daughter worked to ensure peace for the northern Paiutes, but, as bearers of promises that the federal government never upheld, their favor fluctuated in the eyes of some

Paiutes. Nevertheless, Winnemucca continued caring for his people until his death in 1880.

Amy S. Fatzinger

See also Mormon Church; Winnemucca, Sarah.

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## Winnemucca, Sarah

Also known as Thocmetony ("Shell Flower"), Sonometa ("White Shell"), and the Princess, Sarah Winnemucca (or Hopkins, her married name) was one of the earliest Native American women writers to capture the flavor and characteristics of her Paiute culture. She also traveled extensively to give lectures describing the wrongs done to her fellow Native Americans.

Winnemucca was born about 1844 among the Paiute people (then spelled Piute) at Humboldt Sink in what is now Nevada. Her father, Winnemucca II, was chief of the tribe and was the son of Captain Truckee, a wise and knowing Paiute chief. Although she lived for a portion of her childhood in the San Joaquin Valley area of California, she returned to Nevada, where she moved into the home of a white family and was named Sarah Winnemucca. She had attended a convent school in California, and that seems to have been her only formal education.

Starting in 1868, Winnemucca served as an interpreter between her people on the Paiute reservation and the whites who surrounded it. In 1876, she taught at the Indian school on the Malheur Reservation in Oregon. She also served as the guide and interpreter to General Oliver O. Howard during the Bannock War in Oregon in 1878.

When the Paiute were forcibly removed to the Yakima Indian Reservation in what is now Washington State in 1879, Winnemucca and her father traveled to Washington, D.C., to try to reverse the decision, but to no avail. She then began lecturing in San





*Sarah Winnemucca, one of the earliest Native American woman writers to capture the flavor and characteristics of her Paiute culture, traveled extensively during the late-nineteenth century to give lectures describing the wrongs done to her fellow Native Americans. (Library of Congress)*

Francisco about the wrongs perpetrated against her people, and she became a leading spokesperson for those who saw the government's policy toward Native Americans as cruel and unjust. Although she met in 1880 with President Rutherford B. Hayes and Interior Secretary Carl Schurz, who promised to help return her people to their reservation, nothing was done for the Paiute.

In 1881, Winnemucca married Lieutenant L. H. Hopkins, a white army officer who sympathized with her plight. She then conducted an extensive lecture tour of the East Coast, and she was sponsored by woman suffrage advocates Elizabeth Peabody

and Mary Tyler Peabody Mann. In 1883, as a result of the lectures on behalf of her people, she published *Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims*, which Mann edited for her. A personal and tribal history, the work documented her people's moral character and achievements and examined Indian-white relations, a theme previously unexplored in earlier Native American writings.

Winnemucca lived only eight years after the publication of her famed work, and, in that time, she fought continuously to return the Paiute lands to her people. She died of tuberculosis on her sister's ranch near Monida, Montana, on October 16, 1891. The Paiute people remembered her as "Mother."

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## Women of All Red Nations

Women of All Red Nations (WARN) was formed in the middle 1970s "to address issues directly facing Indian women and their families" (Wittstock and Salinas, 2006). WARN has some notable alumnae. For example, Winona LaDuke, who ran for vice president of the United States on the Green party ticket with Ralph Nader in 1996 and 2000, was a WARN founding member.

When the American Indian Movement (AIM) began in the 1960s, women members found themselves playing supporting (and, some asserted, subservient) roles. In 1974, at Rapid City, South Dakota, Native women from more than thirty nations met and decided, among other things, that "truth and communication are among our most valuable tools in the liberation of our lands, people, and four-legged and winged creations" (Johansen, 1998, 44). The formation of WARN enabled politically active Native American women to speak with a collective voice on issues that affected them intensely. At the same time, WARN members, with chapters throughout the United States, worked to support a large number of Native American men in prisons.





Members of WARN also form liaisons with non-Native feminist groups, such as the National Organization of Women, to advocate policies of concern to minority women. The group's main priorities include the improvement of educational opportunities, health and medical care (including reproductive rights), resistance to violence against women, an end to stereotyping, support for treaties, and protection of the environment, including campaigns against uranium mining and milling, a long-time threat to Lakota and Navajo women as well as men.

One critical issue raised by WARN is the widespread sterilization of Native American women in government-run hospitals, an extension of a eugenics movement aimed at impeding the population increase of groups believed by some in government to be poor and/or mentally defective. These programs had ended for most of non-Indian groups after World War II (Germany's Nazis having given eugenics an extremely bad reputation), but they continued on Indian reservations through the 1970s. Wherever Indian activists gathered during the Red Power years of the 1970s, conversation inevitably turned to the number of women who had had their tubes tied or their ovaries removed by the Indian Health Service. Communication spurred by activism provoked a growing number of Native American women to piece together and name what amounted to a national eugenics policy carried out with copious federal funding.

WARN and other women's organizations publicized the sterilizations, which were performed after pro forma "consent" of the women being sterilized. The "consent" sometimes was not offered in the women's language, and often followed threats that they would die or lose their welfare benefits if they had more children. At least two fifteen-year-old girls were told they were having their tonsils out before their ovaries were removed. The enormity of government-funded sterilization, as well as its eugenics context, has been documented by Sally Torpy (1998) in her thesis, "Endangered Species: Native American Women's Struggle for Their Reproductive Rights and Racial Identity, 1970s–1990s," written at the University of Nebraska at Omaha.

No one even today knows exactly how many Native American women were sterilized during the 1970s. One basis for calculation is provided by the General Accounting Office, whose study covered only four of twelve IHS regions over four years (1973–1976). Within those limits, the study docu-

mented the sterilization of 3,406 Indian women. Another estimate was provided by Lehman Brightman (Lakota), who devoted much of his life to the issue. His educated guess (without exact calculations to back it up) is that 40 percent of Native women and 10 percent of Native men were sterilized during the decade. Brightman estimates that the total number of Indian women sterilized during the decade was between 60,000 and 70,000. The women of WARN played a central role in bringing involuntary sterilization of Native American women to an end.

Bruce E. Johansen

*See also* American Indian Movement; LaDuke, Winona; Reservations Economic and Social Conditions.

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## Wovoka

Numu (northern Paiute) seer, holy man, and prophet of the 1890 Ghost Dance movement. After experiencing a vision, Wovoka (Jack Wilson, ca. 1858–1932) began preaching to the local Numu on the Walker River Reservation. Word of his teachings spread rapidly to reservations as far east as Oklahoma, and the Ghost Dance of 1890 became one of the most widespread and famous pan-Indian religious movements of the nineteenth century.

Wovoka (the [wood] cutter) was born sometime between 1856 and 1863 in either the Smith or Mason Valleys of western Nevada. His father was named Numu-tibo'o ("Northern Paiute White Man"), and Wovoka had at least two younger brothers. As a child of about eight, he began working on the Mason Valley ranch of David and Abigail Wilson. There he acquired the name by which he was more commonly known by local whites and Indians alike: Jack Wil-





son. The Wilsons were devout United Presbyterians, and it is reasonable to suspect that this early exposure to Christianity influenced the development of the Ghost Dance doctrine. Wovoka and his wife Mary (who by various accounts was Numu or Bannock) had a number of children but only three daughters survived to adulthood.

Wovoka grew up in a spiritual tradition based in shamanism and prophecy. Two decades before his vision, a previous version of the Ghost Dance had emerged from Walker River. James Mooney, the first to study the religion, believed that Wovoka's father was the 1870 Ghost Dance prophet, but subsequent scholarship has determined that the prophet was a Fish Lake Valley Paiute named Wodziwob. Wovoka's father may have had some involvement with the earlier Ghost Dance but the details remain obscure. Wovoka demonstrated his power to followers in ways common for Numu shamans—weather control and invulnerability. Although he was not practicing as a shaman when he experienced his visions, he later became a noted healer.

Wovoka experienced his first vision on New Year's Day 1889. He reported traveling to heaven and meeting God. He was instructed to return to Earth and tell the people to lead good and loving lives and to follow a ritual that, if faithfully observed, would reunite them with their deceased loved ones and friends in a world without "death or sickness or old age." The basic ceremony in 1890 was identical to that of 1870—the Great Basin Round Dance. Within the circle, men, women, and children alternated sexes, interlocked fingers, and shuffled slowly to the left, all the while singing the numerous songs revealed to individual dancers in visions. The first dances probably took place early in 1889, and by the time of the second dances later that spring Indians from across the Great Basin were already in attendance.

Wovoka's doctrine was similar to the 1870 movement but exhibited some very important differ-

ences. The only written version of Wovoka's doctrine recorded by a Native person was the Messiah Letter, written by the Caspar Edson (Arapaho) in August 1891. On one level the intent of the 1890 Ghost Dance was to bring a radical transformation of the existing order—a renewal of the earth and reunification of all people—but on another its effect was redemptive. Wovoka preached a gospel of peace, love, and accommodation that, by eliminating many of the causes of internal discord, served to strengthen Indian communities. Wovoka's message was flexible and allowed room for individual and cultural interpretation. He told his followers to live at peace with the whites: "Do not fight. Do always right." On the other hand his words could also be interpreted to suggest that whites would not survive the coming cataclysm. His doctrine also exhibited far greater Christian influence than the earlier movement. Wovoka reportedly claimed he was Jesus and allegedly showed the stigmata of crucifixion to a number of Native seekers, including the Cheyenne holy man Porcupine.

The massacre of Lakota Ghost Dancers at Wounded Knee in December of 1890 did not end the practice of the religion, as is popularly believed. Wovoka continued to be a renowned healer and spiritual leader into the twentieth century. Individual Indians and delegations corresponded with and visited him until his death in September 1932. He was buried beside his wife Mary in the Walker River Reservation cemetery.

Gregory E. Smoak

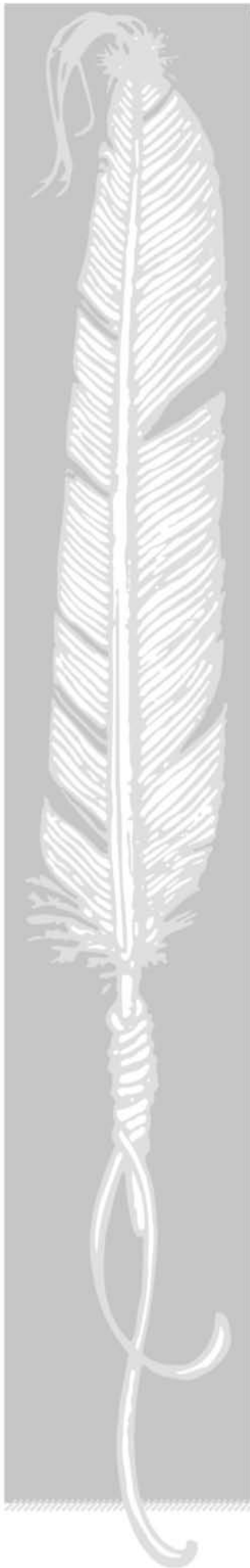
*See also* Ghost Dance Religion; Wounded Knee, South Dakota, Massacre at.

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*Cherokee Phoenix*

**GWY J. SUO. A.**

**CHEROKEE PHOENIX.**

VOL. I. NEW SCOTIA, THURSDAY APRIL 10, 1828. NO. 11.

**THE CHIEF OF THE CHEROKEE NATION.**

**TO THE EDITOR OF THE CHEROKEE PHOENIX.**

SIR: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your issue of the 10th inst. and to inform you that it has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully, Sir, your obedient servant, J. B. HARRIS, Chief of the Cherokee Nation.

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# Primary Source Documents



## Iroquois Great Law of Peace

Probably dating back to the mid-twelfth century, the Iroquois Great Law of Peace is accredited to legendary Huron leader Deganawidah, who lived in what is now upstate New York. Deganawidah formed a Native American confederation of five Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) in the region. Sometimes referred to as the Five Nations, the Iroquois Confederacy had many allies over a large area. The confederacy emerged as the strongest Native American confederacy in North America when European immigration began and remained so until the American Revolution. The Confederacy split during that conflict, mostly siding with the British (the Oneidas siding with the Patriots and the Senecas split). Afterward, the Confederacy was forced to cede much of its land to the Americans.

The Iroquois Great Law is a remarkable statement of human rights, and some of its principles have influenced the evolution of democracy worldwide, including the U.S. Constitution of 1787. What follows are a few brief excerpts of a condensation of the oral history that was first written during the 1880s. A complete version of the Great Law takes about four eight-hour days to recite; the last person who could recite it from memory was Jake Thomas, a Cayuga (1922–1998). The oral history has been recited in several versions. One that has been published, in Onondaga and English, is Hanni Woodbury, comp. Concerning the League: The Iroquois League Tradition as Dictated in Onondaga by John Arthur Gibson (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1992).

I am Dekanawidah and with the Five Nations' Confederate Lords I plant the Tree of Great Peace. I plant it in your territory, Adodarhoh, and the Onondaga Nation, in the territory of you who are Firekeepers.

I name the tree the Tree of the Great Long Leaves. Under the shade of this Tree of the Great Peace we spread the soft white feathery down of the globe thistle as seats for you, Adodarhoh, and your cousin Lords.

We place at the top of the Tree of the Long Leaves an Eagle who is able to see afar. If he sees in the distance any evil approaching or any danger





threatening he will at once warn the people of the Confederacy.

Whenever the Confederate Lords shall assemble for the purpose of holding a council, the Onondaga Lords shall open it by expressing their gratitude to their cousin Lords and greeting them, and they shall make an address and offer thanks to the earth where men dwell, to the streams of water, the pools, the springs and the lakes, to the maize and the fruits, to the medicinal herbs and trees, to the forest trees for their usefulness, to the animals that serve as food and give their pelts for clothing, to the great winds and the lesser winds, to the Thunderers, to the Sun, the mighty warrior, to the moon, to the messengers of the Creator who reveal his wishes and to the Great Creator who dwells in the heavens above, who gives all the things useful to men, and who is the source and the ruler of health and life.

Every Onondaga Lord (or his deputy) must be present at every Confederate Council and must agree with the majority without unwarrantable dissent, so that a unanimous decision may be rendered.

All the business of the Five Nations Confederate Council shall be conducted by the two combined bodies of Confederate Lords. First the question shall be passed upon by the Mohawk and Seneca Lords, then it shall be discussed and passed by the Oneida and Cayuga Lords. Their decisions shall then be referred to the Onondaga Lords, [Fire Keepers] for final judgment.

In all cases the procedure must be as follows: when the Mohawk and Seneca Lords have unanimously agreed upon a question, they shall report their decision to the Cayuga and Oneida Lords who shall deliberate upon the question and report a unanimous decision to the Mohawk Lords. The Mohawk Lords will then report the standing of the case to the Firekeepers, who shall render a decision as they see fit in case of a disagreement by the two bodies, or confirm the decisions of the two bodies if they are identical. The Fire Keepers shall then report their decision to the Mohawk Lords who shall announce it to the open council.

### **Rights, Duties and Qualifications of Lords**

If at any time it shall be manifest that a Confederate Lord has not in mind the welfare of the people or disobeys the rules of this Great Law, the men or women of the Confederacy, or both jointly, shall

come to the Council and upbraid the erring Lord through his War Chief. If the complaint of the people through the War Chief is not heeded the first time it shall be uttered again and then if no attention is given a third complaint and warning shall be given. If the Lord is contemptuous the matter shall go to the council of War Chiefs. The War Chiefs shall then divest the erring Lord of his title by order of the women in whom the titleship is vested. When the Lord is deposed the women shall notify the Confederate Lords through their War Chief, and the Confederate Lords shall sanction the act. The women will then select another of their sons as a candidate and the Lords shall elect him. Then shall the chosen one be installed by the Installation Ceremony.

If a Lord of the Confederacy of the Five Nations should commit murder the other Lords of the Nation shall assemble at the place where the corpse lies and prepare to depose the criminal Lord. If it is impossible to meet at the scene of the crime the Lords shall discuss the matter at the next Council of their Nation and request their War Chief to depose the Lord guilty of crime, to "bury" his women relatives and to transfer the Lordship title to a sister family.

Certain physical defects in a Confederate Lord make him ineligible to sit in the Confederate Council. Such defects are infancy, idiocy, blindness, deafness, dumbness, and impotency. When a Confederate Lord is restricted by any of these conditions, a deputy shall be appointed by his sponsors to act for him, but in case of extreme necessity the restricted Lord may exercise his rights.

The Lords of the Confederacy of the Five Nations shall be mentors of the people for all time. The thickness of their skin shall be seven spans—which is to say that they shall be proof against anger, offensive actions, and criticism. Their hearts shall be full of peace and good will and their minds filled with a yearning for the welfare of the people of the Confederacy. With endless patience they shall carry out their duty and their firmness shall be tempered with a tenderness for their people. Neither anger nor fury shall find lodgment in their minds and all their words and actions shall be marked by calm deliberation.

All Lords of the Five Nations Confederacy must be honest in all things. They must not idle or gossip, but be men possessing those honorable qualities that make true Royaneh. It shall be a serious wrong for anyone to lead a Lord into trivial affairs, for the people must ever hold their Lords high in estimation out of respect to their honorable positions.





Should any man of the Nation assist with special ability or show great interest in the affairs of the Nation, if he proves himself wise, honest, and worthy of confidence, the Confederate Lords may elect him to a seat with them and he may sit in the Confederate Council. He shall be proclaimed a "Pine Tree sprung up for the Nation" and shall be installed as such at the next assembly for the installation of Lords. Should he ever do anything contrary to the rules of the Great Peace, he may not be deposed from office—"no one shall cut him down"—but thereafter everyone shall be deaf to his voice and his advice. Should he resign his seat and title no one shall prevent him. A Pine Tree chief has no authority to name a successor nor is his title hereditary.

People of the Five Nations members of a certain clan shall recognize every other member of that clan, irrespective of the Nation, as relatives. Men and women, therefore, members of the same clan are forbidden to marry.

The lineal descent of the people of the Five Nations shall run in the female line. Women shall be considered the progenitors of the Nation. They shall own the land and the soil. Men and women shall follow the status of the mother. The women heirs of the Confederated Lordship titles shall be called Royaneh [Noble] for all time to come. The women of the Forty Nine [Fifty, with an empty seat for the Peacemaker]. Royaneh families shall be the heirs of the Authorized Names for all time to come.

If the female heirs of a Confederate Lord's title become extinct, the title right shall be given by the Lords of the Confederacy to the sister family whom they shall elect and that family shall hold the name and transmit it to their (female) heirs, but they shall not appoint any of their sons as a candidate for a title until all the eligible men of the former family shall have died or otherwise have become ineligible.

Five arrows shall be bound together very strong and each arrow shall represent one nation. As the five arrows are strongly bound this shall symbolize the complete union of the nations. Thus are the Five Nations united completely and enfolded together, united into one head, one body, and one mind. Therefore they shall labor, legislate, and council together for the interest of future generations.

The Lords of the Confederacy shall eat together from one bowl the feast of cooked beaver's tail. While they are eating they are to use no sharp utensils for if they should they might accidentally cut one another and bloodshed would follow. All measures must be taken to prevent the spilling of blood in any way.

The people [are vested] with the right to correct their erring Lords. In case a part or all the Lords pursue a course not vouched for by the people and heed not the third warning of their women relatives, then the matter shall be taken to the General Council of the women of the Five Nations. If the Lords notified and warned three times fail to heed, then the case falls into the hands of the men of the Five Nations. The War Chiefs shall then, by right of such power and authority, enter the open council to warn the Lord or Lords to return from the wrong course. If the Lords heed the warning they shall say, "we will reply tomorrow." If then an answer is returned in favor of justice and in accord with this Great Law, then the Lords shall individually pledge themselves again by again furnishing the necessary shells for the pledge. Then shall the War Chief or Chiefs exhort the Lords urging them to be just and true.

When a member of an alien nation comes to the territory of the Five Nations and seeks refuge and permanent residence, the Lords of the Nation to which he comes shall extend hospitality and make him a member of the nation. Then shall he be accorded equal rights and privileges in all matters except as after mentioned.

No body of alien people [which have been] adopted temporarily shall have a vote in the council of the Lords of the Confederacy, for only they who have been invested with Lordship titles may vote in the Council. Aliens have nothing by blood to make claim to a vote and should they have it, not knowing all the traditions of the Confederacy, might go against its Great Peace. In this manner the Great Peace would be endangered and perhaps be destroyed.

When the men of the Five Nations, now called forth to become warriors, are ready for battle with an obstinate opposing nation that has refused to accept the Great Peace, then one of the five War Chiefs shall be chosen by the warriors of the Five Nations to lead the army into battle. It shall be the duty of the War Chief so chosen to come before his warriors and address them. His aim shall be to impress upon them the necessity of good behavior and strict obedience to all the commands of the War Chiefs. He shall deliver an oration exhorting them with great zeal to be brave and courageous and never to be guilty of cowardice. At the conclusion of his oration he shall march forward and commence the War Song . . .

The rites and festivals of each nation shall remain undisturbed and shall continue as before





because they were given by the people of old times as useful and necessary for the good of men.

A certain sign shall be known to all the people of the Five Nations which shall denote that the owner or occupant of a house is absent. A stick or pole in a slanting or leaning position shall indicate this and be the sign. Every person not entitled to enter the house by right of living within it upon seeing such a sign shall not approach the house either by day or by night but shall keep as far away as his business will permit.

## Christopher Columbus: Journal

*Christopher Columbus kept a detailed journal of his travels in America that is not only a rich source for descriptions of the peoples he met, but also reveals his assumptions about them.*

### IN THE NAME OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST

Whereas, Most Christian, High, Excellent, and Powerful Princes, King and Queen of Spain and of the Islands of the Sea, our Sovereigns, this present year 1492, after your Highnesses had terminated the war with the Moors reigning in Europe . . .

Friday, 3 August, 1492. Set sail from the bar of Saltes at 8 o'clock, and proceeded with a strong breeze till sunset, sixty miles or fifteen leagues south, afterwards southwest and south by west, which is the direction of the Canaries.

Tuesday, 25 September. . . . At sunset Martin Alonzo called out with great joy from his vessel that he saw land, and demanded of the Admiral a reward for his intelligence. The Admiral says, when he heard him declare this, he fell on his knees and returned thanks to God, and Martin Alonzo with his crew repeated Gloria in excelsis Deo, as did the crew of the Admiral. Those on board the Nina ascended the rigging, and all declared they saw land. The Admiral also thought it was land, and about twenty-five leagues distant.

Wednesday, 26 September. Continued their course west till the afternoon, then southwest and discovered that what they had taken for land was nothing but clouds.

Thursday, 11 October. Steered west-southwest; and encountered a heavier sea than they had met with before in the whole voyage. Saw pardelas and a green rush near the vessel. The crew of the *Pinta* saw a cane and a log; they also picked up a stick which appeared to have been carved with an iron tool, a

piece of cane, a plant which grows on land, and a board. The crew of the *Nina* saw other signs of land, and a stalk loaded with rose berries. These signs encouraged them, and they all grew cheerful. Sailed this day till sunset, twenty-seven leagues.

After sunset steered their original course west and sailed twelve miles an hour till two hours after midnight, going ninety miles, which are twenty-two leagues and a half; and as the *Pinta* was the swiftest sailer, and kept ahead of the Admiral, she discovered land and made the signals which had been ordered. The land was first seen by a sailor called Rodrigo de Triana, although the Admiral at ten o'clock that evening standing on the quarter-deck saw a light . . . near a small island, one of the Lucayos, called in the Indian language Guanahani. Presently they descried people, naked, and the Admiral landed in the boat, which was armed, along with Martin Alonzo Pinzon, and Vincent Yanez his brother, captain of the *Nina*. The Admiral bore the royal standard, and the two captains each a banner of the Green Cross. . . .

Numbers of the people of the island straightway collected together. Here follow the precise words of the Admiral: "As I saw that they were very friendly to us, and perceived that they could be much more easily converted to our holy faith by gentle means than by force, I presented them with some red caps, and strings of beads to wear upon the neck, and many other trifles of small value, where-with they were much delighted, and became wonderfully attached to us. Afterwards they came swimming to the boats, bringing parrots, balls of cotton thread, javelins, and many other things which they exchanged for articles we gave them, such as glass beads, and hawk's bells; which trade was carried on with the utmost good will. But they seemed on the whole to me, to be a very poor people. They all go completely naked, even the women, though I saw but one girl. All whom I saw were young, not above thirty years of age, well made, with fine shapes and faces; their hair short, and coarse like that of a horse's tail, combed toward the forehead, except a small portion which they suffer to hang down behind, and never cut.

Some paint themselves with black, which makes them appear like those of the Canaries, neither black nor white; others with white, others with red, and others with such colors as they can find. Some paint the face, and some the whole body; others only the eyes, and others the nose. Weapons they have none, nor are acquainted with them, for I showed them swords which they grasped by the blades, and cut





themselves through ignorance. They have no iron, their javelins being without it, and nothing more than sticks, though some have fish-bones or other things at the ends. They are all of a good size and stature, and handsomely formed.

Saturday, 13 October. At daybreak great multitudes of men came to the shore, all young and of fine shapes, very handsome; their hair not curled but straight and coarse like horse-hair, and all with foreheads and heads much broader than any people I had hitherto seen; their eyes were large and very beautiful; they were not black, but the color of the inhabitants of the Canaries, which is a very natural circumstance, they being in the same latitude with the island of Ferro in the Canaries. They were straight-limbed without exception, and not with prominent bellies but handsomely shaped. They came to the ship in canoes, made of a single trunk of a tree, wrought in a wonderful manner considering the country; some of them large enough to contain forty or forty-five men, others of different sizes down to those fitted to hold but a single person.

## Powhatan: Remarks to Captain John Smith

*One of the most powerful Indian leaders in North America during the early seventeenth century, Powhatan ruled over a large confederacy from his base in Virginia. He had an erratic relationship with the Jamestown colonists, as the two sides maintained a tenuous peace. Nevertheless, despite their mutual suspicion, Powhatan supplied the colonists with food during several crucial periods and thus saved the fledgling colony from total disaster. Powhatan was succeeded at his death in 1618, by his brother Opechancanough, who was far less tolerant of the colonists and organized the devastating Massacre of 1622, in which one-third of the white population died at Indian hands.*

Captain Smith, some doubt I have of your coming hither . . . for many do inform me, your coming is not for trade, but to invade my people and possess my Country. . . . I am now grown old, and must soon die; and the succession must descend, in order, to my brothers, Opitchapan, Opekankanough, and Catataugh, and then to my two sisters, and their two daughters. I wish their experience was equal to mine; and that your love to us might not be less than ours to you. Why

should you take by force that from us which you can have by love? Why should you destroy us, who have provided you with food? What can you get by war? We can hide our provisions, and fly into the woods; and then you must consequently famish by wronging your friends. What is the cause of your jealousy? You see us unarmed, and willing to supply your wants, if you will come in a friendly manner, and not with swords and guns, as to invade an enemy. I am not so simple, as not to know it is better to eat good meat, lie well, and sleep quietly with my women and children; to laugh and be merry with the English; and, being their friend, to have copper, hatchets, and whatever else I want, than to fly from all, to lie cold in the woods, feed upon acorns, roots, and such trash, and to be so hunted, that I cannot rest, eat, or sleep. In such circumstances, my men must watch, and if a twig should break, all would cry out, "Here comes Capt. Smith": and so, in this miserable manner, to end my miserable life; and, Capt. Smith, this might be soon your fate too, through your rashness and unadvisedness. I, therefore, exhort you to peaceable councils; and, above all, I insist that the guns and swords, the cause of all our jealousy and uneasiness, be removed and sent away.

## Massasoit Peace Treaty

*The Wampanoag chief Massasoit was the first Indian leader to deal with the New England colonists shortly after the Pilgrims' arrival in Plymouth, Massachusetts, in late 1620. At the Pilgrims' request, Massasoit agreed to this treaty in March 1621. Both sides worked hard to maintain peace as long as Massasoit lived, despite bitter conflicts between Indians and colonists in other parts of New England. The chief died in 1662 and was succeeded by his son, Metacom, who led the Wampanoags in King Philip's War against the colonists from 1676 to 1677.*

1. That neither he nor any of his should injure or do hurt to any of our people.
2. And if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him.
3. That if any of our tools were taken away when our people were at work, he should cause them to be restored; and if ours did any harm to any of his, we would do the like to them.





4. If any did unjustly war against him, we would aid him; if any did war against us, he should aid us.
5. He should send to his neighbor confederates, to certify them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.
6. That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should do our pieces when we came to them.

Lastly, that doing thus, King James would esteem of him as his friend and ally.

## John Mason: A Brief History of the Pequot War

*The Pequot War of 1636 was the first and one of the most brutal of the American Indian wars. The result of fighting among the tribes and their shifting alliances with the American colonists, the war ended with the complete annihilation of the Pequot tribe, particularly after the gruesome Indian massacre at Fort Mystic. When the war ended in 1637, the few surviving Pequots were sold off into slavery. The Pequot War cleared the path for white expansion in southern New England and was generally regarded as a great triumph by the colonists.*

*Major John Mason served as commander of the Connecticut forces. He wrote this history of the war around 1670, although it did not appear in print until 1736, when Boston minister and historian Thomas Prince published it with his own introduction and explanatory notes.*

In the Beginning of May 1637 there were sent out by Connecticut Colony Ninety Men under the Command of Capt. John Mason against the Pequots, with Onkos an Indian Sachem living at Mohegan [Note: Onkos, usually called Uncas, the Great Sachem of the Moheags] who was newly revolted from the Pequots; being Shipped in one Pink, one Pinnace, and one Shallop; who sailing down the River of Connecticut fell several times a ground, the Water being very low: The Indians not being wonted to such Things with their small Canoes, and also being impatient of Delays, desired they might be set on Shoar, promising that they would meet us at Saybrook; which we granted: They hastening to their Quarters, fell upon Thirty or forty of the Enemy near

Saybrook Fort, and killed seven of them outright; having only one of theirs wounded, who was sent back to Connecticut in a Skiff; Capt. John Underhill also coming with him, who informed us what was performed by Onkos and his Men; which we looked at as a special Providence; for before we were somewhat doubtful of his Fidelity: Capt. Underhill then offered his Service with nineteen Men to go with us, if Lieutenant Gardner would allow of it, who was Chief Commander at Saybrook Fort; which was readily approved of by Lieutenant Gardner and accepted by us; In lieu of them we sent back twenty of our Soldiers to Connecticut.

. . . Their Numbers far exceeded ours: having sixteen Guns with Powder and Shot, as we were informed by the two Captives forementioned (where we declared the Grounds of this War) who were taken by the Dutch and restored to us at Saybrook; which indeed was a very friendly Office and not to be forgotten. . . . They were on Land, and being swift on Foot, might much impede our Landing, and possibly dishearten our Men; we being expected only by Land, there being no other Place to go on Shoar but in that River, nearer than Narragansett.

. . . We Marched thence towards Pequot, with about five hundred Indians: But through the Heat of the Weather and want of Provisions some of our Men fainted: And having Marched about twelve Miles, we came to Pawcatuck River, at a Ford where our Indians told us the Pequots did usually Fish; there making an Alta, we stayed some small time: The Narragansett Indians manifesting great Fear, in so much that many of them returned, although they had frequently despised us, saying, That we durst not look upon a Pequot, but themselves would perform great Things; though we had often told them that we came on purpose and were resolved, God assisting, to see the Pequots, and to fight with them, before we returned, though we perished. I then enquired of Onkos, what he thought the Indians would do? Who said, The Narragansetts would all leave us, but as for Himself He would never leave us: and so it proved: For which Expressions and some other Speeches of his, I shall never forget him. Indeed he was a great Friend, and did great Service.

And after we had refreshed our selves with our mean Commons, we Marched about three Miles, and came to a Field which had lately been planted with Indian Corn: There we made another Alt, and called our Council, supposing we drew near to the Enemy: and being informed by the Indians that the Enemy had two Forts almost impregnable; but we were not





at all Discouraged, but rather Animated, in so much that we were resolved to Assault both their Forts at once. But understanding that one of them was so remote that we could not come up with it before Midnight, though we Marched hard; whereat we were much grieved, chiefly because the greatest and bloodiest Sachem there resided, whose name was Sassacous: We were then constrained, being exceedingly spent in our March with [extreme] Heat and want of Necessaries, to accept of the nearest.

We then Marching on in a silent Manner, the Indians that remained fell all into the Rear, who formerly kept the Van; (being possessed with great Fear) we continued our March till about one Hour in the Night: and coming to a little Swamp between two Hills, there we pitched our little Camp; much wearied with hard Travel, keeping great Silence, supposing we were very near the Fort; as our Indians informed us; which proved otherwise: The Rocks were our Pillows; yet Rest was pleasant: The Night proved Comfortable, being clear and Moon Light: We appointed our Guards and placed our Sentinels at some distance; who heard the Enemy Singing at the Fort, who continued that Strain until Midnight, with great Insulting and Rejoycing, as we were afterwards informed: They seeing our Pinnaces sail by them some Days before, concluded we were afraid of them and durst not come near them, the Burthen of their Song tending to that purpose.

In the Morning, we awaking and seeing it very light, supposing it had been day, and so we might have lost our Opportunity, having purposed to make our Assault before Day; rowsed the Men with all expedition, and briefly commended ourselves and Design to God, thinking immediately to go to the Assault; the Indians shewing us a Path, told us that it led directly to the Fort. We held on our March about two Miles, wondering that we came not to the Fort, and fearing we might be deluded: But seeing Corn newly planted at the Foot of a great Hill, supposing the Fort was not far off, a Champion Country being round about us; then making a stand, gave the Word for some of the Indians to come up: At length Onkos and one Wequash appeared; We demanded of them, Where was the Fort? They answered On the Top of that Hill: Then we demanded, Where were the Rest of the Indians? They answered, Behind, exceedingly afraid: We wished them to tell the rest of their Fellows, That they should by no means Fly, but stand at what distance they pleased, and see whether English Men would now Fight or not. Then Capt. Underhill came up, who Marched in the Rear; and commend-

ing ourselves to God, divided our Men: There being two Entrances into the Fort, intending to enter both at once: Captain Mason leading up to that on the North East Side; who approaching within one Rod, heard a Dog bark and an Indian crying Owanux! Owanux! which is Englishmen! Englishmen! We called up our Forces with all expedition, gave Fire upon them through the Pallizado; the Indians being in a dead indeed their last Sleep: Then we wheeling off fell upon the main Entrance, which was blocked up with Bushes about Breast high, over which the Captain passed, intending to make good the Entrance, encouraging the rest to follow. Lieutenant Seeley endeavoured to enter; but being somewhat cumbred, stepped back and pulled out the Bushes and so entred, and with him about sixteen Men: We had formerly concluded to destroy them by the Sword and save the Plunder.

Whereupon Captain Mason seeing no Indians, entred a Wigwam; where he was beset with many Indians, waiting all opportunities to lay Hands on him, but could not prevail. At length William Heydon. . . . Notwithstanding the statement by Trumbull and others, that Davis cut the bowstring and saved the life of Mason, there is reason, well supported by tradition, for believing that this service was performed by Heydon, and that the incident occurred at this very moment. It will be seen that Mason entered the fort on one side, that Davis entered on the opposite with Captain Underhill, and that he could therefore not have been near. The sword of Heydon that is said to have cut the bowstring is in the possession of the Connecticut Historical Society.] espying the Breach in the Wigwam, supposing some English might be there, entred; but in his Entrance fell over a dead Indian; but speedily recovering himself, the Indians some fled, others crept under their Beds: The Captain going out of the Wigwam saw many Indians in the Lane or Street; he making towards them, they fled, were pursued to the End of the Lane, where they were met by Edward Pattison, Thomas Barber, with some others; where seven of them were Slain, as they said. The Captain facing about, Marched a slow Pace up the Lane he came down, perceiving himself very much out of Breath; and coming to the other End near the Place where he first entred, saw two Soldiers standing close to the Pallizado with their Swords pointed to the Ground: the Captain told them that We should never kill them after that manner: The Captain also said, We must Burn them; and immediately stepping into the Wigwam where he had been before, brought





out a Firebrand, and putting it into the Matts with which they were covered, set the Wigwams on Fire. Lieutenant Thomas Bull and Nicholas Omsted beholding, came up; and when it was thoroughly kindled, the Indians ran as Men most dreadfully Amazed.

And indeed such a dreadful Terror did the Almighty let fall upon their Spirits, that they would fly from us and run into the very Flames, where many of them perished. And when the Fort was thoroughly Fired, Command was given, that all should fall off and surround the Fort; which was readily attended by all; only one Arthur Smith being so wounded that he could not move out of the Place, who was happily espied by Lieutenant Bull, and by him rescued.

The Fire was kindled on the North East Side to windward; which did swiftly over-run the Fort, to the extream Amazement of the Enemy, and great Rejoycing of our selves. Some of them climbing to the Top of the Pallizado; others of them running into the very Flames; many of them gathering to windward, lay pelting at us with their Arrows; and we repayed them with our small Shot: Others of the Stoutest issued forth, as we did guess, to the Number of Forty, who perished by the Sword.

What I have formerly said, is according to my own Knowledge, there being sufficient living Testimony to every Particular.

But in reference to Captain Underhill and his Parties acting in this Assault, I can only intimate as we were informed by some of themselves immediately after the Fight, Thus They Marching up to the Entrance on the South West Side, there made some Pause; a valiant, resolute Gentleman, one Mr. Hodge, stepping towards the Gate, saying; If we may not Enter, wherefore came we here; and immediately endeavoured to Enter; but was opposed by a sturdy Indian which did impede his Entrance; but the Indian being slain by himself and Sergeant Davis, Mr. Hedge Entred the Fort with some others; but the Fort being on Fire, the Smoak and Flames were so violent that they were constrained to desert the Fort.

Thus were they now at their Wits End, who not many Hours before exalted themselves in their great Pride, threatening and resolving the utter Ruin and Destruction of all the English, Exulting and Rejoycing with Songs and Dances: But God was above them, who laughed his Enemies and the Enemies of his People to Scorn, making them as a fiery Oven: Thus were the Stout Hearted spoiled, having slept

their last Sleep, and none of their Men could find their Hands: Thus did the Lord judge among the Heathen, filling the Place with dead Bodies!

And here we may see the just Judgment of God, in sending even the very Night before this Assault, One hundred and fifty Men from their other Fort, to join with them of that Place, who were designed as some of themselves reported to go forth against the English, at that very Instant when this heavy Stroak came upon them where they perished with their Fellows. So that the Mischief they intended to us, came upon their own Pate: They were taken in their own snare, and we through Mercy escaped. And thus in little more than one Hour's space was their impregnable Fort with themselves utterly Destroyed, to the Number of six or seven Hundred, as some of themselves confessed. There were only seven taken captive, and about seven escaped. (The place of the Fort being called Mistick), this Fight was called Mistick Fight: And Mr. Increase Mather, from a Manuscript he met with, tells us; It was on Friday, May 26. 1637, a memorable Day!

Of the English, there were two Slain outright, and about twenty Wounded: Some Fainted by reason of the sharpness of the Weather, it being a cool Morning, and the want of such Comforts and Necessaries as were needful in such a Case; especially our [Surgeon] [Note: This surgeon, whose name was Pell, had been attached to Saybrook Fort and was sent on the expedition by Gardener.] was much wanting, whom we left with our Barks in Narragansett Bay, who had Order there to remain until the Night before our intended Assault.

And thereupon grew many Difficulties: Our Provision and Munition near spent; we in the enemies Country, who did far exceed us in Number, being much enraged: all our Indians, except Onkos, deserting us; our Pinnaces at a great distance from us, and when they would come we were uncertain.

But as we were consulting what Course to take, it pleased God to discover our Vessels to us before a fair Gale of Wind, sailing into Pequot Harbour, to our great Rejoycing.

We had no sooner discovered our Vessels, but immediately came up the Enemy from the other Fort; Three Hundred or more as we conceived. The Captain lead out a file or two of Men to Skirmish with them, chiefly to try what temper they were of, who put them to a stand: we being much encouraged thereat, presently prepared to March towards our Vessels: Four or Five of our Men were so wounded that they must be carried with the Arms





of twenty more. We also being faint, were constrained to put four to one Man, with the Arms of the rest that were wounded to others; so that we had not above forty Men free: at length we hired several Indians, who eased us of that Burthen, in carrying of our wounded Men. And Marching about one quarter of a Mile; the Enemy coming up to the Place where the Fort was, and beholding what was done, stamped and tore the Hair from their Heads: And after a little space, came mounting down the Hill upon us, in a full career, as if they would over run us; But when they came within Shot, the Rear faced about, giving Fire upon them: Some of them being Shot, made the rest more wary: Yet they held on running to and fro, and shooting their Arrows at Random. There was at the Foot of the Hill a small Brook, where we rested and refreshed our selves, having by that time taught them a little more Manners than to disturb us.

We then Marched on towards Pequot Harbour; and falling upon several Wigwams, burnt them: The Enemy still following us in the Rear, which was to windward, though to little purpose; yet some of them lay in Ambush behind Rocks and Trees, often shooting at us, yet through Mercy touched not one of us; And as we came to any Swamp or Thicket, we made some Shot to clear the Passage. Some of them fell with our Shot; and probably more might, but for want of Munition; But when any of them fell, our Indians would give a great Shout, and then would they take so much Courage as to fetch their Heads. And thus we continued, until we came within two Miles of Pequot Harbour; where the Enemy gathered together and left us; we Marching on to the Top of an Hill adjoining to the Harbour, with our Colours flying; having left our Drum at the Place of our Rendezvous the Night before: We seeing our Vessels there Riding at Anchor, to our great Rejoycing, and came to the Water-Side, we there sat down in Quiet.

Captain Patrick being Arrived there with our Vessels, who as we were informed was sent with Forty Men by the Massachusetts Colony, upon some Service against the Block Islanders; Who coming to the Shore in our Shallop with all his Company, as he said to Rescue us, supposing we were pursued, though there did not appear any the least sign of Such a Thing.

Thus did the Lord scatter his Enemies with his strong Arm! The Pequots now became a Prey to all Indians. Happy were they that could bring in their Heads to the English: Of which there came almost daily to Winsor, or Hartford. But the Pequots grow-

ing weary hereof, sent some of the Chief that survived to mediate with the English; offering that If they might but enjoy their Lives, they would become the English Vassals, to dispose of them as they pleased. Which was granted them. Whereupon Onkos and Myantonimo were sent for; who with the Pequots met at Hartford. The Pequots being demanded, how many of them were then living? Answered, about One Hundred and Eighty, or two Hundred. There were then given to Onkos, Sachem of Monheag, Eighty; to Myantonimo, Sachem of Narragansett, Eighty; and to Nynigrett, (He was usually called Ninnicraft.) Twenty, when he should satisfy for a Mare of Edward Pomroye's killed by his Men. The Pequots were then bound by Covenant, That none should inhabit their native Country, nor should any of them be called Pequots any more, but Moheags and Narragansetts forever. Shortly after, about Forty of them went to Moheag; others went to Long Island; the rest settled at Pawcatuck, a Place in Pequot Country, contrary to their late Covenant and Agreement with the English.

### William Johnson: Report Regarding the Iroquois Confederacy

*Superintendent of Indian Affairs in British North America*  
Sir William Johnson possessed a keen awareness of the importance of Native Americans to British policy in fighting the French for control of North America. He sent this report to the Board of Trade in London in the fall of 1763, stressing the strength of the Iroquois Confederacy, which influenced alliances across wide areas in the present-day middle Atlantic, Northeast, and adjacent Ohio Valley. Johnson believed that, if the British would befriend the Iroquois and supply them with weapons, the Iroquois would stymie French aggression in North America.

As Original proprietors, this Confederacy claim the Country of their residence, South of Lake Ontario to the great Ridge of the Blew Mountains, with all the Western part of the province of New York towards Hudsons River, west of the Caats Kill, thence to Lake Champlain, and from Regioghne a Rock at the East side of said lake to Osswegatche on La Gattell on the River St. Lawrence (having long ceded their claim North of said line in favour of the Canada Indians as Hunting ground) thence up the River St. Lawrence and along the South side of Lake Ontario to Niagara.





In right of conquest, they claim all the Country (comprehending the Ohio) along the great Ridge of Blew Mountains at the back of Virginia, thence to the head of the Kentucke River, and down the same to the Ohio above the Rifts, thence Northerly to the South end of Lake Michigan, then along the eastern shore of said lake to Missillimackinac, thence easterly across the North end of Lake Huron to the great Ottawawa River (including the Chippawea or Mississagey Country) and down the said River to the Island of Montreal.—However, these more distant claims being possessed by many powerful Nations, the Inhabitants have long began to render themselves independent by the assistance of the French, and the great decrease of the Six Nations; but their claim to the Ohio, and thence to the Lakes is not in the least disputed by the Shawanese Delawares etc., who never transacted any Sales of Land or other matters without their consent, and who sent Deputys to the grand Council at Onondaga on all important occasions.

## Pontiac: Reasons for Making War on the English Speech

*An outgrowth of the French and Indian War, Pontiac's Rebellion of 1763 illustrated the complicated nature of Euro-Indian alliances in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The uprising was a brief attempt of French-allied Native Americans to win back Canada for the French after the French had been utterly defeated in the French and Indian War. Pontiac, a Delaware, delivered this speech at a meeting of French and Native Americans on May 5, 1763.*

My brothers, we have never had in view to do you any evil. We have never intended that any should be done you. But amongst my young men there are, as amongst you, some who, in spite of all precautions which we take, always do evil. Besides, it is not only for my revenge that I make war upon the English, it is for you, my brothers, as for us. When the English, in their councils, which we have held with them, have insulted us, they have also insulted you, without your knowing anything about it, and as I know, and all our brothers know, the English have taken from you all means of avenging yourselves, by disarming you and making you write on a paper, which they have sent to their country, which they could not make us do; therefore, I will avenge you

equally with us, and I swear annihilation as long as any of them shall remain on our land. Besides, you do not know all the reasons which oblige me to act as I do. I have told you only that which regards you. You will know the rest in time. I know well that I pass amongst many of my brothers for a fool, but you will see in the future if I am such as is said, and if I am wrong. I also know well that there are amongst you, my brothers, some who take the part of the English, to make war against us, and that only pains me on their account. I know them well, and when our father shall have come, I will name them and point them out to him, and they will see whether they or we shall be the most content in the future.

I doubt not, my brothers, that this war tries you, on account of the movements of our brothers, who all the time go and come to your houses. I am sorry for it but do not believe, my brothers, that I instigate the wrong which is done to you, and for proof that I do not wish it, remember the war of the Foxes, and the manner in which I have behaved in your interest. It is now seventeen years that the Sauteux and Ottawas of Michelimakinak and all the nations of the north have come with the Sacs and Foxes to annihilate you. Who has defended you? Was it not I and my people? When Mekinak, great chief of all the nations, said in his council that he would carry to his village the head of your commander, and eat his heart and drink his blood, have I not taken up your interest by going to his camp and telling him, if he wanted to kill the French, he must commence with me and my people? Have I not helped you to defeat them and drive them away? When or how came that? Would you, my brothers, believe that I to-day would turn my arms against you? No, my brothers, I am the same French Pondiak who lent you his hand seventeen years ago. I am a Frenchman, and I want to die a Frenchman! And I repeat to you they are both your interests and mine which I revenge. Let me go on. I don't ask your assistance, because I know you cannot give it. I only ask of you provisions for me and all my people. If, however, you would like to aid me, I would not refuse you. You would cause me pleasure, and you would sooner be out of trouble. For I warrant you, when the English shall be driven from here or killed, we shall all retire to our villages according to our custom, and await the arrival of our father, the Frenchman. These, you see, my brothers, are my sentiments. Rest assured, my brothers, I will watch that no more wrong shall be done to you by my people, nor by other Indians.





What I ask of you is that our women be allowed to plant our corn on the fallows of your lands. We shall obliged to you for that.

## The Royal Proclamation of 7 October 1763

*This Proclamation was an attempt that did not succeed to satisfy Native Americans for a dividing line that would halt encroachment on their lands.*

1763, OCTOBER 7.

BY THE KING.

A Proclamation

*George r.*

Whereas We have taken into Our Royal Consideration the extensive and valuable Acquisitions in America, secured to Our Crown by the late Definitive Treaty of Peace, concluded at Paris the Tenth Day of February last, and being desirous, that all Our loving Subjects, as well of Our Kingdoms as of Our Colonies in America, may avail themselves, with all convenient Speed, of the great Benefits and Advantages which must accrue therefrom to their Commerce, Manufactures, and Navigation; We have thought fit, with the Advice of Our Privy Council, to issue this Our Royal Proclamation, hereby to publish and declare to all Our loving Subjects, that We have, with the Advice of Our said Privy Council, granted Our Letters Patent under Our Great Seal of Great Britain, to erect within the Countries and Islands ceded and confirmed to Us by the said Treaty, Four distinct and separate Governments, stiled and called by the Names of Quebec, East Florida, West Florida, and Grenada, and limited and bounded as follows; viz.

First. The Government of Quebec, bounded on the Labrador Coast by the River St. John, and from thence by a Line drawn from the Head of that River through the Lake St. John to the South End of the Lake nigh Pissin; from whence the said Line crossing the River St. Lawrence and the Lake Champlain in Forty five Degrees of North Latitude, passes along the High Lands which divide the Rivers that empty themselves into the said River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Sea; and also along the North Coast of the Baye des Chaleurs, and the Coast of the Gulph of St. Lawrence to Cape Rosieres, and from thence crossing the Mouth of the River St. Lawrence by the West End of the Island

of Antiocosti, terminates at the aforesaid River of St. John.

Secondly. The Government of East Florida, bounded to the Westward by the Gulph of Mexico, and the Apalachicola River; to the Northward, by a Line drawn from that Part of the said River where the Chatahouchee and Flint Rivers meet, to the Source of St. Mary's River, and by the Course of the said River to the Atlantick Ocean; and to the Eastward and Southward, by the Atlantick Ocean, and the Gulph of Florida, including all Islands within Six Leagues of the Sea Coast.

Thirdly. The Government of West Florida, bounded to the Southward by the Gulph of Mexico, including all Islands within Six Leagues of the Coast from the River Apalachicola to Lake Pentchartain; to the Westward, by the said Lake, the Lake Mauripas, and the River Mississippi; to the Northward, by a Line drawn due East from that Part of the River Mississippi which lies in Thirty one Degrees North Latitude, to the River Apalachicola or Chatahouchee; and to the Eastward by the said River.

. . . And whereas We are desirous, upon all Occasions, to testify Our Royal Sense and Approbation of the Conduct and Bravery of the Officers and Soldiers of Our Armies, and to reward the same, We do hereby command and empower Our Governors of Our said Three New Colonies, and all other Our Governors of Our several Provinces on the Continent of North America, to grant, without Fee or Reward, to such Reduced Officers as have served in North America during the late War, and to such Private Soldiers as have been or shall be disbanded in America, and are actually residing there, and shall personally apply for the same, the following Quantities of Lands, subject at the Expiration of Ten Years to the same Quit-Rents as other Lands are subject to in the Province within which they are granted, as also subject to the same Conditions of Cultivation and Improvement; viz.

To every Person having the Rank of a Field Officer, Five thousand Acres.—To every Captain, Three thousand Acres.—To every Subaltern or Staff Officer, Two thousand Acres.—To every Non-Commission Officer, Two hundred Acres.—To every Private Man, Fifty Acres.

We do likewise authorize and require the Governors and Commanders in Chief of all Our said Colonies upon the Continent of North America, to grant the like Quantities of Land, and upon the same Conditions, to such Reduced Officers of Our Navy, of like Rank, as served on Board Our Ships of War in





North America at the Times of the Reduction of Louisbourg and Quebec in the late War, and who shall personally apply to Our respective Governors for such Grants.

And whereas it is just and reasonable, and essential to Our Interest and the Security of Our Colonies, that the several Nations or Tribes of Indians, with whom We are connected, and who live under Our Protection, should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to, or purchased by Us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds; We do therefore, with the Advice of Our Privy Council, declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of Our Colonies of Quebec, East Florida, or West Florida, do presume, upon any Pretence whatever, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass any Patents for Lands beyond the Bounds of their respective Governments, as described in their Commissions; as also, that no Governor or Commander in Chief in any of Our other Colonies or Plantations in America, do presume, for the present, and until Our further Pleasure be known, to grant Warrants of Survey, or pass Patents for any Lands beyond the Heads or Sources of any of the Rivers which fall into the Atlantick Ocean from the West and North-West, or upon any Lands whatever, which, not having been ceded to, or purchased by Us as aforesaid, are reserved to the said Indians, or any of them.

And We do further declare it to be Our Royal Will and Pleasure, for the present as aforesaid, to reserve under Our Sovereignty, Protection, and Dominion, for the Use of the said Indians, all the Lands and Territories not included within the Limits of Our said Three New Governments, or within the Limits of the Territory granted to the Hudson's Bay Company, as also all the Lands and Territories lying to the Westward of the Sources of the Rivers which fall into the Sea from the West and North West, as aforesaid; and We do hereby strictly forbid, on Pain of Our Displeasure, all Our loving Subjects from making any Purchases or Settlements whatever, or taking Possession of any of the Lands above reserved, without Our especial Leave and Licence for that Purpose first obtained.

And We do further strictly enjoin and require all Persons whatever, who have either wilfully or inadvertently seated themselves upon any Lands within the Countries above described, or upon any other

Lands, which, not having been ceded to, or purchased by Us, are still reserved to the said Indians as aforesaid, forthwith to remove themselves from such Settlements.

And whereas great Frauds and Abuses have been committed in the purchasing Lands of the Indians, to the great Prejudice of Our Interests, and to the great Dissatisfaction of the said Indians; in order therefore to prevent such Irregularities for the future, and to the End that the Indians may be convinced of Our Justice, and determined Resolution to remove all reasonable Cause of Discontent, We do, with the Advice of Our Privy Council, strictly enjoin and require, that no private Person do presume to make any Purchase from the said Indians of any Lands reserved to the said Indians, within those Parts of Our Colonies where We have thought proper to allow Settlement; but that if, at any Time, any of the said Indians should be inclined to dispose of the said Lands, that same shall be purchased only for Us, in Our Name, at some publick Meeting or Assembly of the said Indians to be held for that Purpose by the Governor or Commander in Chief of Our Colonies respectively, within which they shall lie . . .

#### Resource

Royal Proclamation of 7 October 1763. Available at: [http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sga4\\_e.html](http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/ch/rcap/sg/sga4_e.html). Accessed January 27, 2007.

## Fort Stanwix Treaty

*The Fort Stanwix Treaty, signed on October 22, 1784, near Rome, New York, brought fighting between the United States and the Iroquois Confederacy to an end following the American Revolution, in which the Iroquois had served as allies of the British.*

Articles concluded at Fort Stanwix, on the twenty-second day of October one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, between Oliver Wolcott, Richard Butler, and Arthur Zee, Commissioners Plenipotentiary from the United States, in Congress assembled, on the one Part, and the Sachems and Warriors of the Six Nations, on the other.

The United States of America give peace to the Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas and Cayugas, and receive them into their protection upon the following conditions:



**ARTICLE 1**

Six hostages shall be immediately delivered to the commissioners by the said nations, to remain in possession of the United States, till all prisoners, white and black, which were taken by the said Senecas, Mohawks, Onondagas and Cayugas, or by any of them, in the late war, from among the people of the United States, shall be delivered up.

**ARTICLE 2**

The Oneida and Tuscarora nations shall be secured in the possession of the lands on which there are settled.

**ARTICLE 3**

A line shall be drawn, beginning at the mouth of a creek about four miles east of Niagara, called Oyonwayea, or Johnston's Landing-Place, upon the lake named by the Indians Oswego, and by us Ontario; from thence southerly in a direction always four miles east of the carrying-path, between Lake Erie and Ontario, to the mouth of Tehoseroron or Buffalo Creek on Lake Erie; then south to the north boundary of the state of Pennsylvania; thence west to the end of the said north boundary; then south along the west boundary of the said state, to the river Ohio; the said land from the mouth of the Oyonwayea to the Ohio, shall be the western boundary of the lands of the Six Nations, so that the Six Nations shall and do yield to the United States, all claims to the country west of the said boundary, and then they shall be secured in the peaceful possession of the lands they inhabit east and north of the same, reserving only six miles square round the fort of Oswego, to the United States, for the support of the same.

**ARTICLE 4**

The Commissioners of the United States, in consideration of the present circumstances of the Six Nations, and in executing of the humane and liberal views of the United States upon the signing of the above articles, will order goods to be delivered to the said Six Nations for their use and comfort.

*Oliver Wolcott*

*Richard Butler*

*Arthur Lee*

**Mohawks:**

*Onogwendahonji, his x mark*

*Touighnatogon, his x mark*

**Onondagas:**

*Oheadarighton, his x mark*

*Kendarindgon, his x mark*

**Senecas:**

*Tayagonendagighti, his x mark*

*Tehonwaeaghrigagi, his x mark*

**Oneidas:**

*Otyadonenghti, his x mark*

*Dagaheari, his x mark*

**Cayuga:**

*Oraghgoanendagen, his x mark*

**Tuscaroras:**

*Ononghsawenghti, his x mark,*

*Tharondawagon, his x mark*

**Seneka Abeal:**

*Kayenthoghke, his x mark*

**Witness:**

*Sam. Jo. Atlee*

*James Dean*

*Wm. Maclay*

*Saml. Montgomery*

*Fras. Johnston*

*Derick Lane, captain*

*Pennsylvania Commissioners*

*John Mercer, lieutenant*

*Aaron Hill*

*William Pennington, lieutenant*

*Alexander Campbell*

*Mahlon Hord, ensign*

*Saml. Kirkland, missionary*

*Haugh Peeles*

**Northwest Ordinance**

*Chiefly written by Rufus King and Nathan Dane of Massachusetts and adopted by the Confederation Congress on July 13, 1787, the Northwest Ordinance provided for the governance of the territories, but it also made a provision for the eventual admission of between three and five states from those territories. Since the new states would have the same rights as the original thirteen, the law ensured that the United States would not become a colonial power on the North American continent. A number of provisions within the Northwest Ordinance would later be emulated in the U.S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. The states eventually carved from the Northwest Ordinance are Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin.*

An Ordinance for the government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the River Ohio.

So soon as there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants of full age in the district, upon giving proof thereof to the governor, they shall receive





authority, with time and place, to elect a representative from their counties or townships to represent them in the general assembly: Provided, That, for every five hundred free male inhabitants, there shall be one representative, and so on progressively with the number of free male inhabitants shall the right of representation increase, until the number of representatives shall amount to twenty five; after which, the number and proportion of representatives shall be regulated by the legislature: Provided, That no person be eligible or qualified to act as a representative unless he shall have been a citizen of one of the United States three years, and be a resident in the district, or unless he shall have resided in the district three years; and, in either case, shall likewise hold in his own right, in fee simple, two hundred acres of land within the same; Provided, also, That a freehold in fifty acres of land in the district, having been a citizen of one of the states, and being resident in the district, or the like freehold and two years residence in the district, shall be necessary to qualify a man as an elector of a representative.

The representatives thus elected, shall serve for the term of two years; and, in case of the death of a representative, or removal from office, the governor shall issue a writ to the county or township for which he was a member, to elect another in his stead, to serve for the residue of the term.

The general assembly or legislature shall consist of the governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. The Legislative Council shall consist of five members, to continue in office five years, unless sooner removed by Congress; any three of whom to be a quorum . . .

The governor, judges, legislative council, secretary, and such other officers as Congress shall appoint in the district, shall take an oath or affirmation of fidelity and of office; the governor before the president of congress, and all other officers before the Governor. As soon as a legislature shall be formed in the district, the council and house assembled in one room, shall have authority, by joint ballot, to elect a delegate to Congress, who shall have a seat in Congress, with a right of debating but not voting during this temporary government.

And, for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions, and governments, which forever hereafter shall be formed in the

said territory: to provide also for the establishment of States, and permanent government therein, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest:

. . . Inhabitants of the said territory shall always be entitled to the benefits of the writ of habeas corpus, and of the trial by jury; of a proportionate representation of the people in the legislature; and of judicial proceedings according to the course of the common law. All persons shall be bailable, unless for capital offenses, where the proof shall be evident or the presumption great. All fines shall be moderate; and no cruel or unusual punishments shall be inflicted. No man shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his peers or the law of the land; and, should the public exigencies make it necessary, for the common preservation, to take any person's property, or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same. And, in the just preservation of rights and property, it is understood and declared, that no law ought ever to be made, or have force in the said territory, that shall, in any manner whatever, interfere with or affect private contracts or engagements, bona fide, and without fraud, previously formed.

Religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. The utmost good faith shall always be observed towards the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and, in their property, rights, and liberty, they shall never be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, shall from time to time be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving peace and friendship with them.

The said territory, and the States which may be formed therein, shall forever remain a part of this Confederacy of the United States of America, subject to the Articles of Confederation, and to such alterations therein as shall be constitutionally made; and to all the acts and ordinances of the United States in Congress assembled, conformable thereto.

. . . There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in





the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided, always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.

## Lewis and Clark Expedition: Journals

*In 1804, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark set out from St. Louis, Missouri, with fifty men to explore the vast new lands the United States had acquired from France with the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. President Thomas Jefferson had commissioned the two former soldiers to investigate the new U.S. territory with an eye toward expansion and eventual settlement. Aided by a Native American woman named Sacajawea, the Lewis and Clark Expedition traveled all the way to the coast of Oregon before returning to Washington, D.C., with their maps and notes in 1806. Below is an excerpt of their journals from the expedition.*

April 07, 1805  
[Meriwether Lewis]  
Fort Mandan

Our vessels consisted of six small canoes, and two large perogues. This little fleet altho' not quite so respectable as those of Columbus or Capt. Cook, were still viewed by us with as much pleasure as those deservedly famed adventurers ever beheld theirs; and I dare say with quite as much anxiety for their safety and preservation. [W]e were now about to penetrate a country at least two thousand miles in width, on which the foot of civilized man had never trodden; the good or evil it had in store for us was for experiment yet to determine, and these little vessells contained every article by which we were to expect to subsist or defend ourselves . . . enterta[in]ing as I do, the most confident hope of succeeding in a voyage which had formed a da[r]ling project of mine for the last ten years, I could but esteem this moment of my departure as among the most happy of my life. The party are in excellent health and sperits, zealously attached to the enterprise, and anxious to proceed; not a whisper of murmur or discontent to be heard among them, but all act in unison, and with the most perfect harmony.

April 07, 1805  
[Patrick Gass]

About 5 o'clock in the afternoon we left fort Mandan in good spirits. Thirty one men and a woman [Sacagawea] went up the river and thirteen returned down it in the boat. We had two periogues and six canoes, and proceeded about four miles, and encamped opposite the first Mandan village, on the North side.

April 07, 1805  
[John Ordway]

. . . our Intrepter and them that went with him returned brought with them 4 of the RickaRee Savages. . . they Informed us that only 10 of their nation had come up to the Mandanes villages to treat & Smoak a peace pipe with them . . . they brought a letter from Mr Tabbo who lives with [the] R.Ree . . . with news that 3 of the Souix [sic] chiefs was going down on the Big barge to see their Great father and that Some of the Rick a Ree chiefs was going also.

About 5 oClock we all went on board fired the Swivel and Set off on our journey. [A]t the Same time the barge Set off for St Louis 2 frenchmen in a perogue in company with them. they took down the letters and all the writings which was necessary to go back to the States also Some curious animals such as Goat Skins & horns, a barking Squerrell Some Mountain Rams horns a prarie hen & badgers Some birds cauled magpies & a number of other curious things too tedious to mention &C.

The returning party, in charge of Corporal Warfington, consisted, in addition to the leader, of six private soldiers, Gravelines, who had been engaged as pilot, and two other Frenchmen. Temporarily accompanying it, also, were the two engages, Rivet and Degie, and a lame Arikara who had been granted the privilege of transportation in the boat to his tribal home. The party was to be joined at the Arikara vilage by Tabeau, the trader, and four hands, making a party of fifteen to descend the river. None of them had originally intended to become permanent members of the exploring expedition with the exception of Newman and Reed, the two men who had been discharged for misconduct.]

April 08, 1805  
[Patrick Gass]

The woman that is with us is a squaw of the Snake nation of Indians, and wife to our interpreter.





We expect she will be of service to us, when passing through that nation.

## **Tenskwataya (The Prophet): System of Religion Speech (1808)**

*Tenskwataya, a Shawnee popularly known as The Prophet, forged a Native American alliance in the Midwest with the help of his brother Tecumseh in the early 1800s. The Prophet was the spiritual leader behind the movement and preached a gospel of a pan-Indian religion intended to unite all the tribes into a single, powerful unit, capable of bargaining with the Americans. The Prophet delivered this speech to the governor of Indiana Territory, William Henry Harrison, in August 1808.*

Father, It is three years since I first began with that system of religion which I now practice. The white people and some of the Indians were against me; but I had no other intention but to introduce among the Indians, those good principles of religion which the white people profess. I was spoken badly of by the white people, who reproached me with misleading the Indians; but I defy them to say that I did anything amiss.

Father, I was told that you intended to hang me. When I heard this, I intended to remember it, and tell my father, when I went to see him, and relate to him the truth.

I heard, when I settled on the Wabash, that my father, the governor, had declared that all the land between Vincennes and fort Wayne, was the property of the Seventeen Fires. I also heard that you wanted to know, my father, whether I was God or man; and that you said if I was the former, I should not steal horses. I heard this from Mr. Wells, but I believed it originated with himself.

The Great Spirit told me to tell the Indians that he had made them, and made the world [and] that he had placed them on it to do good, not evil.

I told all the red skins, that the way they were in was not good, and that they ought to abandon it.

That we ought to consider ourselves as one man; but we ought to live agreeably to our several customs, the red people after their mode, and the white people after theirs; particularly, that they should not drink whiskey; that it was not made for them, but the white people, who alone knew how to use it; and that it is the cause of all the mischief

which the Indians suffer; and that they must always follow the directions of the Great Spirit, and we must listen to him, as it was he that made us: determine to listen to nothing that is bad: do not take up the tomahawk, should it be offered by the British, or by the long knives: do not meddle with any thing that does not belong to you, but mind your own business, and cultivate the ground, that your women and your children may have enough to live on.

I now inform you, that it is our intention to live in peace with our father and his people forever.

My father, I have informed you what we mean to do, and I call the Great Spirit to witness the truth of my declaration. The religion which I have established for the last three years, has been attended to by the different tribes of Indians in this part of the world. Those Indians were once different people; they are now but one: they are all determined to practice what I have communicated to them, that has come immediately from the Great Spirit through me.

Brother, I speak to you as a warrior. You are one. But let us lay aside this character, and attend to the care of our children, that they may live in comfort and peace. We desire that you will join us for the preservation of both red and white people. Formerly, when we lived in ignorance, we were foolish; but now, since we listen to the voice of the Great Spirit, we are happy.

I have listened to what you have said to us. You have promised to assist us: I now request you, in behalf of all the red people, to use your exertions to prevent the sale of liquor to us. We are all well pleased to hear you say that you will endeavor to promote our happiness. We give you every assurance that we will follow the dictates of the Great Spirit.

We are all well pleased with the attention that you have showed us; also with the good intentions of our father, the President. If you give us a few articles, such as needles, flints, hoes, powder, &c., we will take the animals that afford us meat, with powder and ball.

## **Tecumseh: Speech to Governor William Henry Harrison**

*In the early 1800s, the most powerful Native American of his day, Tecumseh forged a pan-Indian alliance*





among Midwestern tribes with the help of his brother, Tenskwataya (The Prophet). They hoped to prevent American expansion by claiming that Native Americans held collective rights to land that could not be sold or bartered without the consent of all. On August 12, 1810, Tecumseh delivered this speech to Governor William Henry Harrison of the Indiana Territory. Harrison would later be his chief adversary during the War of 1812.

It is true I am a Shawanee [sic]. My forefathers were warriors. Their son is a warrior. From them I only take my existence; from my tribe I take nothing. I am the maker of my own fortune; and oh! that I could make that of my red people, and of my country, as great as the conceptions of my mind, when I think of the Spirit that rules the universe. I would not then come to Governor Harrison, to ask him to tear the treaty, and to obliterate the landmark; but I would say to him, Sir, you have liberty to return to your own country.

The being within, communing with past ages, tells me, that once, nor until lately, there was no white man on this continent. That it then all belonged to red men, children of the same parents, placed on it by the Great Spirit that made them, to keep it, to traverse it, to enjoy its productions, and to fill it with the same race. Once a happy race.

Since made miserable by the white people, who are never contented, but always encroaching. The way, and the only way to check and stop this evil, is, for all the red men to unite in claiming a common and equal right in the land, as it was at first, and should be yet; for it never was divided, but belongs to all, for the use of each. That no part has a right to sell, even to each other, much less to strangers; those who want all, and will not do with less. The white people have no right to take the land from the Indians, because they had it first; it is theirs. They may sell, but all must join. Any sale not made by all is not valid. The late sale is bad. It was made by a part only. Part do not know how to sell. It requires all to make a bargain for all.

All red men have equal rights to the unoccupied land. The right of occupancy is as good in one place as in another. There cannot be two occupations in the same place. The first excludes all others. It is not so in hunting or travelling; for there the same ground will serve many, as they may follow each other all day; but the camp is stationary, and that is occupancy. It belongs to the first who sits down on his blanket or skins, which he has

thrown upon the ground, and till he leaves it no other has a right.

### Johnson v. M'Intosh

*This decision was one of several adjudicated by U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Marshall during the 1820s and 1830s that define the relationship of Native Americans with the U.S. government to this day. It was the first of the "Marshall Trilogy," with Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831) and Worcester v. Georgia (1832) that underlie most of the government's presumptive powers vis à vis American Indians.*

21 U.S. 543, 5 L.Ed. 681, 8 Wheat. 543 (1823)  
March 10, 1823

"ERROR to the District Court of Illinois. This was an action of ejectment for lands in the State and District of Illinois, claimed by the plaintiffs under a purchase and conveyance from the Piankeshaw Indians, and by the defendant, under a grant from the United States. It came up on a case stated, upon which there was a judgment below for the defendant.

. . . Mr. Chief Justice MARSHALL delivered the opinion of the Court.

The plaintiffs in this cause claim the land, in their declaration mentioned, under two grants, purporting to be made, the first in 1773, and the last in 1775, by the chiefs of certain Indian tribes, constituting the Illinois and the Piankeshaw nations; and the question is, whether this title can be recognised in the Courts of the United States?

The facts, as stated in the case agreed, show the authority of the chiefs who executed this conveyance, so far as it could be given by their own people; and likewise show, that the particular tribes for whom these chiefs acted were in rightful possession of the land they sold. The inquiry, therefore, is, in a great measure, confined to the power of Indians to give, and of private individuals to receive, a title which can be sustained in the Courts of this country. . . .

. . . The United States, then, have unequivocally acceded to that great and broad rule by which its civilized inhabitants now hold this country. They hold, and assert in themselves, the title by which it was acquired. They maintain, as all others have maintained, that discovery gave an exclusive





right to extinguish the Indian title of occupancy, either by purchase or by conquest; and gave also a right to such a degree of sovereignty, as the circumstances of the people would allow them to exercise.

The power now possessed by the government of the United States to grant lands, resided, while we were colonies, in the crown, or its grantees. The validity of the titles given by either has never been questioned in our Courts. It has been exercised uniformly over territory in possession of the Indians. The existence of this power must negative the existence of any right which may conflict with, and control it. An absolute title to lands cannot exist, at the same time, in different persons, or in different governments. An absolute, must be an exclusive title, or at least a title which excludes all others not compatible with it. All our institutions recognise the absolute title of the crown, subject only to the Indian right of occupancy, and recognise the absolute title of the crown to extinguish that right. This is incompatible with an absolute and complete title in the Indians.

We will not enter into the controversy, whether agriculturists, merchants, and manufacturers, have a right, on abstract principles, to expel hunters from the territory they possess, or to contract their limits. Conquest gives a title which the Courts of the conqueror cannot deny, whatever the private and speculative opinions of individuals may be, respecting the original justice of the claim which has been successfully asserted. The British government, which was then our government, and whose rights have passed to the United States, asserted title to all the lands occupied by Indians, within the chartered limits of the British colonies. It asserted also a limited sovereignty over them, and the exclusive right of extinguishing the title which occupancy gave to them. These claims have been maintained and established as far west as the river Mississippi, by the sword. The title to a vast portion of the lands we now hold, originates in them. It is not for the Courts of this country to question the validity of this title, or to sustain one which is incompatible with it.

Although we do not mean to engage in the defence of those principles which Europeans have applied to Indian title, they may, we think, find some excuse, if not justification, in the character and habits of the people whose rights have been wrested from them.

The title by conquest is acquired and maintained by force. The conqueror prescribes its limits. Humanity, however, acting on public opinion, has

established, as a general rule, that the conquered shall not be wantonly oppressed, and that their condition shall remain as eligible as is compatible with the objects of the conquest. Most usually, they are incorporated with the victorious nation, and become subjects or citizens of the government with which they are connected. The new and old members of the society mingle with each other; the distinction between them is grandually [sic] lost, and they make one people. Where this incorporation is practicable, humanity demands, and a wise policy requires, that the rights of the conquered to property should remain unimpaired; that the new subjects should be governed as equitably as the old, and that confidence in their security should gradually banish the painful sense of being separated from their ancient connexions, and united by force to strangers.

When the conquest is complete, and the conquered inhabitants can be blended with the conquerors, or safely governed as a distinct people, public opinion, which not even the conqueror can disregard, imposes these restraints upon him; and he cannot neglect them without injury to his fame, and hazard to his power.

But the tribes of Indians inhabiting this country were fierce savages, whose occupation was war, and whose subsistence was drawn chiefly from the forest. To leave them in possession of their country, was to leave the country a wilderness; to govern them as a distinct people, was impossible, because they were as brave and as high spirited as they were fierce, and were ready to repel by arms every attempt on their independence.

What was the inevitable consequence of this state of things? The Europeans were under the necessity either of abandoning the country, and relinquishing their pompous claims to it, or of enforcing those claims by the sword, and by the adoption of principles adapted to the condition of a people with whom it was impossible to mix, and who could not be governed as a distinct society, or of remaining in their neighbourhood, and exposing themselves and their families to the perpetual hazard of being massacred.

Frequent and bloody wars, in which the whites were not always the aggressors, unavoidably ensued. European policy, numbers, and skill, prevailed. As the white population advanced, that of the Indians necessarily receded. The country in the immediate neighbourhood of agriculturists became unfit for them. The game fled into thicker and more unbroken forests, and the Indians followed. The soil,





to which the crown originally claimed title, being no longer occupied by its ancient inhabitants, was parcelled out according to the will of the sovereign power, and taken possession of by persons who claimed immediately from the crown, or mediately, through its grantees or deputies.

That law which regulates, and ought to regulate in general, the relations between the conqueror and conquered, was incapable of application to a people under such circumstances. The resort to some new and different rule, better adapted to the actual state of things, was unavoidable. Every rule which can be suggested will be found to be attended with great difficulty.

However extravagant the pretension of converting the discovery of an inhabited country into conquest may appear; if the principle has been asserted in the first instance, and afterwards sustained; if a country has been acquired and held under it; if the property of the great mass of the community originates in it, it becomes the law of the land, and cannot be questioned. So, too, with respect to the concomitant principle, that the Indian inhabitants are to be considered merely as occupants, to be protected, indeed, while in peace, in the possession of their lands, but to be deemed incapable of transferring the absolute title to others. However this restriction may be opposed to natural right, and to the usages of civilized nations, yet, if it be indispensable to that system under which the country has been settled, and be adapted to the actual condition of the two people, it may, perhaps, be supported by reason, and certainly cannot be rejected by Courts of justice. . . .

. . . It has never been contended, that the Indian title amounted to nothing. Their right of possession has never been questioned. The claim of government extends to the complete ultimate title, charged with this right of possession, and to the exclusive power of acquiring that right. The object of the crown was to settle the seacoast of America; and when a portion of it was settled, without violating the rights of others, by persons professing their loyalty, and soliciting the royal sanction of an act, the consequences of which were ascertained to be beneficial, it would have been as unwise as ungracious to expel them from their habitations, because they had obtained the Indian title otherwise than through the agency of government. The very grant of a charter is an assertion of the title of the crown, and its words convey the same idea. The country granted, is said to be 'our island called Rhode-Island;' and the charter contains

an actual grant of the soil, as well as of the powers of government.

. . . The letter was written a few months before the charter was issued, apparently at the request of the agents of the intended colony, for the sole purpose of preventing the trespasses of neighbours, who were disposed to claim some authority over them. The king, being willing himself to ratify and confirm their title, was, of course, inclined to quiet them in their possession.

This charter, and this letter, certainly sanction a previous unauthorized purchase from Indians, under the circumstances attending that particular purchase, but are far from supporting the general proposition, that a title acquired from the Indians would be valid against a title acquired from the crown, or without the confirmation of the crown.

The acts of the several colonial assemblies, prohibiting purchases from the Indians, have also been relied on, as proving, that, independent of such prohibitions, Indian deeds would be valid. But, we think this fact, at most, equivocal. While the existence of such purchases would justify their prohibition, even by colonies which considered Indian deeds as previously invalid, the fact that such acts have been generally passed, is strong evidence of the general opinion, that such purchases are opposed by the soundest principles of wisdom and national policy.

After bestowing on this subject a degree of attention which was more required by the magnitude of the interest in litigation, and the able and elaborate arguments of the bar, than by its intrinsic difficulty, the Court is decidedly of opinion, that the plaintiffs do not exhibit a title which can be sustained in the Courts of the United States; and that there is no error in the judgment which was rendered against them in the District Court of Illinois.

#### Resource

*Johnson v. McIntosh*. Available at:  
<http://www.law.nyu.edu/kingsburyb/spring03/indigenousPeoples/classmaterials/class10/A.%20Johnson%20v.%20McIntosh.htm>.  
Accessed January 20, 2007.

### *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*

*Resisting removal, the Cherokees sued in federal court under a clause in the Constitution (Article III, Section 2) that allows foreign citizens or states to seek legal redress against states in the union. In this case, the Cherokees were*





*suing as an independent nation seeking redress because the state of Georgia had extended its power over Cherokee territory, extinguished the authority of the Cherokee government, and executed one of its citizens. U.S. Supreme Court Chief Justice John Marshall skirted the issue by deciding that the Cherokees were not an independent country, but instead a "domestic dependent nation." Marshall thus threw the case out of court, deciding that the Cherokees had no grounds on which to sue under the Constitution.*

*Writing for the majority in Cherokee Nation v. Georgia, Marshall said that the Cherokees possessed a limited sovereignty: "They may, more correctly, perhaps be denominated domestic dependent nations. . . . Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian." These phrases, interpreted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, became the legal justification for the colonial system that was being imposed on Indians as Anglo-American settlement exploded across North America in the nineteenth century.*

*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831)*

30 U.S. 1

Mr Chief Justice MARSHALL delivered the opinion of the Court.

This bill is brought by the Cherokee Nation, praying an injunction to restrain the State of Georgia from the execution of certain laws of that State which, as is alleged, go directly to annihilate the Cherokees as a political society and to seize, for the use of Georgia, the lands of the Nation which have been assured to them by the United States in solemn treaties repeatedly made and still in force.

If Courts were permitted to indulge their sympathies, a case better calculated to excite them can scarcely be imagined. A people once numerous, powerful, and truly independent, found by our ancestors in the quiet and uncontrolled possession of an ample domain, gradually sinking beneath our superior policy, our arts and our arms, have yielded their lands by successive treaties, each of which contains a solemn guarantee of the residue, until they retain no more of their formerly extensive territory than is deemed necessary to their comfortable subsistence. To preserve this remnant, the present application is made.

Before we can look into the merits of the case, a preliminary inquiry presents itself. Has this Court jurisdiction of the cause?

The third article of the Constitution describes the extent of the judicial power. The second section

closes an enumeration of the cases to which it is extended, with "controversies" "between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects." A subsequent clause of the same section gives the supreme Court original jurisdiction in all cases in which a State shall be a party. The party defendant may then unquestionably be sued in this Court. May the plaintiff sue in it? Is the Cherokee Nation a foreign state in the sense in which that term is used in the Constitution?

The counsel for the plaintiffs have maintained the affirmative of this proposition with great earnestness and ability. So much of the argument as was intended to prove the character of the Cherokees as a State as a distinct political society, separated from others, capable of managing its own affairs and governing itself, has, in the opinion of a majority of the judges, been completely successful. They have been uniformly treated as a State from the settlement of our country. The numerous treaties made with them by the United States recognize them as a people capable of maintaining the relations of peace and war, of being responsible in their political character for any violation of their engagements, or for any aggression committed on the citizens of the United States by any individual of their community. Laws have been enacted in the spirit of these treaties. The acts of our Government plainly recognize the Cherokee Nation as a State, and the Courts are bound by those acts.

A question of much more difficulty remains. Do the Cherokees constitute a foreign state in the sense of the Constitution?

The counsel have shown conclusively that they are not a State of the union, and have insisted that, individually, they are aliens, not owing allegiance to the United States. An aggregate of aliens composing a State must, they say, be a foreign state. Each individual being foreign, the whole must be foreign.

This argument is imposing, but we must examine it more closely before we yield to it. The condition of the Indians in relation to the United States is perhaps unlike that of any other two people in existence. In the general, nations not owing a common allegiance are foreign to each other. The term foreign nation is, with strict propriety, applicable by either to the other. But the relation of the Indians to the United States is marked by peculiar and cardinal distinctions which exist nowhere else.

The Indian Territory is admitted to compose a part of the United States. In all our maps, geographical treatises, histories, and laws, it is so considered.





In all our intercourse with foreign nations, in our commercial regulations, in any attempt at intercourse between Indians and foreign nations, they are considered as within the jurisdictional limits of the United States, subject to many of those restraints which are imposed upon our own citizens. They acknowledge themselves in their treaties to be under the protection of the United States; they admit that the United States shall have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the trade with them, and managing all their affairs as they think proper; and the Cherokees, in particular, were allowed by the treaty of Hopewell, which preceded the Constitution, "to send a deputy of their choice, whenever they think fit, to Congress." Treaties were made with some tribes by the State of New York, under a then unsettled construction of the confederation by which they ceded all their lands to that State, taking back a limited grant to themselves in which they admit their dependence.

Though the Indians are acknowledged to have an unquestionable, and heretofore unquestioned right to the lands they occupy, until that right shall be extinguished by a voluntary cession to our government, yet it may well be doubted whether those tribes which reside within the acknowledged boundaries of the United States can, with strict accuracy, be denominated foreign nations. They may, more correctly, perhaps, be denominated domestic dependent nations. They occupy a territory to which we assert a title independent of their will, which must take effect in point of possession when their right of possession ceases. Meanwhile they are in a state of pupilage. Their relation to the United States resembles that of a ward to his guardian.

They look to our government for protection; rely upon its kindness and its power; appeal to it for relief to their wants; and address the President as their Great Father. They and their country are considered by foreign nations, as well as by ourselves, as being so completely under the sovereignty and dominion of the United States that any attempt to acquire their lands, or to form a political connexion with them, would be considered by all as an invasion of our territory and an act of hostility.

These considerations go far to support the opinion that the framers of our Constitution had not the Indian tribes in view when they opened the courts of the union to controversies between a State or the citizens thereof, and foreign states.

In considering this subject, the habits and usages of the Indians in their intercourse with their

white neighbours ought not to be entirely disregarded. At the time the Constitution was framed, the idea of appealing to an American court of justice for an assertion of right or a redress of wrong had perhaps never entered the mind of an Indian or of his tribe. Their appeal was to the tomahawk, or to the Government. This was well understood by the Statesmen who framed the Constitution of the United States, and might furnish some reason for omitting to enumerate them among the parties who might sue in the courts of the union. Be this as it may, the peculiar relations between the United States and the Indians occupying our territory are such that we should feel much difficulty in considering them as designated by the term foreign state were there no other part of the Constitution which might shed light on the meaning of these words. But we think that, in construing them, considerable aid is furnished by that clause in the eighth section of the third article which empowers Congress to "regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes."

In this clause, they are as clearly contradistinguished by a name appropriate to themselves from foreign nations as from the several States composing the union. They are designated by a distinct appellation, and as this appellation can be applied to neither of the others, neither can the appellation distinguishing either of the others be in fair construction applied to them. The objects to which the power of regulating commerce might be directed are divided into three distinct classes—foreign nations, the several States, and Indian tribes. When forming this article, the convention considered them as entirely distinct. We cannot assume that the distinction was lost in framing a subsequent article unless there be something in its language to authorize the assumption.

The counsel for the plaintiffs contend that the words "Indian tribes" were introduced into the article empowering Congress to regulate commerce for the purpose of removing those doubts in which the management of Indian affairs was involved by the language of the ninth article of the confederation. Intending to give the whole power of managing those affairs to the government about to be instituted, the convention conferred it explicitly, and omitted those qualifications which embarrassed the exercise of it as granted in the confederation. This may be admitted without weakening the construction which has been intimated. Had the Indian tribes been foreign nations in the view of the convention,





this exclusive power of regulating intercourse with them might have been, and most probably would have been, specifically given in language indicating that idea, not in language contradistinguishing them from foreign nations. Congress might have been empowered “to regulate commerce with foreign nations, including the Indian tribes, and among the several States.” This language would have suggested itself to statesmen who considered the Indian tribes as foreign nations, and were yet desirous of mentioning them particularly.

It has been also said that the same words have not necessarily the same meaning attached to them when found in different parts of the same instrument—their meaning is controlled by the context. This is undoubtedly true. In common language, the same word has various meanings, and the peculiar sense in which it is used in any sentence is to be determined by the context. This may not be equally true with respect to proper names. “Foreign nations” is a general term, the application of which to Indian tribes, when used in the American Constitution, is at best extremely questionable. In one article in which a power is given to be exercised in regard to foreign nations generally, and to the Indian tribes particularly, they are mentioned as separate in terms clearly contradistinguishing them from each other. We perceive plainly that the Constitution in this article does not comprehend Indian tribes in the general term “foreign nations,” not, we presume, because a tribe may not be a nation, but because it is not foreign to the United States. When, afterwards, the term “foreign state” is introduced, we cannot impute to the convention the intention to desert its former meaning and to comprehend Indian tribes within it unless the context force that construction on us. We find nothing in the context, and nothing in the subject of the article, which leads to it.

The Court has bestowed its best attention on this question, and, after mature deliberation, the majority is of opinion that an Indian tribe or Nation within the United States is not a foreign state in the sense of the Constitution, and cannot maintain an action in the Courts of the United States.

A serious additional objection exists to the jurisdiction of the Court. Is the matter of the bill the proper subject for judicial inquiry and decision? It seeks to restrain a State from the forcible exercise of legislative power over a neighbouring people, asserting their independence, their right to which the State denies. On several of the matters alleged in

the bill, for example, on the laws making it criminal to exercise the usual powers of self-government in their own country by the Cherokee Nation, this Court cannot interpose, at least in the form in which those matters are presented.

That part of the bill which respects the land occupied by the Indians, and prays the aid of the Court to protect their possession may be more doubtful. The mere question of right might perhaps be decided by this Court in a proper case with proper parties. But the Court is asked to do more than decide on the title. The bill requires us to control the Legislature of Georgia, and to restrain the exertion of its physical force. The propriety of such an interposition by the Court may be well questioned. It savours too much of the exercise of political power to be within the proper province of the judicial department. But the opinion on the point respecting parties makes it unnecessary to decide this question.

If it be true that the Cherokee Nation have rights, this is not the tribunal in which those rights are to be asserted. If it be true that wrongs have been inflicted, and that still greater are to be apprehended, this is not the tribunal which can redress the past or prevent the future.

The motion for an injunction is denied.

#### Resource

*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*. Available at:  
[http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/histories/USSC\\_CR\\_0030\\_0001\\_ZO.html](http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/histories/USSC_CR_0030_0001_ZO.html). Accessed January 20, 2007.

## Worcester v. Georgia

*This decision was one of several adjudicated by U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Marshall during the 1820s and 1830s that define the relationship of Native Americans with the U.S. government to this day. It was the third of the “Marshall Trilogy,” with Johnson v. M’Intosh (1823) and Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831) that underlie most of the government’s presumptive powers vis à vis American Indians.*

*Worcester v. Georgia upheld limited sovereignty for the Cherokee Nation in 1832 against President Andrew Jackson’s demands for removal. Jackson’s actions ultimately comprised contempt of the Supreme Court (an impeachable offense under the Constitution). In the incendiary years before the Civil War, however, the political cost*





of following the Supreme Court's rulings upholding Cherokee sovereignty proved too great for Jackson's sense of political expediency or for Congress.

*The specific issue that spurred the lawsuit was the refusal by Samuel Worcester, a missionary among the Cherokees, to sign an oath acknowledging Georgia's sovereignty while on Cherokee land. The case thus became a test of the Cherokees' right to a homeland within the bounds of Georgia. The state's officials argued that the Constitution prohibited the establishment of one state within the boundaries of another.*

*Justice Marshall wrote that Native nations had always been considered distinct, independent political communities, retaining original natural rights. Georgia's law, according to Marshall, interfered forcibly with the relations between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, the regulation of which, according to the settled principles of the U.S. Constitution, is committed exclusively to the federal government.*

31 U.S. 515 . . .

A writ of error was issued to "The Judges of the Superior Court for the County of Gwinnett in the State of Georgia" commanding them to send to the Supreme Court of the United States the record and proceedings in the said Superior Court of the County of Gwinnett, between the State of Georgia, plaintiff, and Samuel A. Worcester, defendant, on an indictment in that Court. The record of the Court of Gwinnett was returned, certified by the clerk of the Court, and was also authenticated by the seal of the Court. It was returned with, and annexed to, a writ of error issued in regular form, the citation being signed by one of the Associate Justices of the Supreme Court and served on the Governor and Attorney General of the State more than thirty days before the commencement of the term to which the writ of error was returnable.

By the Court: The Judicial Act, so far as it prescribes the mode of proceeding, appears to have been literally pursued. In February, 1779, a rule was made on this subject in the following words:

It is ordered by the Court that the clerk of the Court to which any writ of error shall be directed may make return of the same by transmitting a true copy of the record, and of all proceedings in the same, under his hand and the seal of the Court.

This has been done. But the signature of the judge has not been added to that of the

clerk. The law does not require it. The rule does not require it.

The plaintiff in error was indicted in the Supreme Court for the County of Gwinnett in the State of Georgia, . . . The indictment and plea in this case draw in question the validity of the treaties made by the United States with the Cherokee Indians; if not so, their construction is certainly drawn in question, and the decision has been, if not against their validity, "against the right, privilege, or exemption specifically set up and claimed under them." They also draw into question the validity of a statute of the State of Georgia

On the ground of its being repugnant to the Constitution, treaties, and laws of the United States, and the decision is in favour of its validity. . . . The relation between the Europeans and the natives was determined in each case by the particular government which asserted and could maintain this preemptive privilege in the particular place. The United States succeeded to all the claims of Great Britain, both territorial and political, but no attempt, so far as it is known, has been made to enlarge them. So far as they existed merely in theory, or were in their nature only exclusive of the claims of other European nations, they still retain their original character, and remain dormant. So far as they have been practically exerted, they exist in fact, are understood by both parties, are asserted by the one, and admitted by the other.

. . . Certain it is that our history furnishes no example, from the first settlement of our country, of any attempt, on the part of the Crown, to interfere with the internal affairs of the Indians farther than to keep out the agents of foreign powers who, as traders or otherwise, might seduct them into foreign alliances. The King purchased their lands when they were willing to sell, at a price they were willing to take, but never coerced a surrender of them. He also purchased their alliance and dependence by subsidies, but never intruded into the interior of their affairs or interfered with their self-government so far as respected themselves only.

The third article of the treaty of Hopewell acknowledges the Cherokees to be under the protection of the United States of America, and of no other power.





This stipulation is found in Indian treaties generally. It was introduced into their treaties with Great Britain, and may probably be found in those with other European powers. Its origin may be traced to the nature of their connexion with those powers, and its true meaning is discerned in their relative situation.

The general law of European sovereigns respecting their claims in America limited the intercourse of Indians, in a great degree, to the particular potentate whose ultimate right of domain was acknowledged by the others. This was the general state of things in time of peace. It was sometimes changed in war. The consequence was that their supplies were derived chiefly from that nation, and their trade confined to it. Goods, indispensable to their comfort, in the shape of presents, were received from the same hand. What was of still more importance, the strong hand of government was interposed to restrain the disorderly and licentious from intrusion into their country, from encroachments on their lands, and from the acts of violence which were often attended by reciprocal murder. The Indians perceived in this protection only what was beneficial to themselves—an engagement to punish aggressions on them. It involved practically no claim to their lands, no dominion over their persons. It merely bound the Nation to the British Crown as a dependent ally, claiming the protection of a powerful friend and neighbour and receiving the advantages of that protection without involving a surrender of their national character.

This is the true meaning of the stipulation, and is undoubtedly the sense in which it was made. Neither the British Government nor the Cherokees ever understood it otherwise.

The same stipulation entered [into] with the United States is undoubtedly to be construed in the same manner they receive the Cherokee Nation into their favour and protection. The Cherokees acknowledge themselves to be under the protection of the United States, and of no other power. Protection does not imply the destruction of the protected. The manner in which this stipulation was understood by the American Government is explained by the language and acts of our first President.

So with respect to the words “hunting grounds.” Hunting was, at that time, the principal occupation of the Indians, and their land was more used for that purpose than for any other. It could not, however, be supposed that any intention existed of restricting the full use of the lands they reserved.

To the United States, it could be a matter of no concern whether their whole territory was devoted to hunting grounds or whether an occasional village and an occasional cornfield interrupted, and gave some variety, to the scene.

These terms had been used in their treaties with Great Britain, and had never been misunderstood. They had never been supposed to imply a right in the British Government to take their lands or to interfere with their internal government.

The sixth and seventh articles stipulate for the punishment of the citizens of either country who may commit offences on or against the citizens of the other. The only inference to be drawn from them is that the United States considered the Cherokees as a nation.

The ninth article is in these words:

For the benefit and comfort of the Indians, and for the prevention of injuries or oppressions on the part of the citizens or Indians, the United States, in Congress assembled, shall have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the trade with the Indians and managing all their affairs as they think proper.

To construe the expression “managing all their affairs” into a surrender of self-government would be a perversion of their necessary meaning, and a departure from the construction which has been uniformly put on them. The great subject of the article is the Indian trade. The influence it gave made it desirable that Congress should possess it. The commissioners brought forward the claim with the profession that their motive was “the benefit and comfort of the Indians and the prevention of injuries or oppressions.” This may be true as respects the regulation of their trade and as respects the regulation of all affairs connected with their trade, but cannot be true as respects the management of their affairs. The most important of these is the cession of their lands and security against intruders on them. Is it credible that they could have considered themselves as surrendering to the United States the right to dictate their future cessions and the terms on which they should be made, or to compel their submission to the violence of disorderly and licentious intruders? It is equally inconceivable that they could have supposed themselves, by a phrase thus slipped into an article on another and more interesting subject, to have divested themselves of the right of self-government





on subjects not connected with trade. Such a measure could not be “for their benefit and comfort,” or for “the prevention of injuries and oppression.” Such a construction would be inconsistent with the spirit of this and of all subsequent treaties, especially of those articles which recognise the right of the Cherokees to declare hostilities and to make war. It would convert a treaty of peace covertly into an act annihilating the political existence of one of the parties. Had such a result been intended, it would have been openly avowed.

The Treaty of Holston, negotiated with the Cherokees in July, 1791, explicitly recognising the national character of the Cherokees and their right of self-government, thus guarantying their lands, assuming the duty of protection, and of course pledging the faith of the United States for that protection, has been frequently renewed, and is now in full force.

... The Indian nations had always been considered as distinct, independent political communities retaining their original natural rights as undisputed possessors of the soil, from time immemorial, with the single exception of that imposed by irresistible power, which excluded them from intercourse with any other European potentate than the first discoverer of the coast of the particular region claimed, and this was a restriction which those European potentates imposed on themselves, as well as on the Indians. The very term “nation,” so generally applied to them, means “a people distinct from others.” The Constitution, by declaring treaties already made, as well as those to be made, to be the supreme law of the land, has adopted and sanctioned the previous treaties with the Indian nations, and consequently admits their rank among the powers who are capable of making treaties. The words “treaty” and “nation” are words of our own language, selected in our diplomatic and legislative proceedings by ourselves, having each a definite and well understood meaning. We have applied them to Indians as we have applied them to the other nations of the earth. They are applied to all in the same sense.

... The act of the State of Georgia under which the plaintiff in error was prosecuted is consequently void, and the judgment a nullity.

The acts of the Legislature of Georgia interfere forcibly with the relations established between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, the regulation of which, according to the settled principles of our Constitution, is committed exclusively to the Government of the Union.

They are in direct hostility with treaties, repeated in a succession of years, which mark out the boundary that separates the Cherokee country from Georgia; guaranty to them all the land within their boundary; solemnly pledge the faith of the United States to restrain their citizens from trespassing on it; and recognise the preexisting power of the Nation to govern itself.

They are in equal hostility with the acts of Congress for regulating this intercourse and giving effect to the treaties.

The forcible seizure and abduction of the plaintiff in error, who was residing in the Nation with its permission and by authority of the President of the United States, is also a violation of the acts which authorize the Chief Magistrate to exercise his authority. . . .

#### Resource

*Worcester v. Georgia*. Available at: [http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/histories/USSC\\_CR\\_0031\\_0515\\_ZS.html](http://supct.law.cornell.edu/supct/html/histories/USSC_CR_0031_0515_ZS.html). Accessed January 20, 2007.

## Andrew Jackson: Indian Removal Message to Congress

*President Andrew Jackson's message on the removal of Southern Indians, part of his first annual message to the U.S. Congress in December 1829, advocated policies that called for the expulsion of Native Americans from their lands in the eastern United States and exiled them to reservations in the West. Despite some public sympathy for the Native Americans, especially the Cherokee in Georgia, Jackson argued that, if the Indians remained in existing states, they would constitute a foreign people, contradicting the prohibition of states within other states found in Article IV, Section 3 of the Constitution. Congress subsequently adopted the Indian Removal Act of 1830, approving Jackson's proposed policy. The Supreme Court decisions in Cherokee Nation v. Georgia (1831) and Worcester v. Georgia (1832) proved inadequate to protect Native American interests in the face of state, presidential, and congressional momentum, and they were ultimately forced off their land, culminating in the devastating and dramatic removal of the Cherokees in 1838 on the Trail of Tears.*

It gives me pleasure to announce to Congress that the benevolent policy of the government, steadily pursued for nearly thirty years, in relation to the





removal of the Indians beyond the white settlements is approaching to a happy consummation. Two important tribes have accepted the provision made for their removal at the last session of Congress, and it is believed that their example will induce the remaining tribes also to seek the same obvious advantages.

The consequences of a speedy removal will be important to the United States, to individual states, and to the Indians themselves. The pecuniary advantages which it promises to the government are the least of its recommendations. It puts an end to all possible danger of collision between the authorities of the general and state governments on account of the Indians. It will place a dense and civilized population in large tracts of country now occupied by a few savage hunters. By opening the whole territory between Tennessee on the north and Louisiana on the south to the settlement of the whites it will incalculably strengthen the southwestern frontier and render the adjacent states strong enough to repel future invasions without remote aid. It will relieve the whole state of Mississippi and the western part of Alabama of Indian occupancy, and enable those states to advance rapidly in population, wealth, and power.

It will separate the Indians from immediate contact with settlements of whites; free them from the power of the states; enable them to pursue happiness in their own way and under their own rude institutions; will retard the progress of decay, which is lessening their numbers, and perhaps cause them gradually, under the protection of the government and through the influence of good counsels, to cast off their savage habits and become an interesting, civilized, and Christian community. These consequences, some of them so certain and the rest so probable, make the complete execution of the plan sanctioned by Congress at their last session an object of much solicitude.

Toward the aborigines of the country no one can indulge a more friendly feeling than myself, or would go further in attempting to reclaim them from their wandering habits and make them a happy, prosperous people. I have endeavored to impress upon them my own solemn convictions of the duties and powers of the general government in relation to the state authorities. For the justice of the laws passed by the states within the scope of their reserved powers they are not responsible to this government. As individuals we may entertain and express our opinions of their acts, but as a govern-

ment we have as little right to control them as we have to prescribe laws for other nations.

With a full understanding of the subject, the Choctaw and the Chickasaw tribes have with great unanimity determined to avail themselves of the liberal offers presented by the act of Congress, and have agreed to remove beyond the Mississippi River. Treaties have been made with them, which in due season will be submitted for consideration. In negotiating these treaties, they were made to understand their true condition, and they have preferred maintaining their independence in the Western forests to submitting to the laws of the states in which they now reside. These treaties, being probably the last which will ever be made with them, are characterized by great liberality on the part of the government. They give the Indians a liberal sum in consideration of their removal, and comfortable subsistence on their arrival at their new homes. If it be their real interest to maintain a separate existence, they will there be at liberty to do so without the inconveniences and vexations to which they would unavoidably have been subject in Alabama and Mississippi.

Humanity has often wept over the fate of the aborigines of this country, and philanthropy has been long busily employed in devising means to avert it, but its progress has never for a moment been arrested, and one by one have many powerful tribes disappeared from the earth. To follow to the tomb the last of his race and to tread on the graves of extinct nations excite melancholy reflections. But true philanthropy reconciles the mind to these vicissitudes as it does to the extinction of one generation to make room for another. In the monuments and fortresses of an unknown people, spread over the extensive regions of the West, we behold the memorials of a once powerful race, which was exterminated or has disappeared to make room for the existing savage tribes. Nor is there anything in this which, upon a comprehensive view of the general interests of the human race, is to be regretted. Philanthropy could not wish to see this continent restored to the condition in which it was found by our forefathers. What good man would prefer a country covered with forests and ranged by a few thousand savages to our extensive republic, studded with cities, towns, and prosperous farms, embellished with all the improvements which art can devise or industry execute, occupied by more than 12 million happy people, and filled with all the blessings of liberty, civilization, and religion?





The present policy of the government is but a continuation of the same progressive change by a milder process. The tribes which occupied the countries now constituting the Eastern states were annihilated or have melted away to make room for the whites. The waves of population and civilization are rolling to the westward, and we now propose to acquire the countries occupied by the red men of the South and West by a fair exchange, and, at the expense of the United States, to send them to a land where their existence may be prolonged and perhaps made perpetual.

Doubtless it will be painful to leave the graves of their fathers; but what do they more than our ancestors did or than our children are now doing? To better their condition in an unknown land our forefathers left all that was dear in earthly objects. Our children by thousands yearly leave the land of their birth to seek new homes in distant regions. Does humanity weep at these painful separations from everything, animate and inanimate, with which the young heart has become entwined? Far from it. It is rather a source of joy that our country affords scope where our young population may range unconstrained in body or in mind, developing the power and faculties of man in their highest perfection. These remove hundreds and almost thousands of miles at their own expense, purchase the lands they occupy, and support themselves at their new homes from the moment of their arrival. Can it be cruel in this government when, by events which it cannot control, the Indian is made discontented in his ancient home to purchase his lands, to give him a new and extensive territory, to pay the expense of his removal, and support him a year in his new abode? How many thousands of our own people would gladly embrace the opportunity of removing to the West on such conditions? If the offers made to the Indians were extended to them, they would be hailed with gratitude and joy.

And is it supposed that the wandering savage has a stronger attachment to his home than the settled, civilized Christian? Is it more afflicting to him to leave the graves of his fathers than it is to our brothers and children? Rightly considered, the policy of the general government toward the red man is not only liberal but generous. He is unwilling to submit to the laws of the states and mingle with their population. To save him from this alternative, or perhaps utter annihilation, the general government kindly offers him a new home, and pro-

poses to pay the whole expense of his removal and settlement.

In the consummation of a policy originating at an early period, and steadily pursued by every administration within the present century—so just to the states and so generous to the Indians—the executive feels it has a right to expect the cooperation of Congress and of all good and disinterested men. The states, moreover, have a right to demand it. It was substantially a part of the compact which made them members of our Confederacy. With Georgia there is an express contract; with the new states an implied one of equal obligation. Why, in authorizing Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Missouri, Mississippi, and Alabama to form constitutions and become separate states, did Congress include within their limits extensive tracts of Indian lands, and, in some instances, powerful Indian tribes? Was it not understood by both parties that the power of the states was to be coextensive with their limits, and that, with all convenient dispatch, the general government should extinguish the Indian title and remove every obstruction to the complete jurisdiction of the state governments over the soil? Probably not one of those states would have accepted a separate existence—certainly it would never have been granted by Congress—had it been understood that they were to be confined forever to those small portions of their nominal territory the Indian title to which had at the time been extinguished.

It is, therefore, a duty which this government owes to the new states to extinguish as soon as possible the Indian title to all lands which Congress themselves have included within their limits. When this is done the duties of the general government in relation to the states and the Indians within their limits are at an end. The Indians may leave the state or not, as they choose. The purchase of their lands does not alter in the least their personal relations with the state government. No act of the general government has ever been deemed necessary to give the states jurisdiction over the persons of the Indians. That they possess by virtue of their sovereign power within their own limits in as full a manner before as after the purchase of the Indian lands; nor can this government add to or diminish it.

May we not hope, therefore, that all good citizens, and none more zealously than those who think the Indians oppressed by subjection to the laws of the states, will unite in attempting to open the eyes of those children of the forest to their true condition, and by a speedy removal to relieve them from all the





evils, real or imaginary, present or prospective, with which they may be supposed to be threatened.

## Cherokee Nation Memorial

*In this excerpt of the Cherokee Nation Memorial, the Cherokees present a plea to the American people not to force them from their ancestral lands in the face of the Indian Removal Act of 1830. Their plea went unheard, and President Andrew Jackson ordered them off their lands in Georgia in 1833. Although the Cherokees contested the order in the U.S. courts, they were compelled to leave Georgia in 1838 and make an arduous journey to the newly established Indian Country in present-day Oklahoma on a trip so fraught with disease, disaster, and death that it came to be known as the Trail of Tears.*

We are aware that some persons suppose it will be for our advantage to remove beyond the Mississippi. We think otherwise. Our people universally think otherwise. Thinking that it would be fatal to their interests, they have almost to a man sent their memorial to Congress, deprecating the necessity of a removal. . . . It is incredible that Georgia should ever have enacted the oppressive laws to which reference is here made, unless she had supposed that something extremely terrific in its character was necessary in order to make the Cherokees willing to remove. We are not willing to remove; and if we could be brought to this extremity, it would be not by argument, nor because our judgment was satisfied, not because our condition will be improved; but only because we cannot endure to be deprived of our national and individual rights and subjected to a process of intolerable oppression.

We wish to remain on the land of our fathers. We have a perfect and original right to remain without interruption or molestation. The treaties with us, and laws of the United States made in pursuance of treaties, guaranty our residence and our privileges, and secure us against intruders. Our only request is, that these treaties may be fulfilled, and these laws executed.

But if we are compelled to leave our country, we see nothing but ruin before us. The country west of the Arkansas territory is unknown to us. From what we can learn of it, we have no prepossessions in its favor. All the inviting parts of it, as we believe, are preoccupied by various Indian nations, to which it has been assigned. They would regard us as intruders. . . . The far greater part of that region is, beyond

all controversy, badly supplied with wood and water; and no Indian tribe can live as agriculturists without these articles. All our neighbors . . . would speak a language totally different from ours, and practice different customs. The original possessors of that region are now wandering savages lurking for prey in the neighborhood. . . . Were the country to which we are urged much better than it is represented to be, . . . still it is not the land of our birth, nor of our affections. It contains neither the scenes of our childhood, nor the graves of our fathers.

. . . We have been called a poor, ignorant, and degraded people. We certainly are not rich; nor have we ever boasted of our knowledge, or our moral or intellectual elevation. But there is not a man within our limits so ignorant as not to know that he has a right to live on the land of his fathers, in the possession of his immemorial privileges, and that this right has been acknowledged by the United States; nor is there a man so degraded as not to feel a keen sense of injury, on being deprived of his right and driven into exile. . . .

## Indian Removal Act

*President Andrew Jackson was a strong supporter of legislation to remove American Indians from across the United States to "Indian Territory," now Oklahoma, a measure bitterly opposed by most Native Americans. The measure was politically popular with immigrants seeking the rich lands occupied for thousands of years by the Cherokees and others.*

May 28, 1830

Chapter CXLVIII

*An Act to provide for an exchange of lands with the Indians residing in any of the states or territories, and for their removal west of the river Mississippi. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That it shall and may be lawful for the President of the United States to cause so much of any territory belonging to the United States, west of the river Mississippi, not included in any state or organized territory, and to which the Indian title has been extinguished, as he may judge necessary, to be divided into a suitable number of districts, for the reception of such tribes or nations of Indians as may choose to exchange the lands where they now reside, and remove there; and to cause each of said districts to be so described by natural or artificial marks, as to be easily distinguished from every other.*





Sec. 2 *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to exchange any or all of such districts, so to be laid off and described, with any tribe or nation of Indians now residing within the limits of any of the states or territories, and with which the United States have existing treaties, for the whole or any part or portion of the territory claimed and occupied by such tribe or nation, within the bounds of any one or more of the states or territories, where the land claimed and occupied by the Indians, is owned by the United States, or the United States are bound to the state within which it lies to extinguish the Indian claim thereto.

Sec. 3 *And be it further enacted*, That in the making of any such exchange or exchanges, it shall and may be lawful for the President solemnly to assure the tribe or nation with which the exchange is made, that the United States will forever secure and guarantee to them, and their heirs or successors, the country so exchanged with them; and if they prefer it, that the United States will cause a patent or grant to be made and executed to them for the same: *Provided always*, That such lands shall revert to the United States, if the Indians become extinct, or abandon the same.

Sec. 4 *And be it further enacted*, That if, upon any of the lands now occupied by the Indians, and to be exchanged for, there should be such improvements as add value to the land claimed by any individual or individuals of such tribes or nations, it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such value to be ascertained by appraisement or otherwise, and to cause such ascertained value to be paid to the person or persons rightfully claiming such improvements. And upon the payment of such valuation, the improvements so valued and paid for, shall pass to the United States, and possession shall not afterwards be permitted to any of the same tribe.

Sec. 5 *And be it further enacted*, That upon the making of any such exchange as is contemplated by this act, it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such aid and assistance to be furnished to the emigrants as may be necessary and proper to enable them to remove to, and settle in, the country for which they may have exchanged; and also, to give them such aid and assistance as may be necessary for their support and subsistence for the first year after their removal.

Sec. 6 *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to cause such tribe

or nation to be protected, at their new residence, against all interruption or disturbance from any other tribe or nation of Indians, or from any other person or persons whatever.

Sec. 7 *And be it further enacted*, That it shall and may be lawful for the President to have the same superintendence and care over any tribe or nation in the country to which they may remove, as contemplated by this act, that he is now authorized to have over them at their present places of residence: *Provided*, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed as authorizing or directing the violation of any existing treaty between the United States and any of the Indian tribes.

Sec. 8 *And be it further enacted*, That for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of this act, the sum of five hundred thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, to be paid out of any money in the treasury, not otherwise appropriated.

#### Resource

Indian Removal Act. Available at: <http://academic.udayton.edu/race/02rights/native10.htm>. Accessed January 20, 2007.

## Black Hawk: Surrender Speech

*The Black Hawk War of 1832 lasted only fifteen weeks but marked the demise of both the Sauk and Fox tribes as political and military forces in the Midwest. The leader and guiding spirit behind the conflict, Chief Black Hawk, delivered this address at the time of his surrender to U.S. Army troops in August 1832. Spending a year in prison after his capture, upon his release Black Hawk traveled around the country as something of a public attraction, subsequently publishing his autobiography.*

Black-hawk is an Indian. He has done nothing for which an Indian ought to be ashamed. He has fought for his countrymen, the squaws and papooses, against white men, who came, year after year, to cheat them and take away their lands. You know the cause of our making war. It is known to all white men. They ought to be ashamed of it. The white men despise the Indians, and drive them from their homes. But the Indians are not deceitful. The white men speak bad of the Indian, and look at him spitefully. But the Indian does not tell lies; Indians do not steal.

An Indian, who is as bad as the white men, could not live in our nation; he would be put to





death, and eaten up by the wolves. The white men are bad schoolmasters; they carry false looks, and deal in false actions; they smile in the face of the poor Indian to cheat him; they shake them by the hand to gain their confidence, to make them drunk, to deceive them, and ruin our wives. We told them to let us alone, and keep away from us; but they followed on, and beset our paths, and they coiled themselves among us, like the snake. They poisoned us by their touch. We were not safe. We lived in danger. We were becoming like them, hypocrites and liars, adulterers, lazy drones, all talkers, and no workers.

We looked up to the Great Spirit. We went to our great father. We were encouraged. His great council gave us fair words and big promises; but we got no satisfaction. Things were growing worse. There were no deer in the forest. The opossum and beaver were fled; the springs were drying up, and our squaws and papooses without victuals to keep them from starving; we called a great council, and built a large fire. The spirit of our fathers arose and spoke to us to avenge our wrongs or die. We all spoke before the council fire. It was warm and pleasant. We set up the war-whoop, and dug up the tomahawk; our knives were ready, and the heart of Blackhawk swelled high in his bosom, when he led his warriors to battle. He is satisfied. He will go to the world of spirits contented. He has done his duty. His father will meet him there, and commend him.

## Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

*This treaty was negotiated at the conclusion of the Mexican-American War (1846–1848), and provided for the transfer of land from Mexico to the United States that now comprises Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, Colorado, Nevada, and California. The following clause was meant to protect the liberty and property of the Mexican citizens who were absorbed into the United States. Their lands often were seized by immigrants in violation of the treaty.*

ARTICLE IX. Mexicans who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic, conformably with what is stipulated in the preceding article, shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time (to be judged of by the Congress of the United States) to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States, according to the principles of the Constitution; and in the

meantime shall be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty and property, and secured in the free exercise of their religion without restriction.

## Treaty of Fort Laramie

*This treaty, as signed, was ratified by the Senate with an amendment changing the annuity in Article 7 from fifty to ten years, subject to acceptance by the tribes. Assent of all the tribes except the Crows was procured and in subsequent agreements this treaty has been recognized as in force.*

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Fort Laramie, in the Indian Territory, between D. D. Mitchell, superintendent of Indian affairs, and Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian agent, commissioners specially appointed and authorized by the President of the United States, of the first part, and the chiefs, headmen, and braves of the following Indian nations, residing south of the Missouri River, east of the Rocky Mountains, and north of the lines of Texas and New Mexico, viz, the Sioux or Dahcotahs, Cheyennes, Arrapahoes, Crows. Assinaboines, Gros-Ventre Mandans, and Arrickaras, parties of the second part, on the seventeenth day of September, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one.

### ARTICLE 1.

The aforesaid nations, parties to this treaty, having assembled for the purpose of establishing and confirming peaceful relations amongst themselves, do hereby covenant and agree to abstain in future from all hostilities whatever against each other, to maintain good faith and friendship in all their mutual intercourse, and to make an effective and lasting peace.

### ARTICLE 2.

The aforesaid nations do hereby recognize the right of the United States Government to establish roads, military and other posts, within their respective territories.

### ARTICLE 3.

In consideration of the rights and privileges acknowledged in the preceding article, the United States bind themselves to protect the aforesaid Indian nations against the commission of all depredations by the people of the said United States, after the ratification of this treaty.





## ARTICLE 4.

The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby agree and bind themselves to make restitution or satisfaction for any wrongs committed, after the ratification of this treaty, by any band or individual of their people, on the people of the United States, whilst lawfully residing in or passing through their respective territories.

## ARTICLE 5.

The aforesaid Indian nations do hereby recognize and acknowledge the following tracts of country, included within the metes and boundaries hereinafter designated, as their respective territories, viz:

The territory of the Sioux or Dahcotah Nation, commencing the mouth of the White Earth River, on the Missouri River: thence in a southwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River: thence up the north fork of the Platte River to a point known as the Red Butte, or where the road leaves the river; thence along the range of mountains known as the Black Hills, to the head-waters of Heart River; thence down Heart River to its mouth; and thence down the Missouri River to the place of beginning.

The territory of the Gros Ventre, Mandans, and Arrickaras Nations, commencing at the mouth of Heart River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Yellowstone River; thence up the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Powder River in a southeasterly direction, to the head-waters of the Little Missouri River; thence along the Black Hills to the head of Heart River, and thence down Heart River to the place of beginning.

The territory of the Assinaboin Nation, commencing at the mouth of Yellowstone River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Muscle-shell River; thence from the mouth of the Muscle-shell River in a southeasterly direction until it strikes the head-waters of Big Dry Creek; thence down that creek to where it empties into the Yellowstone River, nearly opposite the mouth of Powder River, and thence down the Yellowstone River to the place of beginning.

The territory of the Blackfoot Nation, commencing at the mouth of Muscle-shell River; thence up the Missouri River to its source; thence along the main range of the Rocky Mountains, in a southerly direction, to the head-waters of the northern source of the Yellowstone River; thence down the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Twenty-five Yard Creek; thence across to the head-waters of the Muscle-shell

River, and thence down the Muscle-shell River to the place of beginning.

The territory of the Crow Nation, commencing at the mouth of Powder River on the Yellowstone; thence up Powder River to its source; thence along the main range of the Black Hills and Wind River Mountains to the head-waters of the Yellowstone River; thence down the Yellowstone River to the mouth of Twenty-five Yard Creek; thence to the head waters of the Muscle-shell River; thence down the Muscle-shell River to its mouth; thence to the head-waters of Big Dry Creek, and thence to its mouth.

The territory of the Cheyennes and Arrapahoes, commencing at the Red Butte, or the place where the road leaves the north fork of the Platte River; thence up the north fork of the Platte River to its source; thence along the main range of the Rocky Mountains to the head-waters of the Arkansas River; thence down the Arkansas River to the crossing of the Santa Fé road; thence in a northwesterly direction to the forks of the Platte River, and thence up the Platte River to the place of beginning.

It is, however, understood that, in making this recognition and acknowledgement, the aforesaid Indian nations do not hereby abandon or prejudice any rights or claims they may have to other lands; and further, that they do not surrender the privilege of hunting, fishing, or passing over any of the tracts of country heretofore described.

## ARTICLE 6.

The parties to the second part of this treaty having selected principals or head-chiefs for their respective nations, through whom all national business will hereafter be conducted, do hereby bind themselves to sustain said chiefs and their successors during good behavior.

## ARTICLE 7.

In consideration of the treaty stipulations, and for the damages which have or may occur by reason thereof to the Indian nations, parties hereto, and for their maintenance and the improvement of their moral and social customs, the United States bind themselves to deliver to the said Indian nations the sum of fifty thousand dollars per annum for the term of ten years, with the right to continue the same at the discretion of the President of the United States for a period not exceeding five years thereafter, in provisions, merchandise, domestic animals, and agricultural implements, in such proportions as may be deemed best adapted to their condition by the Presi-





dent of the United States, to be distributed in proportion to the population of the aforesaid Indian nations.  
ARTICLE 8.

It is understood and agreed that should any of the Indian nations, parties to this treaty, violate any of the provisions thereof, the United States may withhold the whole or a portion of the annuities mentioned in the preceding article from the nation so offending, until, in the opinion of the President of the United States, proper satisfaction shall have been made.

In testimony whereof the said D. D. Mitchell and Thomas Fitzpatrick commissioners as aforesaid, and the chiefs, headmen, and braves, parties hereto, have set their hands and affixed their marks, on the day and at the place first above written.

*D. D. Mitchell*

*Thomas Fitzpatrick*

*Commissioners.*

**Sioux:**

*Mah-toe-wha-you-whey, his x mark.*

*Mah-kah-toe-zah-zah, his x mark.*

*Bel-o-ton-kah-tan-ga, his x mark.*

*Nah-ka-pah-gi-gi, his x mark.*

*Mak-toe-sah-bi-chis, his x mark.*

*Meh-wha-tah-ni-hans-kah, his x mark.*

**Cheyennes:**

*Wah-ha-nis-satta, his x mark.*

*Voist-ti-toe-vetz, his x mark.*

*Nahk-ko-me-ien, his x mark.*

*Koh-kah-y-wh-cum-est, his x mark.*

**Arrapahoes:**

*Bè-ah-té-a-qui-sah, his x mark.*

*Neb-ni-bah-seh-it, his x mark.*

*Beh-kah-jay-beth-sah-es, his x mark.*

**Crows:**

*Arra-tu-ri-sash, his x mark.*

*Doh-chepit-seh-chi-es, his x mark.*

**Assinaboines:**

*Mah-toe-wit-ko, his x mark.*

*Toe-tah-ki-eh-nan, his x mark.*

*Mandans and Gros Ventres:*

*Nochk-pit-shi-toe-pish, his x mark.*

*She-oh-mant-ho, his x mark.*

**Arickarees:**

*Koun-hei-ti-shan, his x mark.*

*Bi-atch-tah-wetch, his x mark.*

**In the presence of—**

*A. B. Chambers, secretary.*

*S. Cooper, colonel, U.S. Army.*

*R. H. Chilton, captain, First Drags.*

*Thomas Duncan, captain, Mounted Riflemen.*

*Thos. G. Rhett, brevet captain R. M. R.*

*W. L. Elliott, first lieutenant R. M. R.*

*C. Campbell, interpreter for Sioux.*

*John S. Smith, interpreter for Cheyennes.*

*Robert Meldrum, interpreter for the Crows.*

*H. Culbertson, interpreter for Assiniboines  
and Gros Ventres.*

*Francois L'Etalie, interpreter for Arickarees.*

*John Pizelle, interpreter for the Arrapahoes.*

*B. Gratz Brown.*

*Robert Campbell.*

*Edmond F. Chouteau.*

## Chief Sea'th'l's Farewell Speech

An important leader of the Coast Salish in the Puget Sound region of Washington State, the Duwamish-Suquamish Chief Sea'th'l' delivered the following speech in 1854 at a reception for Washington's Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens, who was attempting to buy significant tracts of land from the local Indians. The elderly chief spoke no English, so his speech was translated into Chinook, a trade jargon, and then into English. Henry Smith, a prominent citizen of the new city of Seattle, the name anglicized from the chief's, took notes but did not publish the following version until 1887. Many years after that, the speech was frequently edited and paraphrased in an attempt to make it more amenable to assertions that Sea'th'l' spoke in environmental metaphors. These versions have been quoted so often that many people do not know them from a translation that itself was removed from the original speech by more than thirty years and by an intervening conversion to a trade jargon. In whatever version they appear, however, Sea'th'l's words have become symbolic of a love for the earth as well as the struggles Native Americans faced in opposing European-American expansion settlement.

Yonder sky that has wept tears of compassion upon my people for centuries untold, and which to us appears changeless and eternal, may change. Today is fair. Tomorrow it may be overcast with clouds. My words are like the stars that never change. Whatever Seattle says, the great chief at Washington can rely upon with as much certainty as he can upon the return of the sun or the seasons. The white chief says that Big Chief at Washington sends us





greetings of friendship and goodwill. This is kind of him for we know he has little need of our friendship in return. His people are many. They are like the grass that covers vast prairies. My people are few. They resemble the scattering trees of a storm-swept plain. The great, and I presume good, White Chief sends us word that he wishes to buy our land but is willing to allow us enough to live comfortably. This indeed appears just, even generous, for the Red Man no longer has rights that he need respect, and the offer may be wise, also, as we are no longer in need of an extensive country.

There was a time when our people covered the land as the waves of a wind-ruffled sea cover its shell-paved floor, but that time long since passed away with the greatness of tribes that are now but a mournful memory. I will not dwell on, nor mourn over, our untimely decay, nor reproach my paleface brothers with hastening it, as we too may have been somewhat to blame.

Youth is impulsive. When our young men grow angry at some real or imaginary wrong, and disfigure their faces with black paint, it denotes that their hearts are black, and that they are often cruel and relentless, and our old men and old women are unable to restrain them. Thus it has ever been. Thus it was when the white man began to push our forefathers ever westward. But let us hope that the hostilities between us may never return. We would have everything to lose and nothing to gain. Revenge by young men is considered gain, even at the cost of their own lives, but old men who stay at home in times of war, and mothers who have sons to lose, know better.

Our good father in Washington. . . . I presume he is now our father as well as yours, since King George has moved his boundaries . . . our great and good father, I say, sends us word that if we do as he desires he will protect us. His brave warriors will be to us a bristling wall of strength, and his wonderful ships of war will fill our harbors, so that our ancient enemies far to the northward, the Haidas and Tsimshians will cease to frighten our women, children, and old men. Then in reality he will be our father and we his children. But can that ever be? Your God is not our God! Your God loves your people and hates mine! He folds his strong protecting arms lovingly about the paleface and leads him by the hand as a father leads an infant son. But, He has forsaken His Red children, if they really are His. Our God, the Great Spirit, seems also to have forsaken us. Your God makes your people wax

stronger every day. Soon they will fill all the land. Our people are ebbing away like a rapidly receding tide that will never return. The white man's God cannot love our people or He would protect them. They seem to be orphans who can look nowhere for help. How then can we be brothers? How can your God become our God and renew our prosperity and awaken in us dreams of returning greatness? If we have a common Heavenly Father He must be partial, for He came to His paleface children. We never saw Him. He gave you laws but had no word for His red children whose teeming multitudes once filled this vast continent as stars fill the firmament. No; we are two distinct races with separate origins and separate destinies. There is little in common between us.

To us the ashes of our ancestors are sacred and their resting place is hallowed ground. You wander far from the graves of your ancestors and seemingly without regret. Your religion was written upon tablets of stone by the iron finger of your God so that you could not forget. The Red Man could never comprehend nor remember it. Our religion is the traditions of our ancestors, the dreams of our old men, given them in solemn hours of the night by the Great Spirit; and the visions of our sachems, and is written in the hearts of our people.

Your dead cease to love you and the land of their nativity as soon as they pass the portals of the tomb and wander away beyond the stars. They are soon forgotten and never return. Our dead never forget this beautiful world that gave them being. They still love its verdant valleys, its murmuring rivers, its magnificent mountains, sequestered vales and verdant lined lakes and bays, and ever yearn in tender fond affection over the lonely hearted living, and often return from the happy hunting ground to visit, guide, console, and comfort them.

Day and night cannot dwell together. The Red Man has ever fled the approach of the White Man, as the morning mist flees before the morning sun. However, your proposition seems fair and I think that my people will accept it and will retire to the reservation you offer them. Then we will dwell apart in peace, for the words of the Great White Chief seem to be the words of nature speaking to my people out of dense darkness.

It matters little where we pass the remnant of our days. They will not be many. The Indian's night promises to be dark. Not a single star of hope hovers above his horizon. Sad-voiced winds moan in the distance. Grim fate seems to be on the Red Man's





trail, and wherever he will hear the approaching footsteps of his fell destroyer and prepare stolidly to meet his doom, as does the wounded doe that hears the approaching footsteps of the hunter.

A few more moons, a few more winters, and not one of the descendants of the mighty hosts that once moved over this broad land or lived in happy homes, protected by the Great Spirit, will remain to mourn over the graves of a people once more powerful and hopeful than yours. But why should I mourn at the untimely fate of my people? Tribe follows tribe, and nation follows nation, like the waves of the sea. It is the order of nature, and regret is useless. Your time of decay may be distant, but it will surely come, for even the White Man whose God walked and talked with him as friend to friend, cannot be exempt from the common destiny. We may be brothers after all. We will see.

We will ponder your proposition and when we decide we will let you know. But should we accept it, I here and now make this condition that we will not be denied the privilege without molestation of visiting at any time the tombs of our ancestors, friends, and children. Every part of this soil is sacred in the estimation of my people. Every hillside, every valley, every plain and grove, has been hallowed by some sad or happy event in days long vanished. Even the rocks, which seem to be dumb and dead as the swelter in the sun along the silent shore, thrill with memories of stirring events connected with the lives of my people, and the very dust upon which you now stand responds more lovingly to their footsteps than yours, because it is rich with the blood of our ancestors, and our bare feet are conscious of the sympathetic touch. Our departed braves, fond mothers, glad, happy hearted maidens, and even the little children who lived here and rejoiced here for a brief season, will love these somber solitudes and at eventide they greet shadowy returning spirits. And when the last Red Man shall have perished, and the memory of my tribe shall have become a myth among the White Men, these shores will swarm with the invisible dead of my tribe, and when your children's children think themselves alone in the field, the store, the shop, upon the highway, or in the silence of the pathless woods, they will not be alone. In all the earth there is no place dedicated to solitude. At night when the streets of your cities and villages are silent and you think them deserted, they will throng with the returning hosts that once filled them and still love this beautiful land. The White Man will never be alone.

Let him be just and deal kindly with my people, for the dead are not powerless. Dead, did I say? There is no death, only a change of worlds.

## Sand Creek Massacre: Report of the Joint Committee on the Conduct of the War

*The brutal Sand Creek massacre of November 29, 1865, resulted in the murder of more than two hundred Cheyennes, many of them women and children. The attack was led by U.S. Army Colonel John M. Chivington, whose sanity many historians now question. Chivington ordered his troops to slaughter every Indian in the Sand Creek village and to take no prisoners. Chivington's order was even more diabolical because the Indians had previously surrendered to the U.S. government and were ostensibly under U.S. protection at the time. The massacre compelled the Cheyenne to break off peace talks with the Americans and led to a vicious war during 1867–1869.*

In the summer of 1864, Governor [John] Evans, of Colorado Territory, as acting superintendent of Indian Affairs, sent notice to the various bands and tribes of Indians within his jurisdiction that such as desired to be considered friendly to the whites should at once repair to the nearest military post in order to be protected from the soldiers who were to take the field against the hostile Indians.

About the close of the summer, some Cheyenne Indians, in the neighborhood of the Smoke Hills, sent word to Major [Edward W.] Wynkoop, the commandant of the post of Fort Lyon, that they had in their possession, and were willing to deliver up, some white captives they had purchased of other Indians. Major Wynkoop, with a force of over 100 men, visited these Indians and received the white captives. On his return he was accompanied by a number of the chiefs and leading men of the Indians, whom he had invited to visit Denver for the purpose of conferring with the authorities there in regard to keeping peace. Among them were Black Kettle and White Antelope of the Cheyennes, and some chiefs of the Arapahoes. The council was held and these chiefs stated that they were very friendly to the whites, and always had been, and that they desired peace. Governor Evans and Colonel Chivington, the commander of that military district, advised them to





repair to Fort Lyon and submit to whatever terms the military commander there should impose. This was done by the Indians, who were treated somewhat as prisoners of war, receiving rations, and being obliged to remain within certain bounds.

A northern band of the Cheyennes, known as the Dog Soldiers, had been guilty of acts of hostility; but all the testimony goes to prove that they had no connexion with Black Kettle's band, but acted in spite of his authority and influence. Black Kettle and his band denied all connexion with or responsibility for the Dog Soldiers, and Left Hand and his band of Arapahoes were equally friendly.

These Indians, at the suggestion of Governor Evans and Colonel Chivington, repaired to Fort Lyon and placed themselves under the protection of Major Wynkoop. They were led to believe that they were regarded in the light of friendly Indians, and would be treated as such so long as they conducted themselves quietly.

The treatment extended to those Indians by Major Wynkoop does not seem to have satisfied those in authority there, and for some cause, which does not appear, he was removed, and Major Scott J. Anthony was assigned to the command of Fort Lyon; but even Major Anthony seems to have found it difficult at first to pursue any different course toward the Indians he found there. They were entirely within the power of the military. Major Anthony, having demanded their arms, which they surrendered to him, they conducted themselves quietly, and in every way manifested a disposition to remain at peace with the whites. For a time even he continued issuing rations to them as Major Wynkoop had done; but it was determined by Major Anthony, (whether upon his own motion or as the suggestion of others does not appear) to pursue a different course towards these friendly Indians. They were called together and told that rations could no longer be issued to them, and they had better go where they could obtain subsistence by hunting. At the suggestion of Major Anthony (and from one in his position a suggestion was the equivalent to a command) these Indians went to place on Sand Creek, about thirty-five miles from Fort Lyon, and there established their camp, their arms being restored to them. He told them that he then had no authority to make peace with them; but in case he received such authority he would inform them of it. In his testimony he says:

"I told them they might go back on Sand Creek, or between there and the headwaters of the Smoky

Hill, and remain there until I received instructions from the department headquarters, from General [Samuel R.] Curtis; and that in case I did receive any authority to make peace with them I would go right over and let them know it. I did not state to them that I would give them notice in case we intended to attack them. They went away with that understanding, and in case I received instructions from department headquarters I was to let them know it."

To render the Indians less apprehensive of any danger, One Eye, a Cheyenne chief, was allowed to remain with them to obtain information for the use of the military authorities. He was employed at \$125 a month, and several times brought to Major Anthony, at Fort Lyon, information of proposed movements of other, hostile bands. Jack Smith, a half-breed son of John S. Smith, an Indian interpreter, employed by the government, was also there for the same purpose. A U.S. soldier was allowed to remain there, and two days before the massacre Mr. Smith, the interpreter, was permitted to go there with goods to trade with the Indians. Everything practicable seems to have been done to remove from the minds of the Indians any fear of approaching danger; and when Colonel Chivington commenced his movement he took all of the precautions in his power to prevent these Indians learning of his approach. For some days all travel on that route was forcibly stopped by him, not even the mail being allowed to pass. On the morning of 28 November he appeared at Fort Lyon with over 700 mounted men and two pieces of artillery. One of his first acts was throw a guard around the post to prevent any one from leaving it. At this place Major Anthony joined him with 125 men and two pieces of artillery.

That night, the entire party started from Fort Lyon, and, by a forced march, arrived at the Indian camp, on Sand creek, shortly after daybreak. The Indian camp consisted of about 100 lodges of Cheyennes, under Black Kettle, and from 8 to 10 lodges of Arapahoes under Left Hand. It is estimated that each lodge contained five or more persons, and that more than one-half were women and children.

Upon observing the approach of the soldiers, Black Kettle, the head chief, ran up to the top of his lodge an American flag, which had been presented to him some years before by Commissioner [of Indian Affairs Alfred B.] Greenwood, with a small white flag under it, as he had been advised to do in case he met with any troops on the prairies. Mr. Smith, the interpreter, supposing that they might be strange troops, unaware of the character of the Indi-





ans encamped there, advanced from his lodge to meet them, but was fired upon, and returned to his lodge.

And then the scene of murder and barbarity began. Men, women, and children were indiscriminately slaughtered. In a few minutes all the Indians were flying over the plain in terror and confusion. A few who endeavored to hide themselves under the bank of the creek were surrounded and shot down in cold blood, offering but feeble resistance. From the sucking babe to the old warrior, all who were overtaken were deliberately murdered. Not content with killing women and children, who were incapable of offering any resistance, the soldiers indulged in acts of barbarity of the most revolting character; such, it is to be hoped, as never before disgraced the acts of men claiming to be civilized. No attempt was made by the officers to restrain the savage cruelty of the men under their command, but they stood by and witnessed these acts without one word of reproof, if they did not incite their commission. For more than two hours the work of murder and barbarity was continued, until more than one hundred dead bodies, three fourths of them women and children, lay on the plain as evidences of the fiendish malignity and cruelty of the officers who had sedulously and carefully plotted the massacre, and of the soldiers who had so faithfully acted out the spirit of their officers.

It is difficult to believe that beings in the form of men, and disgracing the uniform of United States soldiers and officers, could commit or countenance the commission of such acts of cruelty and barbarity as are detailed in the testimony, but which your committee will not specify in the report. It is true that there seems to have existed among the people inhabiting the region of country a hostile feeling towards the Indians. Some of the Indians had committed acts of hostility towards the whites; but no effort seems to have been made by the authorities there to prevent these hostilities, other than by the commission of even worse acts. The hatred of the whites to the Indians would seem to have been inflamed and excited to the utmost; the bodies of persons killed at a great distance, whether by Indians or not, . . . were brought to the capital of the Territory and exposed to the public gaze for the purpose of inflaming still more the already excited feeling of the people. Their cupidity was appealed to, for the governor in a proclamation calls upon all, "either individually or in such parties as they may organize," "to kill and destroy as enemies of the

country, whatever they may be found, all such hostile Indians," authorizing them to "hold to their own private use and benefit all the property of said hostile Indians that they may capture." What Indians he would ever term friendly it is impossible to tell. His testimony before your committee was characterized by such prevarication and shuffling as has been shown by no witness they have examined during the four years they have been engaged in their investigations; and for the evident purpose of avoiding admission that he was fully aware that the Indians massacred so brutally at Sand Creek, were then, and had been, actuated by the most friendly feelings towards the whites, and had done all in their power to restrain those less friendly disposed.

The testimony of Major Anthony, who succeeded an officer disposed to treat these Indians with justice and humanity, is sufficient of itself to show how unprovoked and unwarranted was this massacre. He testifies that he found these Indians in the neighborhood of Fort Lyon when he assumed command of that post; that they professed their friendliness to the whites, and their willingness to do whatever he demanded of them; that they delivered their arms up to him; and they went to and encamped upon the place designated by him; that they gave him information from time to time of acts of hostility which were meditated by other and hostile bands, and in every way conducted themselves properly and peaceably, and yet he says it was fear and not principle which prevented his killing them while they were completely in his power. And when Colonel Chivington appeared at Fort Lyon, on his mission of murder and barbarity, Major Anthony made haste to accompany him with men and artillery, although Colonel Chivington had no authority whatever over him.

As to Colonel Chivington, your committee can hardly find fitting terms to describe his conduct. Wearing the uniform of the United States, which should be the emblem of justice and humanity; holding the important position of commander of a military district, and therefore having the honor of the government to that extent in his keeping, he deliberately executed a foul and dastardly massacre which would have disgraced the veriest savage among those who were the victims of his cruelty. Having full knowledge of their friendly character, having himself been instrumental to some extent in placing them in their position of fancied security, he took advantage of their inapprehension and defenceless condition to gratify the worst passions





that ever cursed the heart of man. It is thought by some that desire for political preferment prompted him to this cowardly act; that he supposed that by pandering to the inflamed passions of an excited population he could recommend himself to their regard and consideration. Others think it was to avoid being sent where there was more of danger and hard service to be performed; that he was willing to get up a show of hostility on the part of the Indians by committing himself acts which savages themselves would never premeditate. Whatever may have been his motive, it is to be hoped that the authority of this government will never again be disgraced by acts such as he and those acting with him have been guilty of committing.

There were hostile Indians not far distant, against which Colonel Chivington could have led the force under his command. Major Anthony testifies that but three of four days' march from his post were several hundreds of Indians, generally believed to be engaged in acts of hostility towards the whites. And he deliberately testifies that only the fear of them prevented him from killing those who were friendly and entirely within his reach and control. It is true that to reach them required some days of hard marching. It was not to be expected that they could be surprised as easily as those on Sand creek; and the warriors among them were almost, if not quite, as numerous as the soldiers under the control of Colonel Chivington. Whatever influence this may have had upon Colonel Chivington, the truth is that he surprised and murdered in cold blood, the unsuspecting men, women, and children on Sand Creek, who had every reason to believe they were under the protection of the United States authorities, and then returned to Denver and boasted of the brave deeds he and the men under his command had performed.

The Congress of the United States, at its last session, authorized the appointment of a commission to investigate all matters relating to the administration of Indian Affairs within the limits of the United States. Your committee most sincerely trust that the result of their inquiry will be the adoption of measures which will render impossible the employment of officers, civil and military, such as have heretofore made the administration of Indian Affairs in this country a byword and [of] reproach.

In conclusion, your committee are of the opinion that for the purpose of vindicating the cause of justice and upholding the honor of the nation, prompt and energetic measures should be at once

taken to remove from office those who have thus disgraced the government by whom they are employed, and to punish, as their crimes deserve, those who have been guilty of these brutal and cowardly acts.

## **Treaty with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache**

Oct. 21, 1867. | 15 Stats., 589. | Ratified, July 25, 1868. | Proclaimed Aug. 25 1868.

Articles of a treaty concluded at the Council Camp on Medicine Lodge Creek, seventy miles south of Fort Larned, in the State of Kansas, on the twenty-first day of October, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, by and between the United States of America, represented by its commissioners duly appointed thereto to-wit: Nathaniel G. Taylor, William S. Harney, C. C. Augur, Alfred S. [H.] Terry, John B. Sanborn, Samuel F. Tappan, and J. B. Henderson, of the one part, and the Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache Indians, represented by their chiefs and headmen duly authorized and empowered to act for the body of the people of said tribes (the names of said chiefs and headmen being hereto subscribed) of the other part, witness:

Whereas, on the twenty-first day of October, eighteen hundred and sixty-seven, a treaty of peace was made and entered into at the Council Camp, on Medicine Lodge Creek, seventy miles south of Fort Larned, in the State of Kansas, by and between the United States of America, by its commissioners Nathaniel G. Taylor, William S. Harney, C. C. Augur, Alfred H. Terry, John B. Sanborn, Samuel F. Tappan, and J. B. Henderson, of the one part, and the Kiowa and Comanche tribes of Indians, of the Upper Arkansas, by and through their chiefs and headmen whose names are subscribed thereto, of the other part, reference being had to said treaty; and whereas, since the making and signing of said treaty, at a council held at said camp on this day, the chiefs and headmen of the Apache nation or tribe of Indians express to the commissioners on the part of the United States, as aforesaid, a wish to be confederated with the said Kiowa and Comanche tribes, and to be placed, in every respect, upon an equal footing with said tribes; and whereas, at a council held at the same place and on the same day, with the chiefs and headmen of the said Kiowa and Comanche Tribes,





they consent to the confederation of the said Apache tribe, as desired by it, upon the terms and conditions hereinafter set forth in this supplementary treaty: Now, therefore, it is hereby stipulated and agreed by and between the aforesaid commissioners, on the part of the United States, and the chiefs and headmen of the Kiowa and Comanche tribes, and, also, the chiefs and headmen of the said Apache tribe, as follows, to-wit:

#### ARTICLE 1.

The said Apache tribe of Indians agree to confederate and become incorporated with the said Kiowa and Comanche Indians, and to accept as their permanent home the reservation described in the aforesaid treaty with said Kiowa and Comanche tribes, concluded as aforesaid at this place, and they pledge themselves to make no permanent settlement at any place, nor on any lands, outside of said reservation.

#### ARTICLE 2.

The Kiowa and Comanche tribes, on their part, agree that all the benefits and advantages arising from the employment of physicians, teachers, carpenters, millers, engineers, farmers, and blacksmiths, agreed to be furnished under the provisions of their said treaty, together with all the advantages to be derived from the construction of agency buildings, warehouses, mills, and other structures, and also from the establishment of schools upon their said reservation, shall be jointly and equally shared and enjoyed by the said Apache Indians, as though they had been originally a part of said tribes; and they further agree that all other benefits arising from said treaty shall be jointly and equally shared as aforesaid.

#### ARTICLE 3.

The United States, on its part, agrees that clothing and other articles named in Article X. of said original treaty, together with all money or other annuities agreed to be furnished under any of the provisions of said treaty, to the Kiowa and Comanches, shall be shared equally by the Apaches. In all cases where specific articles of clothing are agreed to be furnished to the Kiowas and Comanches, similar articles shall be furnished to the Apaches, and a separate census of the Apaches shall be annually taken and returned by the agent, as provided for the other tribes. And the United States further agrees, in consideration of the incorporation of said Apaches, to increase the annual appropriation of money, as provided for in Article X. of said treaty, from twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand dol-

lars; and the latter amount shall be annually appropriated, for the period therein named, for the use and benefit of said three tribes, confederated as herein declared; and the clothing and other annuities, which may from time to time be furnished to the Apaches, shall be based upon the census of the three tribes, annually to be taken by the agent, and shall be separately marked, forwarded, and delivered to them at the agency house, to be built under the provisions of said original treaty.

#### ARTICLE 4.

In consideration of the advantages conferred by this supplementary treaty upon the Apache tribe of Indians, they agree to observe and faithfully comply with all the stipulations and agreements entered into by the Kiowas and Comanches in said original treaty. They agree, in the same manner, to keep the peace toward the whites and all other persons under the jurisdiction of the United States, and to do and perform all other things enjoined upon said tribes by the provisions of said treaty; and they hereby give up and forever relinquish to the United States all rights, privileges, and grants now vested in them, or intended to be transferred to them, by the treaty between the United States and the Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes of Indians, concluded at the camp on the Little Arkansas River, in the State of Kansas, on the fourteenth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-five, and also by the supplementary treaty, concluded at the same place on the seventeenth day of the same month, between the United States, of the one part, and the Cheyenne, Arapahoe, and Apache tribes, of the other part. In testimony of all which, the said parties have hereunto set their hands and seals at the place and on the day hereinbefore stated.

*N. G. Taylor, [SEAL.]*

*President of Indian Commission.*

*Wm. S. Harney, [SEAL.]*

*Brevet Major-General, Commissioner, &c.*

*C. C. Augur, [SEAL.]*

*Brevet Major-General.*

*Alfred H. Terry, [SEAL.]*

*Brevet Major-General and Brigadier-General.*

*John B. Sanborn. [SEAL.]*

*Samuel F. Tappan. [SEAL.]*

*J. B. Henderson. [SEAL.]*

#### **On the part of the Kiowas:**

*Satanka, or Sitting bear, his x mark, [SEAL.]*

*Sa-tan-ta, or White Bear, his x mark, [SEAL.]*

*Wah-toh-konk, or Black Eagle, his x mark, [SEAL.]*





*Ton-a-en-ko, or Kicking Eagle, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Fish-e-more, or Stinking Saddle, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Ma-ye-tin, or Woman's Heart, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Sa-tim-gear, or Stumbling Bear, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Sa-pa-ga, or One Bear, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Cor-beau, or The Crow, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Sa-ta-more, or Bear Lying Down, his x mark,*  
*[SEAL.]*

**On the part of the Comanches:**

*Parry-wah-say-men, or Ten Bears, his x mark,*  
*[SEAL.]*  
*Tep-pe-naon, or Painted Lips, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*To-she-wi, or Silver Brooch, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Cear-chi-neka, or Standing Feather, his x mark,*  
*[SEAL.]*  
*Ho-we-ar, or Gap in the Woods, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Tir-ha-yah-gua-hip, or Horse's Back, his x mark,*  
*[SEAL.]*  
*Es-a-man-a-ca, or Wolf's Name, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Ah-te-es-ta, or Little Horn, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Pooh-yah-to-yeh-be, or Iron Mountain, his x mark,*  
*[SEAL.]*  
*Sad-dy-yo, or Dog Fat, his x mark, [SEAL.]*

**On the part of the Apaches:**

*Mah-vip-pah, Wolf's Sleeve, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Kon-zhon-ta-co, Poor Bear, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Cho-se-ta, or Bad Back, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Nah-tan, or Brave Man, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Ba-zhe-ech, Iron Shirt, his x mark, [SEAL.]*  
*Til-la-ka, or White Horn, his x mark, [SEAL.]*

**Attest:**

*Ashton S. H. White, secretary.*  
*Geo. B. Willis, reporter.*  
*Philip McCusker, interpreter.*  
*John D. Howland, clerk Indian Commission.*  
*Sam'l S. Smoot, United States surveyor.*  
*A. A. Taylor.*  
*J. H. Leavenworth, United States Indian agent.*  
*Thos. Murphy, superintendent Indian affairs.*  
*Joel H. Elliott, major, Seventh U.S. Cavalry.*

## Treaty with the Navajo

*This treaty with the Navajo outlined their land holdings after the United States had attempted to remove the entire nation and break up the same lands less than a decade earlier. The removal caused so much suffering that public opinion demanded the Navajos be allowed to return home on lands guaranteed by law. The Navajos continue to live on these lands today, which comprise the largest and most populous reservation within the United States.*

June 1, 1868. | 15 Stats., p. 667. | Ratified July 25, 1868. | Proclaimed Aug. 12, 1868.

Articles of a treaty and agreement made and entered into at Fort Sumner, New Mexico, on the first day of June, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, by and between the United States, represented by its commissioners, Lieutenant-General W. T. Sherman and Colonel Samuel F. Tappan, of the one part, and the Navajo Nation or tribe of Indians, represented by their chiefs and head-men, duly authorized and empowered to act for the whole people of said nation or tribe, (the names of said chiefs and head-men being hereto subscribed,) of the other part, witness:

ARTICLE 1.

From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall forever cease. The Government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they now pledge their honor to keep it.

...

ARTICLE 2.

The United States agrees that the following district of country, to wit: bounded on the north by the 37th degree of north latitude, south by an east and west line passing through the site of old Fort Defiance, in Cañon Bonito, east by the parallel of longitude which, if prolonged south, would pass through old Fort Lyon, or the Ojo-de-oso, Bear Spring, and west by a parallel of longitude about 109° 30' west of Greenwich, provided it embraces the outlet of the Cañon-de-Chilly, which cañon is to be all included in this reservation, shall be, and the same is hereby, set apart for the use and occupation of the Navajo tribe of Indians, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit among them; and the United States agrees that no persons except those herein so authorized to do, and except such officers, soldiers, agents, and employees of the Government, or of the Indians, as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties imposed by law, or the orders of the President, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in, the territory described in this article. . . .

ARTICLE 9.

In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty, and the many pledges of friendship by the United States, the tribes who are parties to this agreement hereby stipulate that they





will relinquish all right to occupy any territory outside their reservation, as herein defined, but retain the right to hunt on any unoccupied lands contiguous to their reservation, so long as the large game may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase; and they, the said Indians, further expressly agree:

1st. That they will make no opposition to the construction of railroads now being built or hereafter to be built across the continent.

2d. That they will not interfere with the peaceful construction of any railroad not passing over their reservation as herein defined.

3d. That they will not attack any persons at home or travelling, nor molest or disturb any wagon-trains, coaches, mules, or cattle belonging to the people of the United States, or to persons friendly therewith.

4th. That they will never capture or carry off from the settlements women or children.

5th. They will never kill or scalp white men, nor attempt to do them harm.

6th. They will not in future oppose the construction of railroads, wagon-roads, mail stations, or other works of utility or necessity which may be ordered or permitted by the laws of the United States; but should such roads or other works be constructed on the lands of their reservation, the Government will pay the tribe whatever amount of damage may be assessed by three disinterested commissioners to be appointed by the President for that purpose, one of said commissioners to be a chief or head-men of the tribe.

7th. They will make no opposition to the military posts or roads now established, or that may be established, not in violation of treaties heretofore made or hereafter to be made with any of the Indian tribes.

#### ARTICLE 10.

No future treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described, which may be held in common, shall be of any validity or force against said Indians unless agreed to and executed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the same; and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive, without his consent,

any individual member of the tribe of his rights to any tract of land selected by him as provided in article [5] of this treaty.

#### ARTICLE 11.

The Navajos also hereby agree that at any time after the signing of these presents [legal instruments] they will proceed in such manner as may be required of them by the agent, or by the officer charged with their removal, to the reservation herein provided for, the United States paying for their subsistence en route, and providing a reasonable amount of transportation for the sick and feeble.

#### ARTICLE 12.

It is further agreed by and between the parties to this agreement that the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars appropriated or to be appropriated shall be disbursed as follows, subject to any condition provided in the law, to wit:

1st. The actual cost of the removal of the tribe from the Bosque Redondo reservation to the reservation, say fifty thousand dollars.

2d. The purchase of fifteen thousand sheep and goats, at a cost not to exceed thirty thousand dollars.

3d. The purchase of five hundred beef cattle and a million pounds of corn, to be collected and held at the military post nearest the reservation, subject to the orders of the agent, for the relief of the needy during the coming winter.

4th. The balance, if any, of the appropriation to be invested for the maintenance of the Indians pending their removal, in such manner as the agent who is with them may determine.

5th. The removal of this tribe to be made under the supreme control and direction of the military commander of the Territory of New Mexico, and when completed, the management of the tribe to revert to the proper agent.

#### ARTICLE 13.

The tribe herein named, by their representatives, parties to this treaty, agree to make the reservation herein described their permanent home, and they will not as a tribe make any permanent settlement elsewhere, reserving the right to hunt on the lands adjoining the said reservation formerly called theirs, subject to the modifications named in this treaty and the orders of the commander of the department in which said reservation may be for the





time being; and it is further agreed and understood by the parties to this treaty, that if any Navajo Indian or Indians shall leave the reservation herein described to settle elsewhere, he or they shall forfeit all the rights, privileges, and annuities conferred by the terms of this treaty; and it is further agreed by the parties to this treaty, that they will do all they can to induce Indians now away from reservations set apart for the exclusive use and occupation of the Indians, leading a nomadic life, or engaged in war against the people of the United States, to abandon such a life and settle permanently in one of the territorial reservations set apart for the exclusive use and occupation of the Indians. . . .

#### Resource

Treaty with the Navajo. Available at:  
<http://digital.library.okstate.edu/kappler/Vol2/treaties/nav1015.htm>. Accessed January 20, 2007. Fort Laramie Treaty

## Fort Laramie Treaty (1868)

*Signed in the Wyoming Territory on November 6, 1868, the Fort Laramie Treaty was perhaps the most significant treaty between the United States and the Sioux. The two sides failed to maintain the terms of the treaty, however, resulting in the outbreak of the Sioux War just eight years later.*

ARTICLES OF A TREATY MADE AND CONCLUDED BY AND BETWEEN Lieutenant General William T. Sherman, General William S. Harney, General Alfred H. Terry, General O. O. Augur, J. B. Henderson, Nathaniel G. Taylor, John G. Sanborn, and Samuel F. Tappan, duly appointed commissioners on the part of the United States, and the different bands of the Sioux Nation of Indians, by their chiefs and headmen, whose names are hereto subscribed, they being duly authorized to act in the premises.

#### ARTICLE I

From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall forever cease. The government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they now pledge their honor to maintain it.

If bad men among the whites, or among other people subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon

proof made to the agent, and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington city, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also reimburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black, or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States, and at peace therewith, the Indians herein named solemnly agree that they will, upon proof made to their agent, and notice by him, deliver up the wrongdoer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws, and, in case they willfully refuse so to do, the person injured shall be reimbursed for his loss from the annuities, or other moneys due or to become due to them under this or other treaties made with the United States; and the President, on advising with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shall prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under the provisions of this article as in his judgment may be proper, but no one sustaining loss while violating the provisions of this treaty, or the laws of the United States, shall be reimbursed therefor.

#### ARTICLE II

The United States agrees that the following district of country, to wit, viz: commencing on the east bank of the Missouri river where the 46th parallel of north latitude crosses the same, thence along low-water mark down said east bank to a point opposite where the northern line of the State of Nebraska strikes the river, thence west across said river, and along the northern line of Nebraska to the 104th degree of longitude west from Greenwich, thence north on said meridian to a point where the 46th parallel of north latitude intercepts the same, thence due east along said parallel to the place of beginning; and in addition thereto, all existing reservations of the east bank of said river, shall be and the same is, set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit amongst them; and the United States now solemnly agrees that no persons, except those herein designated and authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents, and employees of the government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over,





settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation for the use of said Indians, and henceforth they will and do hereby relinquish all claims or right in and to any portion of the United States or Territories, except such as is embraced within the limits aforesaid, and except as hereinafter provided.

...

#### ARTICLE XII

No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described which may be held in common, shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying or interested in the same, and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his rights to any tract of land selected by him . . .

...

#### ARTICLE XVI

The United States hereby agrees and stipulates that the country north of the North Platte river and east of the summits of the Big Horn mountains shall be held and considered to be unceded Indian territory, and also stipulates and agrees that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the same; or without the consent of the Indians, first had and obtained, to pass through the same; and it is further agreed by the United States, that within ninety days after the conclusion of peace with all the bands of the Sioux nation, the military posts now established in the territory in this article named shall be abandoned, and that the road leading to them and by them to the settlements in the Territory of Montana shall be closed.

## Canadian Treaties Numbers 1 through 11

*Canada negotiated eleven treaties with Native peoples between 1871 and 1921, in sequential numbers, all specifying which lands were to be ceded, the locations and sizes of reserves (often with individual or family allotted land specified), and small annuities, guarantees of schools, farm equipment, and other equipment, as well as the prohibition of liquor sales and presents. Some of the treaties also reserved hunting and fishing rights. The treaties were rather similar except for the specific areas ceded and reserved. The first of the following treaties lists all the common elements, while*

*the next ten list only the Native peoples involved and the lands ceded. Note that not all of the treaties are cited here, but those not cited were similar except for the groups of people and territories affected. The treaties seem to have been printed on a common form.*

### TREATIES 1 AND 2 BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN AND THE CHIPPEWA AND CREE INDIANS OF MANITOBA AND COUNTRY ADJACENT WITH ADHESIONS

#### Treaty No. 1

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded this third day of August in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland by Her Commissioner, Wemyss M. Simpson, Esquire, of the one part, and the Chippewa and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their Chiefs chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part.

Whereas all the Indians inhabiting the said country have pursuant to an appointment made by the said Commissioner, been convened at a meeting at the Stone Fort, otherwise called Lower Fort Garry, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to Her Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and to the said Indians of the other, and whereas the said Indians have been notified and informed by Her Majesty's said Commissioner that it is the desire of Her Majesty to open up to settlement and immigration a tract of country bounded and described as hereinafter mentioned, and to obtain the consent thereto of her Indian subjects inhabiting the said tract, and to make a treaty and arrangements with them so that there may be peace and good will between them and Her Majesty, and that they may know and be assured of what allowance they are to count upon and receive year by year from Her Majesty's bounty and benevolence.

The Chippewa and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to Her Majesty the Queen and successors forever all the lands included within the following limits, that is to say: Beginning at the international boundary line near its junction with the Lake of the Woods, at a point due north from the centre of Roseau Lake; thence to run due north to the centre of Roseau Lake; thence northward to the centre of





White Mouth Lake, otherwise called White Mud Lake; thence by the middle of the lake and the middle of the river issuing therefrom to the mouth thereof in Winnipeg River; thence by the Winnipeg River to its mouth; thence westwardly, including all the islands near the south end of the lake, across the lake to the mouth of Drunken River; thence westwardly to a point on Lake Manitoba half way between Oak Point and the mouth of Swan Creek; thence across Lake Manitoba in a line due west to its western shore; thence in a straight line to the crossing of the rapids on the Assiniboine; thence due south to the international boundary line; and thence eastwardly by the said line to the place of beginning. To have and to hold the same to Her said Majesty the Queen and Her successors for ever; and Her Majesty the Queen hereby agrees and undertakes to lay aside and reserve for the sole and exclusive use of the Indians the following tracts of land, that is to say: For the use of the Indians belonging to the band of which Henry Prince, otherwise called Mis-koo-kenew is the Chief, so much of land on both sides of the Red River, beginning at the south line of St. Peter's Parish, as will furnish one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families; and for the use of the Indians of whom Na-sha-ke-penais, Nana-wa-nanaw, Ke-we-tayash and Wa-ko-wush are the Chiefs, so much land on the Roseau River as will furnish one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, beginning from the mouth of the river; and for the use of the Indians of which Kake-ka-penais is the Chief, so much land on the Winnipeg River above Fort Alexander as will furnish one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, beginning at a distance of a mile or thereabout above the Fort; and for the use of the Indians of whom Oo-za-we-kwun is Chief, so much land on the south and east side of the Assiniboine, about twenty miles above the Portage, as will furnish one hundred and sixty acres for each family of five, or in that proportion for larger or smaller families, reserving also a further tract enclosing said reserve to comprise an equivalent to twenty-five square miles of equal breadth, to be laid out round the reserve, it being understood, however, that if, at the date of the execution of this treaty, there are any settlers within the bounds of any lands reserved by any band, Her Majesty reserves

the right to deal with such settlers as She shall deem just, so as not to diminish the extent of land allotted to the Indians.

And with a view to show the satisfaction of Her Majesty with the behaviour and good conduct of Her Indians parties to this treaty, She hereby, through Her Commissioner, makes them a present of three dollars for each Indian man, woman and child belonging to the bands here represented.

And further, Her Majesty agrees to maintain a school on each reserve hereby made whenever the Indians of the reserve should desire it.

Within the boundary of Indian reserves, until otherwise enacted by the proper legislative authority, no intoxicating liquor shall be allowed to be introduced or sold, and all laws now in force or hereafter to be enacted to preserve Her Majesty's Indian subjects inhabiting the reserves or living elsewhere from the evil influence of the use of intoxicating liquors shall be strictly enforced.

*Memorandum of things outside of the Treaty which were promised at the Treaty at the Lower Fort, signed the third day of August, A.D. 1871.*

- *For each Chief who signed the treaty, a dress distinguishing him as Chief.*
- *For braves and for councillors of each Chief a dress; it being supposed that the braves and councillors will be two for each Chief.*
- *For each Chief, except Yellow Quill, a buggy.*
- *For the braves and councillors of each Chief, except Yellow Quill, a buggy.*
- *In lieu of a yoke of oxen for each reserve, a bull for each, and a cow for each Chief; a boar for each reserve and a sow for each Chief, and a male and female of each kind of animal raised by farmers, these when the Indians are prepared to receive them.*
- *A plough and a harrow for each settler cultivating the ground.*
- *These animals and their issue to be Government property, but to be allowed for the use of the Indians, under the superintendence and control of the Indian Commissioner.*
- *The buggies to be the property of the Indians to whom they are given.*
- *The above contains an inventory of the terms concluded with the Indians.*

## **Treaty No. 2**

ARTICLES OF TREATY made and concluded this twenty-first day of August, in the year of Our





Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioner Wemyss M. Simpson, Esquire, of the one part, and the Chippewa Tribe of Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their Chiefs chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part.

The Chippewa Tribe of Indians and all other Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to Her Majesty the Queen, and Her successors forever, all the lands included within the following limits, that is to say:

All that tract of country lying partly to the north and partly to the west of a tract of land ceded to Her Majesty the Queen by the Indians inhabiting the Province of Manitoba, and certain adjacent localities, under the terms of a treaty made at Lower Fort Garry on the third day of August last past, the land now intended to be ceded and surrendered being particularly described as follows, that is to say: Beginning at the mouth of Winnipeg River, on the north line of the lands ceded by said treaty; thence running along the eastern shore of Lake Winnipeg northwardly as far as the mouth of Beren's River; thence across said lake to its western shore, at the north bank of the mouth of the Little Saskatchewan or Dauphin River; thence up said stream and along the northern and western shores thereof, and of St. Martin's Lake, and along the north bank of the stream flowing into St. Martin's Lake from Lake Manitoba by the general course of such stream to such last-mentioned lake; thence by the eastern and northern shores of Lake Manitoba to the mouth of the Waterhen River; thence by the eastern and northern shores of said river up stream to the northernmost extremity of a small lake known as Waterhen Lake; thence in a line due west to and across lake Winnipegosis; thence in a straight line to the most northerly waters forming the source of the Shell River; thence to a point west of the same two miles distant from the river, measuring at right angles thereto; thence by a line parallel with the Shell River to its mouth, and thence crossing the Assiniboine River and running parallel thereto and two miles distant therefrom, and to the westward thereof, to a point opposite Fort Ellice; thence in a south-westwardly course to the north-western point of the Moose Mountains; thence by a line due south to the United States frontier; thence by the frontier eastwardly to the westward line of said tract ceded

by treaty as aforesaid; thence bounded thereby by the west, northwest and north lines of said tract, to the place of beginning, at the mouth of Winnipeg River.

#### Resource

Treaties 1 and 2. Available at: [http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty1-2\\_e.html](http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty1-2_e.html). Accessed January 20, 2007.

#### Treaty No. 3

BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN AND THE SAULTEAUX TRIBE OF THE OJIBBEWAY INDIANS AT THE NORTHWEST ANGLE ON THE LAKE OF THE WOODS WITH ADHESIONS

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded this third day of October, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-three, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioners, the Honourable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the North-west Territories; Joseph Alfred Norbert Provencher and Simon James Dawson, of the one part, and the Saulteaux Tribe of the Ojibway Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their Chiefs chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part.

The Saulteaux Tribe of the Ojibbeway Indians and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada for Her Majesty the Queen and Her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever, to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say:-

Commencing at a point on the Pigeon River route where the international boundary line between the Territories of Great Britain and the United States intersects the height of land separating the waters running to Lake Superior from those flowing to Lake Winnipeg; thence northerly, westerly and easterly along the height of land aforesaid, following its sinuosities, whatever their course may be, to the point at which the said height of land meets the summit of the watershed from which the streams flow to Lake Nepigon; thence northerly and westerly, or whatever may be its course, along the ridge separating the waters of the Nepigon and the Winnipeg to the height of land dividing the waters of the Albany and the





Winnipeg; thence westerly and north-westerly along the height of land dividing the waters flowing to Hudson's Bay by the Albany or other rivers from those running to English River and the Winnipeg to a point on the said height of land bearing north forty-five degrees east from Fort Alexander, at the mouth of the Winnipeg; thence south forty-five degrees west to Fort Alexander, at the mouth of the Winnipeg; thence southerly along the eastern bank of the Winnipeg to the mouth of White Mouth River; thence southerly by the line described as in that part forming the eastern boundary of the tract surrendered by the Chippewa and Swampy Cree tribes of Indians to Her Majesty on the third of August, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-one, namely, by White Mouth River to White Mouth Lake, and thence on a line having the general bearing of White Mouth River to the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude; thence by the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude to the Lake of the Woods, and from thence by the international boundary line to the place beginning.

The tract comprised within the lines above described, embracing an area of fifty-five thousand square miles, be the same more or less. To have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen, and Her successors forever.

#### Resource

Treaty 3. Available at: [http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty3\\_e.html](http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty3_e.html). Accessed January 20, 2007.

#### Treaty No. 4

BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN AND THE CREE AND SAULTEAUX TRIBES OF INDIANS AT THE QU'APPELLE AND FORT ELLICE

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded this fifteenth day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-four, between Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioners, the Honourable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the North-West Territories; the Honourable David Laird, Minister of the Interior, and William Joseph Christie, Esquire, of Brockville, Ontario, of the one part; and the Cree, Saulteaux and other Indians, inhabitants of the territory within the limits hereinafter defined and described by their Chiefs and Headmen, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part.

The Cree and Saulteaux Tribes of Indians, and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen, and Her successors forever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever, to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say:—

Commencing at a point on the United States frontier due south of the northwestern point of the Moose Mountains; thence due north to said point of said mountains: thence in a north-easterly course to a point two miles due west of Fort Ellice; thence in a line parallel with and two miles westward from the Assiniboine River to the mouth of the Shell River; thence parallel to the said river and two miles distant therefrom to its source; thence in a straight line to a point on the western shore of Lake Winnipegosis, due west from the most northern extremity of Waterhen Lake; thence east to the centre of Lake Winnipegosis; thence northwardly, through the middle of the said lake (including Birch Island), to the mouth of Red Deer River; thence westwardly and southwestwardly along and including the said Red Deer River and its lakes, Red Deer and Etoimaini, to the source of its western branch; thence in a straight line to the source of the northern branch of the Qu'Appelle; thence along and including said stream to the forks near Long Lake; thence along and including the valley of the west branch of the Qu'Appelle to the South Saskatchewan; thence along and including said river to the mouth of Maple Creek; thence southwardly along said creek to a point opposite the western extremity of the Cypress Hills; thence due south to the international boundary; thence east along the said boundary to the place of commencement. Also all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wheresoever situated within Her Majesty's North-West Territories, or any of them. To have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen and Her successors for ever.

#### Resource

Treaty 4. Available at: [http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty4\\_e.html](http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty4_e.html). Accessed January 20, 2007.





### **Treaty No. 5**

BETWEEN HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN AND THE SAULTEAUX AND SWAMPY CREE TRIBES OF INDIANS AT BEREN'S RIVER AND NORWAY HOUSE WITH ADHESIONS

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded at Beren's River the 20th day of September, and at Norway House the 24th day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and seventy-five, between "Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen" of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioners the Honourable Alexander Morris, Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Manitoba and the North-west Territories, and the Honourable James McKay, of the one part, and the Saulteaux and Swampy Cree tribes of Indians, inhabitants of the country within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their Chiefs, chosen and named as hereinafter mentioned, of the other part.

The Saulteaux and Swampy Cree Tribes of Indians and all other the Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter described and defined, do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen and Her successors for ever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say:

Commencing at the north corner or junction of Treaties Nos. 1 and 3; then easterly along the boundary of Treaty No. 3 to the "Height of Land," at the northeast corner of the said treaty limits, a point dividing the waters of the Albany and Winnipeg Rivers; thence due north along the said "Height of Land" to a point intersected by the 53° of north latitude; and thence north-westerly to "Favourable Lake"; thence following the east shore of said lake to its northern limit; thence north-westerly to the north end of Lake Winnipegosis; then westerly to the "Height of Land" called "Robinson's Portage"; thence north-westerly to the east end of "Cross Lake"; thence north-westerly crossing "Foxes Lake"; thence north-westerly to the north end of "Split Lake"; thence south-westerly to "Pipestone Lake," on "Burntwood River"; thence south-westerly to the western point of "John Scott's Lake"; thence south-westerly to the north shore of "Beaver Lake"; thence south-westerly to the west end of "Cumberland Lake"; thence due south to the "Saskatchewan River"; thence due south to the north-west corner of the northern limits of Treaty No. 4, including all territory within the said limits,

and all islands on all lakes within the said limits, as above described; and it being also understood that in all cases where lakes form the treaty limits, ten miles from the shore of the lake should be included in the treaty.

And also all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated in the North-west Territories or in any other Province or portion of Her Majesty's dominions situated and being within the Dominion of Canada;

The tract comprised within the lines above described, embracing an area of one hundred thousand square miles, be the same more or less.

To have and to hold the same to Her Majesty the Queen, and Her successors forever.

### **Resource**

Treaty 5. Available at: [http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty5\\_e.html](http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty5_e.html). Accessed January 20, 2007.

### **Treaty No. 8**

MADE JUNE 21, 1899 AND ADHESIONS, REPORTS, ETC.

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded at the several dates mentioned therein, in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and ninety-nine, between Her most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, by Her Commissioners the Honourable David Laird, of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Indian Commissioner for the said Province and the Northwest Territories; James Andrew Joseph McKenna, of Ottawa, Ontario, Esquire, and the Honourable James Hamilton Ross, of Regina, in the Northwest Territories, of the one part; and the Cree, Beaver, Chipewyan and other Indians, inhabitants of the territory within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their Chiefs and Headmen, hereunto subscribed, of the other part:

... The said Commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the Cree, Beaver, Chipewyan and other Indians, inhabiting the district hereinafter defined and described, and the same has been agreed upon and concluded by the respective bands at the dates mentioned hereunder, the said Indians DO HEREBY CEDE, RELEASE, SURRENDER AND YIELD UP to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for Her Majesty the Queen and Her successors for ever, all their rights, titles and privileges whatsoever, to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say:





Commencing at the source of the main branch of the Red Deer River in Alberta, thence due west to the central range of the Rocky Mountains, thence northwesterly along the said range to the point where it intersects the 60th parallel of north latitude, thence east along said parallel to the point where it intersects Hay River, thence northeasterly down said river to the south shore of Great Slave Lake, thence along the said shore northeasterly (and including such rights to the islands in said lakes as the Indians mentioned in the treaty may possess), and thence easterly and northeasterly along the south shores of Christie's Bay and McLeod's Bay to old Fort Reliance near the mouth of Lockhart's River, thence southeasterly in a straight line to and including Black Lake, thence southwesterly up the stream from Cree Lake, thence including said lake southwesterly along the height of land between the Athabasca and Churchill Rivers to where it intersects the northern boundary of Treaty Six, and along the said boundary easterly, northerly and southwesterly, to the place of commencement.

AND ALSO the said Indian rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated in the Northwest Territories, British Columbia, or in any other portion of the Dominion of Canada.

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the same to Her Majesty the Queen and Her successors for ever.

#### Resource

Treaty 8. Available at: [http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty8\\_e.html](http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty8_e.html). Accessed January 20, 2007.

#### Treaty No. 9

THE JAMES BAY TREATY (TREATY No. 9) (MADE IN 1905 AND 1906) AND ADHESIONS MADE IN 1929 AND 1930

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded at the several dates mentioned therein, in the year of Our Lord one thousand and nine hundred and five, between His Most Gracious Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland, by His Commissioners, Duncan Campbell Scott, of Ottawa, Ontario, Esquire, and Samuel Stewart, of Ottawa, Ontario, Esquire; and Daniel George MacMartin, of Perth, Ontario, Esquire, representing the province of Ontario, of the one part; and the Ojibeway, Cree and other Indians, inhabitants of the territory within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their chiefs, and headmen hereunto subscribed, of the other part:—

Whereas, the Indians inhabiting the territory hereinafter defined have been convened to meet a commission representing His Majesty's government of the Dominion of Canada at certain places in the said territory in this present year of 1905, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to His Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other.

And whereas, the said commissioners have proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the Ojibeway, Cree and other Indians, inhabiting the district hereinafter defined and described, and the same has been agreed upon, and concluded by the respective bands at the dates mentioned hereunder, the said Indians do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the government of the Dominion of Canada, for His Majesty the King and His successors for ever, all their rights titles and privileges whatsoever, to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say: That portion or tract of land lying and being in the province of Ontario, bounded on the south by the height of land and the northern boundaries of the territory ceded by the Robinson-Superior Treaty of 1850, and the Robinson-Huron Treaty of 1850, and bounded on the east and north by the boundaries of the said province of Ontario as defined by law, and on the west by a part of the eastern boundary of the territory ceded by the Northwest Angle Treaty No. 3; the said land containing an area of ninety thousand square miles, more or less.

And also, the said Indian rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated in Ontario, Quebec, Manitoba, the District of Keewatin, or in any other portion of the Dominion of Canada.

To have and to hold the same to His Majesty the King and His successors for ever.

And His Majesty the King hereby agrees with the said Indians that they shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as heretofore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the government of the country, acting under the authority of His Majesty, and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes.

#### Resource

Treaty 9. Available at: [http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty9\\_e.html](http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty9_e.html). Accessed January 20, 2007.





### Treaty No. 11

TREATY No. 11 (JUNE 27, 1921) AND ADHESION (JULY 17, 1922) WITH REPORTS, ETC.

ARTICLES OF A TREATY made and concluded on the several dates mentioned therein in the year of Our Lord One thousand Nine hundred and Twenty-One, between His Most Gracious Majesty George V, King of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions beyond the Seas, by His Commissioner, Henry Anthony Conroy, Esquire, of the City of Ottawa, of the One Part, and the Slave, Dogrib, Loucheux, Hare and other Indians, inhabitants of the territory within the limits hereinafter defined and described, by their Chiefs and Headmen, hereunto subscribed, of the other part:—

WHEREAS, the Indians inhabiting the territory hereinafter defined have been convened to meet a commissioner representing His Majesty's Government of the Dominion of Canada at certain places in the said territory in this present year of 1921, to deliberate upon certain matters of interest to His Most Gracious Majesty, of the one part, and the said Indians of the other.

AND WHEREAS the said Commissioner has proceeded to negotiate a treaty with the Slave, Dogrib, Loucheux, Hare and other Indians inhabiting the district hereinafter defined and described, which has been agreed upon and concluded by the respective bands at the dates mentioned hereunder, the said Indians do hereby cede, release, surrender and yield up to the Government of the Dominion of Canada, for His Majesty the King and His Successors forever, all their rights, titles, and privileges whatsoever to the lands included within the following limits, that is to say:

Commencing at the northwesterly corner of the territory ceded under the provisions of Treaty Number Eight; thence northeasterly along the height-of-land to the point where it intersects the boundary between the Yukon Territory and the Northwest Territories; thence northwesterly along the said boundary to the shore of the Arctic ocean; thence easterly along the said shore to the mouth of the Coppermine river; thence southerly and southeasterly along the left bank of said river to Lake Gras by way of Point lake; thence along the southern shore of Lake Gras to a point situated northwest of the most western extremity of Aylmer lake; thence along the southern shore of Aylmer lake and following the right bank of the Lockhart river to Artillery lake; thence along the western shore of Artillery lake and following the right bank of the Lockhart river to the site of Old

Fort Reliance where the said river enters Great Slave lake, this being the northeastern corner of the territory ceded under the provisions of Treaty Number Eight; thence westerly along the northern boundary of the said territory so ceded to the point of commencement; comprising an area of approximately three hundred and seventy-two thousand square miles.

AND ALSO, the said Indian rights, titles and privileges whatsoever to all other lands wherever situated in the Yukon Territory, the Northwest Territories or in any other portion of the Dominion of Canada.

To have and to hold the same to His Majesty the King and His Successors forever.

AND His Majesty the King hereby agrees with the said Indians that they shall have the right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as heretofore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the Government of the Country acting under the authority of His Majesty, and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes.

#### Resource

Treaty 11. Available at: [http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty11\\_e.html](http://www.ainc-inac.gc.ca/pr/trts/trty11_e.html). Accessed January 20, 2007.

## Two Moon: Account of the Battle of the Little Bighorn

*The United States was gearing up to celebrate its hundredth birthday as a nation when General George Armstrong Custer disobeyed orders and attacked a large settlement of Sioux and Cheyenne on the Little Bighorn River in what is now southeastern Montana. The resulting battle is described here by a Native American witness.*

That spring I was camped on Powder River with fifty lodges of my people—Cheyennes. The place is near what is now Fort McKenney. One morning soldiers charged my camp. They were in command of Three Fingers [Colonel R. S. McKenzie]. We were surprised and scattered, leaving our ponies. The soldiers ran all our horses off. That night the soldiers





slept, leaving the horses [to] one side; so we crept up and stole them back again, and then we went away.

We traveled far, and one day we met a big camp of Sioux at Charcoal Butte. We camped with the Sioux, and had a good time, plenty grass, plenty game, good water. Crazy Horse was head chief of the camp. Sitting Bull was camped a little ways below, on the Little Missouri River.

Crazy Horse said to me, "I'm glad you are come. We are going to fight the white man again."

The camp was already full of wounded men, women, and children.

I said to Crazy Horse, "All right. I am ready to fight. I have fought already. My people have been killed, my horses stolen; I am satisfied to fight."

I believed at that time the Great Spirits had made Sioux, put them there [he drew a circle to the right], and the white men and Cheyennes here [indicating two places to the left], expecting them to fight. The Great Spirits I thought liked to see the fight; it was to them all the same like playing. So I thought then about fighting.

About May, when the grass was tall and the horses strong, we broke camp and started across the country to the mouth of the Tongue River. Then Sitting Bull and Crazy Horse and all went up the Rosebud. There we had a big fight with General [George] Crook, and whipped him. Many soldiers were killed—few Indians. It was a great fight, much smoke and dust.

From there we all went over the divide, and camped in the valley of Little Horn. Everybody thought, "Now we are out of the white man's country. He can live there, we will live here." After a few days, one morning when I was in camp north of Sitting Bull, a Sioux messenger rode up and said, "Let everybody paint up, cook, and get ready for a big dance."

Cheyennes then went to work to cook, cut up tobacco, and get ready. We all thought to dance all day. We were very glad to think we were far away from the white man.

I went to water my horses at the creek, and washed them off with cool water, then took a swim myself. I came back to the camp afoot. When I got near my lodge, I looked up the Little Horn towards Sitting Bull's camp. I saw a great dust rising. It looked like a whirlwind. Soon Sioux horsemen came rushing into camp shouting: "Soldiers come! Plenty white soldiers."

I ran into my lodge, and said to my brother-in-law, "Get your horses; the white man is coming. Everybody run for horses."

Outside, far up the valley, I heard a battle cry, Hay-ay, hay-ay! I heard shouting, too, this way [clapping his hands very fast]. I couldn't see any Indians. Everybody was getting horses and saddles. After I had caught my horse, a Sioux warrior came again and said, "Many soldiers are coming."

Then he said to the women, "Get out of the way, we are going to have hard fight."

I said, "All right, I am ready."

I got on my horse, and rode out into my camp. I called out to the people all running about: "I am Two Moon, your chief. Don't run away. Stay here and fight. You must stay and fight the white soldiers. I shall stay even if I am to be killed."

I rode swiftly toward Sitting Bull's camp. There I saw the white soldiers fighting in a line. Indians covered the flat. They began to drive the soldiers all mixed up—Sioux, then soldiers, then more Sioux, and all shooting. The air was full of smoke and dust. I saw the soldiers fall back and drop into the river-bed like buffalo fleeing. They had not time to look for a crossing. The Sioux chased them up the hill, where they met more soldiers in wagons, and then messengers came saying more soldiers were going to kill the women, and the Sioux turned back. Chief Gall was there fighting. Crazy Horse also.

I then rode toward my camp, and stopped squaws from carrying off lodges. While I was sitting on my horse I saw flags come up over the hill to the east like that [he raised his finger-tips]. Then the soldiers rose all at once, all on horses, like this [he put his fingers behind each other to indicate that Custer appeared marching in columns of fours]. They formed into three bunches [squadrons] with a little ways between. Then a bugle sounded, and they all got off horses, and some soldiers led the horses back over the hill.

Then the Sioux rode up the ridge on all sides, riding very fast. The Cheyennes went up the left way. Then the shooting was quick, quick. Pop—pop—pop very fast. Some of the soldiers were down on their knees, some standing. Officers all in front. The smoke was like a great cloud, and everywhere the Sioux went the dust rose like smoke. We circled all round him—swirling like water round a stone. We shoot, we ride fast, we shoot again. Soldiers drop, and horses fall on them. Soldiers in line drop, but one man rides up and down the line—all the time shouting. He rode a sorrel horse with white face and white fore-legs. I don't know who he was. He was a brave man.





Indians keep swirling round and round, and the soldiers killed only a few. Many soldiers fell. At last all horses killed but five. Once in a while some man would break out and run toward the river, but he would fall. At last about a hundred men and five horsemen stood on the hill all bunched together. All along the bugler kept blowing his commands. He was very brave too. Then a chief was killed. I hear it was Long Hair [Custer], I don't know; and then the five horsemen and the bunch of men, may be [about] forty, started toward the river. The man on the sorrel horse led them, shouting all the time. He wore a buckskin shirt, and had long black hair and mustache. He fought hard with a big knife. His men were all covered with white dust. I couldn't tell whether they were officers or not. One man all alone ran far down toward the river, then round up over the hill. I thought he was going to escape, but a Sioux fired and hit him in the head. He was [a sergeant] the last man. He wore braid on his arms.

All the soldiers were now killed, and the bodies were stripped. After that no one could tell which were officers. The bodies were left where they fell. We had no dance that night. We were sorrowful.

Next day four Sioux chiefs and two Cheyennes and I, Two Moon, went upon the battlefield to count the dead. One man carried [a] Little bundle of sticks. When we came to dead men, we took a little stick and gave it to another man, so we counted the dead. There were 388. There were thirty-nine Sioux and seven Cheyennes killed and about a hundred wounded.

Some white soldiers were cut with knives, to make sure they were dead; and the war women had mangled some. Most of them were left just where they fell. We came to the man with the big mustache; he lay down the hills towards the river. The Indians did not take his buckskin shirt. The Sioux said, "That is a big chief. That is Long Hair." I don't know. I had never seen him. The man on the white-faced horse was the bravest man.

That day as the sun was getting low our young men came up the Little Horn riding hard. Many white soldiers were coming in a big boat, and when we looked we could see the smoke rising. I called my people together, and we hurried up the Little Horn, into Rotten Grass Valley. We camped there three days, and then rode swiftly back over our old trail to the east. Sitting Bull went back into the Rosebud and down the Yellowstone, and away to the north. I did not see him again.

## Chief Joseph: I Will Fight No More Forever Speech

*Following their refusal to surrender, the Nez Percé were forced out of their homeland in Idaho and chased north and eastward about 1,700 miles through rough country during 1877. After they were slowly starved and reduced in numbers in several battles with U.S. Army troops, Chief Joseph the Younger, their leader, decided finally to surrender. The following is extracted from his speech on that occasion.*

Tell General [Howard O.] Howard that I know his heart. What he told me before I have in my heart. I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. Looking Glass is dead, Tu-hul-hil-sote is dead. The old men are all dead. It is the young men who now say yes or no. He who led the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people—some of them have run away to the hills and have no blankets and no food. No one knows where they are—perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many of them I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs, my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands I will fight no more against the white man.

## Helen Hunt Jackson: A Century of Dishonor

*Helen Hunt Jackson, who was best known in her time as a poet, turned to writing exposes of government misconduct in Indian affairs late in her life. Her major book on this subject, A Century of Dishonor, was a best-seller.*

There are within the limits of the United States between 250 and 300,000 Indians, exclusive of those in Alaska. The names of the different tribes and bands, as entered in the statistical table the Indian Office Reports, number nearly 300. One of the most careful estimates which have been made of their numbers and localities gives them as follows: "In Minnesota and States east of the Mississippi, about 32,500; in Nebraska, Kansas, and the Indian Territory, 70,650; in the Territories of Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho, 65,000; in Nevada and the Territories of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Arizona, 84,000; and on the Pacific slope, 48,000."





Of these, 130,000 are self-supporting on their own reservations, "receiving nothing from the Government except interest on their own moneys, or annuities granted them in consideration of the cession of their lands to the United States."

. . . Of the remainder, 84,000 are partially supported by the Government—the interest money due them and their annuities, as provided by treaty, being inadequate to their subsistence on the reservations where they are confined. . . .

There are about 55,000 who never visit an agency, over whom the Government does not pretend to have either control or care. These 55,000 "subsist by hunting, fishing, on roots, nuts, berries, etc., and by begging and stealing"; and this also seems to dispose of the accusation that the Indian will not "work for a living." There remains a small portion, about 31,000, that are entirely subsisted by the Government.

There is not among these 300 bands of Indians one which has not suffered cruelly at the hands either of the Government or of white settlers. The poorer, the more insignificant, the more helpless the band, the more certain the cruelty and outrage to which they have been subjected. This is especially true of the bands on the Pacific slope. These Indians found themselves all of a sudden surrounded by and caught up in the great influx of gold-seeking settlers, as helpless creatures on a shore are caught up in a tidal wave. There was not time for the Government to make treaties; not even time for communities to make laws. The tale of the wrongs, the oppressions, the murders of the Pacific-slope Indians in the last thirty years would be a volume by itself, and is too monstrous to be believed.

It makes little difference, however, where one opens the record of the history of the Indians; every page and every year has its dark stain. The story of one tribe is the story of all, varied only differences of time and place; but neither time nor place makes any difference in the main facts. Colorado is as greedy and unjust in 1880 as was Georgia in 1830, and Ohio in 1795; and the United States Government breaks promises now as deftly as then, and with an added ingenuity from long practice.

One of its strongest supports in so doing is the wide-spread sentiment among the people of dislike to the Indian, of impatience with his presence as a "barrier to civilization" and distrust of it as a possible danger. The old tales of the frontier life, with its horrors of Indian warfare, have gradually, by two or three generations' telling, produced in the average

mind something like an hereditary instinct of questioning and unreasoning aversion which it is almost impossible to dislodge or soften. . . .

President after president has appointed commission after commission to inquire into and report upon Indian affairs, and to make suggestions as to the best methods of managing them. The reports are filled with eloquent statements of wrongs done to the Indians, of perfidies on the part of the Government; they counsel, as earnestly as words can, a trial of the simple and unperplexing expedients of telling truth, keeping promises, making fair bargains, dealing justly in all ways and all things. These reports are bound up with the Government's Annual Reports, and that is the end of them. . . .

The history of the Government connections with the Indians is a shameful record of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises. The history of the border white man's connection with the Indians is a sickening record of murder, outrage, robbery, and wrongs committed by the former, as the rule, and occasional savage outbreaks and unspeakably barbarous deeds of retaliation by the latter, as the exception.

Taught by the Government that they had rights entitled to respect, when those rights have been assailed by the rapacity of the white man, the arm which should have been raised to protect them has ever been ready to sustain the aggressor.

The testimony of some of the highest military officers of the United States is on record to the effect that, in our Indian wars, almost without exception, the first aggressions have been made by the white man. . . . Every crime committed by a white man against an Indian is concealed and palliated. Every offense committed by an Indian against a white man is borne on the wings of the post or the telegraph to the remotest corner of the land, clothed with all the horrors which the reality or imagination can throw around it. Against such influences as these are the people of the United States need to be warned.

To assume that it would be easy, or by any one sudden stroke of legislative policy possible, to undo the mischief and hurt of the long past, set the Indian policy of the country right for the future, and make the Indians at once safe and happy, is the blunder of a hasty and uninformed judgment. The notion which seems to be growing more prevalent, that simply to make all Indians at once citizens of the United States would be a sovereign and instantaneous panacea for all their ills and all the Government's perplexities, is a very inconsiderate one.





To administer complete citizenship of a sudden, all round, to all Indians, barbarous and civilized alike, would be as grotesque a blunder as to dose them all round with any one medicine, irrespective of the symptoms and needs of their diseases. It would kill more than it would cure. Nevertheless, it is true, as was well stated by one of the superintendents of Indian Affairs in 1857, that, "so long as they are not citizens of the United States, their rights of property must remain insecure against invasion. The doors of the federal tribunals being barred against them while wards and dependents, they can only partially exercise the rights of free government, or give to those who make, execute, and construe the few laws they are allowed to enact, dignity sufficient to make them respectable. While they continue individually to gather the crumbs that fall from the table of the United States, idleness, improvidence, and indebtedness will be the rule, and industry, thrift, and freedom from debt the exception. The utter absence of individual title to particular lands deprives every one among them of the chief incentive to labor and exertion—the very mainspring on which the prosperity of a people depends."

All judicious plans and measures for their safety and salvation must embody provisions for their becoming citizens as fast as they are fit, and must protect them till then in every right and particular in which our laws protect other "persons" who are not citizens. . . .

However great perplexity and difficulty there may be in the details of any and every plan possible for doing at this late day anything like justice to the Indian, however, hard it may be for good statesmen and good men to agree upon the things that ought to be done, there certainly is, or ought to be, no perplexity whatever, or difficulty whatever, in agreeing upon certain things that ought not to be done, and which must cease to be done before the first steps can be taken toward righting the wrongs, curing the ills, and wiping out the disgrace to us of the present conditions of our Indians.

Cheating, robbing, breaking promises—these three are clearly things which must cease to be done. One more thing, also, and that is the refusal of the protection of the law to the Indian's rights of property, "of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

When these four things have ceased to be done, time, statesmanship, philanthropy, and Christianity can slowly and surely do the rest. Till these four things have ceased to be done, statesmanship and

philanthropy alike must work in vain, and even Christianity can reap but small harvest.

### Ex Parte Crow Dog

*In this case, the U.S. Supreme Court denied federal jurisdiction over the murder of an Indian by another Indian in Indian country, citing relevant treaties. The court reasoned that federal jurisdiction would deny Indians trial by their peers. The U.S. Congress reacted to this ruling by passing the Major Crimes Act of 1885, which subjected reservation Indians to federal jurisdiction for murder and other major crimes. Today this law and others still restrict the scope of operation for reservation courts.*

The petitioner is in the custody of the marshal of the United States for the territory of Dakota, imprisoned in the jail of Lawrence county, in the first judicial district of that territory, under sentence of death, adjudged against him by the district court for that district, to be carried into execution January 14, 1884. That judgment was rendered upon a conviction for the murder of an Indian of the Brule Sioux band of the Sioux nation of Indians, by the name of Sin-ta-gelle-Scka, or in English, Spotted Tail, the prisoner also being an Indian of the same band and nation, and the homicide having occurred, as alleged in the indictment, in the Indian country, within a place and district of country under the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States and within the said judicial district. The judgment was affirmed on a writ of error, by the supreme court of the territory. It is claimed on behalf of the prisoner that the crime charged against him, and of which he stands convicted, is not an offense under the laws of the United States; that the district court had no jurisdiction to try him, and that its judgment and sentence are void. It therefore prays for a writ of habeas corpus, that he may be delivered from an imprisonment which he asserts to be illegal. . . .

The district courts of the territory of Dakota are invested with the same jurisdiction in all cases arising under the laws of the United States as is vested in the circuit and district courts of the United States. Rev. St. §§ 1907–1910. The reservation of the Sioux Indians, lying within the exterior boundaries of the territory of Dakota, was defined by article 2 of the treaty concluded April 29, 1868, (15 St. 635,) and by section 1839 Rev. St., it is excepted out of and constitutes no part of that territory. The object of this exception is stated to be to exclude the jurisdiction of





any state or territorial government over Indians within its exterior lines, without their consent, where their rights have been reserved and remain unextinguished by treaty. But the district courts of the territory having, by law, the jurisdiction of district and circuit courts of the United States, may, in that character, take cognizance of offenses against the laws of the United States, although committed within an Indian reservation, when the latter is situate within the space which is constituted by the authority of the territorial government the judicial district of such court. . . .

Nevertheless, although the section of the act of 1834 containing the definition of that date has been repealed, it is not to be regarded as if it had never been adopted, but may be referred to in connection with the provisions of its original context which remain in force, and may be considered in connection with the changes which have taken place in our situation, with a view of determining from time to time what must be regarded as Indian country, where it is spoken of in the statutes. It is an admitted rule in the interpretation of statutes that clauses which have been repealed may still be considered in construing the provisions that remain in force. BRAMWELL, L. J. in *Atty. Gen. v. Lamplough*, 3 Exch. Div. 223–227; *Hardc. St.* 217; *Savings Bank v. Collector*, 3 Wall. 495–513; *Com. v. Bailey*, 13 Allen, 541. This rule was applied in reference to the very question now under consideration in *Bates v. Clark*, 95 U.S. 204, decided at the October term, 1877. It was said in that case by Mr. Justice MILLER, delivering the opinion of the court, that ‘it follows from this that all the country described by the act of 1834 as Indian country remains Indian country so long as the Indians retain their original title to the soil, and ceases to be Indian country whenever they lose that title, in the absence of any different provision by treaty or by act of congress.’ In our opinion that definition now applies to all the country to which the Indian title has not been extinguished within the limits of the United States, even when not within a reservation expressly set apart for the exclusive occupancy of Indians, although much of it has been acquired since the passage of the act of 1834, and notwithstanding the formal definition in that act has been dropped from the statutes, excluding, however, any territory embraced within the exterior geographical limits of a state, not excepted from its jurisdiction by treaty or by statute at the time of its admission into the Union, but saving, even in respect to territory not thus excepted and actually in the exclusive occupancy of

Indians, the authority of congress over it, under the constitutional power to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes, and under any treaty made in pursuance of it. *U.S. v. McBratney*, 104 U. S. 621. . . .

By the Indian appropriation act of August 15, 1876, congress appropriated \$1,000,000 for the subsistence of the Sioux Indians, in accordance with the treaty of 1868, and ‘for purposes of their civilization,’ (19 St. 192) but coupled it with certain conditions relative to a cession of a portion of the reservation, and with the proviso ‘that no further appropriation for said Sioux Indians for subsistence shall hereafter be made until some stipulation, agreement, or arrangement shall have been entered into by said Indians with the president of the United States, which is calculated and designed to enable said Indians to become self-supporting.’ In pursuance of that provision the agreement was made, which was ratified in part by the act of congress of February 28, 1877. The enactment of this agreement by statute, instead of its ratification as a treaty, was in pursuance of the policy which had been declared for the first time in a proviso to the Indian appropriation act of March 3, 1871, (16 St. 566 c. 120) and permanently adopted in section 2079 of the Revised Statutes, that thereafter ‘no Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty,’ but without invalidating or impairing the obligation of subsisting treaties. . . . It must be remembered that the question before us is whether the express letter of section 2146 of the Revised Statutes, which excludes from the jurisdiction of the United States the case of a crime committed in the Indian country by one Indian against the person or property of another Indian, has been repealed. If not, it is in force and applies to the present case. The treaty of 1868 and the agreement and act of congress of 1877, it is admitted, do not repeal it by any express words. What we have said is sufficient at least to show that they do not work a repeal by necessary implication. A meaning can be given to the legislation in question, which the words will bear, which is not unreasonable, which is not inconsistent with its scope and apparent purposes, whereby the whole may be made to stand. Implied repeals are not favored. The implication must be necessary. There must be a positive repugnancy between the provisions of the new laws and those of the old. *Wood v. U. S.* 16 Pet. 342; *Daviess v. Fairbairn*, 3 How. 636; *U. S. v. Tynen*, 11 Wall. 88; *State v. Stoll*, 17 Wall. 425.





The language of the exception is special and express; the words relied on as a repeal are general and inconclusive. The rule is, *generalia specialibus non derogant*. 'The general principle to be applied,' said BOVILL, C. J., in *Thorpe v. Adams*, L. R. 6 C. P. 135, 'to the construction of acts of parliament is that a general act is not to be construed to repeal a previous particular act, unless there is some express reference to the previous legislation on the subject, or unless there is a necessary inconsistency in the two acts standing together.' 'And the reason is,' said Wood, V. C., in *Fitzgerald v. Champneys*, 30 Law J. Ch. 782; 2 Johns. & H. 31-54, 'that the legislature having had its attention directed to a special subject, and having observed all the circumstances of the case and provided for them, does not intend, by a general enactment afterwards, to derogate from its own act when it makes no special mention of its intention so to do.'

The nature and circumstances of this case strongly reinforce this rule of interpretation in its present application. It is a case involving the judgment of a court of special and limited jurisdiction, not to be assumed without clear warrant of law. It is a case of life and death. It is a case where, against an express exception in the law itself, that law, by argument and inference only, is sought to be extended over aliens and strangers; over the members of a community, separated by race, by tradition, by the instincts of a free though savage life, from the authority and power which seeks to impose upon them the restraints of an external and unknown code, and to subject them to the responsibilities of civil conduct, according to rules and penalties of which they could have no previous warning; which judges them by a standard made by others, and not for them, which takes no account of the conditions which should except them from its exactions, and makes no allowance for their inability to understand it. It tries them not by their peers, nor by the customs of their people, nor the law of their land, but by superiors of a different race, according to the law of a social state of which they have an imperfect conception, and which is opposed to the traditions of their history, to the habits of their lives, to the strongest prejudices of their savage nature; one which measures the red man's revenge by the maxims of the white man's morality. It is a case, too, of first impression, so far as we are advised; for, if the question has been mooted heretofore in any courts of the United States, the jurisdiction has never before been practically asserted as in the present instance.

The provisions now contained in sections 2145 and 2146 of the Revised Statutes were first enacted in section 25 of the Indian intercourse act of 1834. 4 St. 733. Prior to that, by the act of 1796, (1 St. 469,) and the act of 1802, (2 St. 139,) offenses committed by Indians against white persons, and by white persons against Indians, were specifically enumerated and defined, and those by Indians against each other were left to be dealt with by each tribe for itself, according to its local customs. The policy of the government in that respect has been uniform. As was said by Mr. Justice MILLER, delivering the opinion of the court in *U. S. v. Joseph*, 94 U.S. 614, 617:

'The tribes for whom the act of 1854 was made were those semi-independent tribes whom our government has always recognized as exempt from our laws, whether within or without the limits of an organized state or territory, and, in regard to their domestic government, left to their own rules and traditions, in whom we have recognized the capacity to make treaties, and with whom the governments, state and national, deal, with a few exceptions only, in their national or tribal character, and not as individuals.'

To give to the clauses in the treaty of 1868 and the agreement of 1877 effect, so as to uphold the jurisdiction exercised in this case, would be to reverse in this instance the general policy of the government towards the Indians, as declared in many statutes and treaties, and recognized in many decisions of this court, from the beginning to the present time. To justify such a departure, in such a case, requires a clear expression of the intention of congress, and that we have not been able to find. It results that the first district court of Dakota was without jurisdiction to find or try the indictment against the prisoner; that the conviction and sentence are void, and that his imprisonment is illegal.

The writs of habeas corpus and certiorari prayed for will accordingly be issued.

### William T. Sherman: Report on the End of the Indian Problem

... I now regard the Indians as substantially eliminated from the problem of the Army. There may be spasmodic and temporary alarms, but such Indian wars as have hitherto disturbed the public peace and tranquillity are not probable. The Army has been a large factor in producing this result, but it is not the





only one. Immigration and the occupation by industrious farmers and miners of land vacated by the aboriginies [sic] have been largely instrumental to that end, but the railroad which used to follow in the rear now goes forward with the picket-line in the great battle of civilization with barbarism, and has become the greater cause. I have in former reports, for the past fifteen years, treated of this matter, and now, on the eve of withdrawing from active participation in public affairs, I beg to emphasize much which I have spoken and written heretofore. The recent completion of the last of the four great transcontinental lines of railway has settled forever the Indian question, the Army question, and many others which have hitherto troubled the country. . . .

## General Allotment Act (Dawes Act)

*The Dawes Act, named after its principal sponsor, Senator Henry Dawes, was advanced as a mechanism to assimilate Native Americans by giving them individual landholdings and, in some cases, citizenship rights. Allotment also broke up collective Indian landholdings and threw open as much as 90 percent of them to non-Indian immigrants.*

An Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians on the Various Reservations, and to Extend the Protection of the Laws of the United States and the Territories over the Indians, and for Other Purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in all cases where any tribe or band of Indians has been, or shall hereafter be, located upon any reservation created for their use, either by treaty stipulation or by virtue of an act of Congress or executive order setting apart the same for their use, the President of the United States be, and he hereby is, authorized, whenever in his opinion any reservation or any part thereof of such Indians is advantageous for agricultural and grazing purposes, to cause said reservation, or any part thereof, to be surveyed, or resurveyed if necessary, and to allot the lands in said reservation in severalty to any Indian located thereon in quantities as follows:*

To each head of a family, one-quarter of a section; To each single person over eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section; To each orphan child under eighteen years of age, one-eighth of a section;

and To each other single person under eighteen years now living, or who may be born prior to the date of the order of the President directing an allotment of the lands embraced in any reservation, one-sixteenth of a section:

Provided, That in case there is not sufficient land in any of said reservations to allot lands to each individual of the classes above named in quantities as above provided, the lands embraced in such reservation or reservations shall be allotted to each individual of each of said classes pro rata in accordance with the provisions of this act: And provided further, That where the treaty or act of Congress setting apart such reservation provides the allotment of lands in severalty in quantities in excess of those herein provided, the President, in making allotments upon such reservation, shall allot the lands to each individual Indian belonging thereon in quantity as specified in such treaty or act: And provided further, That when the lands allotted are only valuable for grazing purposes, an additional allotment of such grazing lands, in quantities as above provided, shall be made to each individual.

SEC. 2. That all allotments set apart under the provisions of this act shall be selected by the Indians, heads of families selecting for their minor children, and the agents shall select for each orphan child, and in such manner as to embrace the improvements of the Indians making the selection . . .

SEC. 3. That the allotments provided for in this act shall be made by special agents appointed by the President for such purpose . . .

SEC. 4. That where any Indian not residing upon a reservation, or for whose tribe no reservation has been provided by treaty, act of Congress, or executive order, shall make settlement upon any surveyed or unsurveyed lands of the United States not otherwise appropriated, he or she shall be entitled, upon application to the local land-office for the district in which the lands are located, to have the same allotted to him or her, and to his or her children, in quantities and manner as provided in this act for Indians residing upon reservations . . .

SEC. 5. That upon the approval of the allotments provided for in this act by the Secretary of the Interior, he shall cause patents to issue therefor in the name of the allottees, which patents shall be of the legal effect, and declare that the United States does and will hold the land thus allotted, for the period of twenty-five years, in trust for the sole use and benefit of the Indian to whom such allotment shall have been made, or, in case of his decease, of his heirs





according to the laws of the State or Territory where such land is located, and that at the expiration of said period the United States will convey the same by patent to said Indian, or his heirs as aforesaid, in fee, discharged of said trust and free of all charge or incumbrance whatsoever: Provided, That the President of the United States may in any case in his discretion extend the period . . . That at any time after lands have been allotted to all the Indians of any tribe as herein provided, or sooner if in the opinion of the President it shall be for the best interests of said tribe, it shall be lawful for the Secretary of the Interior to negotiate with such Indian tribe for the purchase and release by said tribe, in conformity with the treaty or statute under which such reservation is held, of such portions of its reservation not allotted as such tribe shall, from time to time, consent to sell, on such terms and conditions as shall be considered just and equitable between the United States and said tribe of Indians, which purchase shall not be complete until ratified by Congress, and the form and manner of executing such release prescribed by Congress: Provided however, That all lands adapted to agriculture, with or without irrigation so sold or released to the United States by any Indian tribe shall be held by the United States for the sole purpose of securing homes to actual settlers and shall be disposed of by the United States to actual and bona fide settlers only tracts not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres to any one person, on such terms as Congress shall prescribe, subject to grants which Congress may make in aid of education: And provided further, That no patents shall issue therefor except to the person so taking the same as and homestead, or his heirs, and after the expiration of five years occupancy thereof as such homestead; and any conveyance of said lands taken as a homestead, or any contract touching the same, or lieu thereon, created prior to the date of such patent, shall be null and void. And the sums agreed to be paid by the United States as purchase money for any portion of any such reservation shall be held in the Treasury of the United States for the sole use of the tribe or tribes Indians . . .

SEC. 6. That upon the completion of said allotments and the patenting of the lands to said allottees, each and every number of the respective bands or tribes of Indians to whom allotments have been made shall have the benefit of and be subject to the laws, both civil and criminal, of the State or Territory in which they may reside; and no Territory shall pass or enforce any law denying any such

Indian within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law. And every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States to whom allotments shall have been made under the provisions of this act, or under any law or treaty, and every Indian born within the territorial limits of the United States who has voluntarily taken up, within said limits, his residence separate and apart from any tribe of Indians therein, and has adopted the habits of civilized life, is hereby declared to be a citizen of the United States, and is entitled to all the rights, privileges, and immunities of such citizens, whether said Indian has been or not, by birth or otherwise, a member of any tribe of Indians within the territorial limits of the United States without in any manner affecting the right of any such Indian to tribal or other property.

SEC. 7. That in cases where the use of water for irrigation is necessary to render the lands within any Indian reservation available for agricultural purposes, the Secretary of the Interior be, and he is hereby, authorized to prescribe such rules and regulations as he may deem necessary to secure a just and equal distribution thereof among the Indians residing upon any such reservation. . . .

SEC. 8. That the provisions of this act shall not extend to the territory occupied by the Cherokees, Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Seminoles, and Osage, Miamies and Peorias, and Sacs and Foxes, in the Indian Territory, nor to any of the reservations of the Seneca Nation of New York Indians in the State of New York, nor to that strip of territory in the State of Nebraska adjoining the Sioux Nation on the south added by executive order.

SEC. 9. That for the purpose of making the surveys and resurveys mentioned in section two of this act, there be, and hereby is, appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of one hundred thousand dollars, to be repaid proportionately out of the proceeds of the sales of such land as may be acquired from the Indians under the provisions of this act.

SEC. 10. That nothing in this act contained shall be so construed to affect the right and power of Congress to grant the right of way through any lands granted to an Indian, or a tribe of Indians, for railroads or other highways, or telegraph lines, for the public use, or condemn such lands to public uses, upon making just compensation.

SEC. 11. That nothing in this act shall be so construed as to prevent the removal of the Southern Ute Indians from their present reservation in Southwest-





ern Colorado to a new reservation by and with consent of a majority of the adult male members of said tribe.

Approved, February, 8, 1887.

## **Sitting Bull: Speech on Keeping Treaties (1890)**

What treaty that the whites have kept has the red man broken? Not one. What treaty that the whites ever made with us red men have they kept? Not one. When I was a boy the Sioux owned the world. The sun rose and set in their lands. They sent 10,000 horsemen to battle. Where are the warriors to-day? Who slew them? Where are our lands? Who owns them? What white man can say I ever stole his lands or a penny of his money? Yet they say I am thief. What white woman, however lonely, was ever when a captive insulted by me? Yet they say I am a bad Indian. What white man has ever seen me drunk? Who has ever come to me hungry and gone unfed? Who has ever seen me beat my wives or abuse my children? What law have I broken? Is it wrong for me to love my own? Is it wicked in me because my skin is red; because I am a Sioux; because I was born where my fathers lived; because I would die for my people and my country?

## **Wounded Knee Massacre: Testimony of the Sioux (1890)**

*Turning Hawk* [speaking through an interpreter]: Mr. Commissioner, my purpose today is to tell you what I know of the condition of affairs at the agency where I live. A certain falsehood [the Ghost Dance] came to our agency from the west which had the effect of a fire upon the Indians, and when this certain fire came upon our people those who had far-sightedness and could see into the matter made up their minds to stand up against it and fight it. The reason we took this hostile attitude to this fire was because we believed that you yourself would not be in favor of this particular mischief-making thing; but just as we expected, the people in authority did not like this thing and we were quietly told that we must give up or have nothing to do with this certain movement. Though this is the advice from our good friends in the East, there were, of course, many silly

young men who were longing to become identified with the movement, although they knew that there was nothing absolutely bad, nor did they know there was anything absolutely good, in connection with the movement.

In the course of time we heard that the soldiers were moving toward the scene of the trouble. After awhile some of the soldiers finally reached our place and we heard that a number of them also reached our friends at Rosebud. Of course, when a large body of soldiers is moving toward a certain direction they inspire a more or less amount of awe, and it is natural that the woman and children who see this large moving mass are made afraid of it and be put in a condition to make them run away. At first we thought that Pine Ridge and Rosebud were the only two agencies where soldiers were sent, but finally we heard that the other agencies fared likewise. We heard and saw that half our friends at Rosebud agency, from fear at seeing the soldiers, began the move of running away from their agency toward ours [Pine Ridge], and when they had gotten inside of our reservation they there learned that right ahead of them at our agency was another large crowd of soldiers, and while the soldiers were there, there was constantly a great deal of false rumor flying back and forth. The special rumor I have in mind is the threat that the soldiers had come there to disarm the Indians entirely and to take away all their horses from them. That was the oft-repeated story.

So constantly repeated was this story that our friends from Rosebud, instead of going to Pine Ridge, the place of their destination, veered off and went to some other direction toward the "Bad Lands." We did not know definitely how many, but understood there were 300 lodges of them, about 1,700 people. Eagle Pipe, Turning Bear, High Hawk, Short Bull, Lance, No Flesh, Pine Bird, Crow Dog, Two Strike, and White Horse were the leaders.

The people after veering off in this way, many of them who believe in peace and order at our agency, were very anxious that some influence should be brought upon these people. In addition to our love of peace we remembered that many of these people were related to us by blood. So we sent out peace commissioners to the people who were thus running away from their agency.

I understood at the time that they were simply going away from fear because of so many soldiers. So constant was the word of these good men from Pine Ridge agency that finally they succeeded in getting away half of the party from Rosebud, from the





place where they took refuge, and finally were brought to the agency at Pine Ridge. Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses, Little Wound, Fast Thunder, Louis Shangreau, John Grass, Jack Red Cloud, and myself were some of these peacemakers.

The remnant of the party from Rosebud not taken to the agency finally reached the wilds of the Bad Lands. Seeing that we had succeeded so well, once more we went to the same party in the Bad Lands and succeeded in bringing these very Indians out of the depths of the Bad Lands and were being brought toward the agency. When we were about a day's journey from our agency we heard that a certain band of Indians from the Cheyenne River agency was coming toward Pine Ridge in flight [those are considered to be from Big Foot's band].

*Captain Sword:* Those who actually went off of the Cheyenne River agency probably number 303, and there were [some] from the Standing Rock reserve with them, but as to their number I do not know. There were a number of Oglallas, old men and several school boys, coming back with that very same party, and one of the very seriously wounded boys was a member of the Oglalla boarding school at Pine Ridge agency. He was not on the warpath, but was simply returning to his agency and to his school after a summer visit to his relatives on the Cheyenne River.

*Turning Hawk:* When we heard that these people were coming toward our agency we also heard this. These people were coming toward Pine Ridge agency, and when they were almost on the agency they were met by the soldiers and surrounded and finally taken to the Wounded Knee creek, and there at a given time their guns were demanded. When they had delivered them up, the men were separated from their families, from their tipis, and taken to a certain spot. When the guns were thus taken and the men thus separated, there was a crazy man, a young man of very bad influence and in fact a nobody, among that bunch of Indians [who] fired his gun, and of course the firing of a gun must have been the breaking of a military rule of some sort, because immediately the soldiers returned fire and indiscriminate killing followed.

*Spotted Horse:* This man shot an officer in the army; the first killed this officer. I was a voluntary scout at that encounter and I saw exactly what was done, and that was what I noticed; that the first shot killed an officer. As soon as this shot was fired the Indians immediately began drawing their knives, and they were exhorted from all sides to desist, but

this was not obeyed. Consequently the firing began immediately on the part of the soldiers.

*Turning Hawk:* All the men who were in a bunch were killed right there, and those who escaped that first fire got into the ravine, and as they went along up the ravine for a long distance they were pursued on both sides by the soldiers and shot down, as the dead bodies showed afterwards. The women were standing off at a different place from where the men were stationed, and when the firing began, those of the men who escaped the first onslaught went in one direction up the ravine, and then the women, who were bunched together at another place, went entirely in a different direction through an open field, and the women fared the same fate as the men who went up the deep ravine.

*American Horse:* The men were separated, as has already been said, from the women, and they were surrounded by the soldiers also. When the firing began, of course the people who were standing immediately around the young man who fired the first shot were killed right together, and then they turned their guns, Hotchkiss guns, etc., upon the women who were in the lodges standing there under a flag of truce, and of course as soon as they were fired upon they fled, the men fleeing in one direction and the women running in two different directions. So that there were three general directions in which they took flight.

There was a woman with an infant in her arms who was killed as she almost touched the flag of truce, and the women and children of course were strewn all along the circular village until they were dispatched. Right near the flag of truce a mother was shot down with her infant; the child not knowing that its mother was dead was still nursing, and that especially was a very sad sight. The women as they were fleeing with their babies were killed together, shot right through, and the women who were very heavy with child were also killed. All the Indians fled in these three directions, and after most all of them had been killed a cry was made that all those who were not killed or wounded should come out of their places of refuge, and as soon as they came in sight a number of soldiers surrounded them and butchered them there.

Of course we all feel very sad about this affair. I stood very loyal to the government all through those troublesome days, and believing so much in the government and being so loyal to it, my disappointment was very strong, and I have come to Washington with a very great blame on my heart. Of course it





would have been all right if only the men were killed; we would almost feel grateful for it. But the fact of the killing of the women, and more especially the killing of the young boys and girls who are to go to make up the future strength of the Indian people, is the saddest part of the whole affair and we feel it very sorely.

I was not there at the time before the burial of the bodies, but I did go there with some of the police and the Indian doctor and a great many people, men from the agency, and we went through the battlefield and saw where the bodies were from the track of the blood.

*Turning Hawk:* I had just reached the point where I said that the women were killed. We heard, besides the killing of the men, of the onslaught also made upon the women and children, and they were treated as roughly and indiscriminately as the men and boys were.

Of course this affair brought a great deal of distress upon all the people, but especially upon the minds of those who stood loyal to the government and who did all that they were able to do in the matter of bringing about peace. They especially have suffered much distress and are very much hurt at heart. These peacemakers continued on in their good work, but there were a great many fickle young men who were ready to be moved by the change in the events there, and consequently, in spite of the great fire that was brought upon all, they were ready to assume any hostile attitude. These young men got themselves in readiness and went in the direction of the scene of battle so they might be of service there. They got there and finally exchanged shots with the soldiers. This party of young men was made up from Rosebud, Oglalla [Pine Ridge], and members of any other agencies that happened to be there at the time. While this was going on in the neighborhood of Wounded Knee [the Indians and soldiers exchanging shots] the agency, our home, was also fired into by the Indians. Matters went on in this strain until the evening came on, and then the Indians went off down by White Clay creek. When the agency was fired upon by the Indians from the hillside, of course the shots were returned by the Indian police who were guarding the agency buildings.

Although fighting seemed to have been in the air, yet those who believed in peace were still constant in their work. Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses, who had been on a visit to some other agency in the north or northwest, returned, and immediately went out to the people living about

White Clay creek, on the border of the Bad Lands, and brought his people out. He succeeded in obtaining the consent of the people to come out of their place of refuge and return to the agency. Thus the remaining portion of the Indians who started from Rosebud were brought back into the agency. Mr. Commissioner, during the days of the great whirlwind out there, these good men tried to hold up a counteracting power, and that was "Peace." We have now come to realize that peace has prevailed and won the day. While we were engaged in bringing about peace our property was left behind, of course, and most of us lost everything, even down to the matter of guns with which to kill ducks, rabbits, etc., shotguns, and guns of that order. When Young-Man-Afraid brought the people in and their guns were asked for, both men who were called hostile and men who stood loyal to the government delivered up their guns.

### ***Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock (1902)***

On January 6, 1901, a rule to show cause why a temporary injunction should not be granted was issued. In response to this rule an affidavit of the Secretary of the Interior was filed, in which, in substance, it was averred that the complainant (Lone Wolf) and his wife and daughter had selected allotments under the act of June 6, 1900, and the same had been approved by the Secretary of the Interior, and that all other members of the tribes, excepting twelve, had also accepted and retained allotments in severalty, and that the greater part thereof had been approved before the bringing of this suit. . . . The appellants base their right to relief on the proposition that by the effect of the article just quoted the confederated tribes of Kiowa, Comanche, and Apache were vested with an interest in the lands held in common within the reservation, which interest could not be divested by Congress in any other mode than that specified in the said twelfth article, and that as a result of the said stipulation the interest of the Indians in the common lands fell within the protection of the fifth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and such interest—indirectly at least—came under the control of the judicial branch of the Government. We are unable to yield our assent to this view.

The contention, in effect, ignores the status of the contracting Indians and the relation of dependency they bore and continue to bear toward the Government of the United States. To uphold the





claim would be to adjudge that the indirect operation of the treaty was to materially limit and qualify the controlling authority of Congress in respect to the care and protection of the Indians, and to deprive Congress, in a possible emergency, when the necessity might be urgent for a partition and disposal of the tribal lands, of all power to act if the assent of the Indians could not be obtained.

Now, it is true that in decisions of this court the Indian right of occupancy of tribal lands, whether declared in a treaty or otherwise created, has been stated to be sacred, or, as sometimes expressed, as sacred as the fee of the United States in the same lands . . . —But in none of these cases was there involved a controversy between Indians and the Government respecting the power of Congress to administer the property of the Indians. The questions considered in the cases referred to, which either directly or indirectly had relation to the nature of the property rights of the Indians, concerned the character and extent of such rights as respected States or individuals. In one of the cited cases it was clearly pointed out that Congress possessed a paramount power over the property of the Indians by reason of its exercise of guardianship over their interests, and that such authority might be implied, even though opposed to the strict letter of a treaty with the Indians. Thus, in *Beecher v. Wetherby* (95 U. S., 525), discussing the claim that there had been a prior reservation of land by treaty to the use of a certain tribe of Indians, the court said (p. 525):

But the right which the Indians held was only that of occupancy. The fee was in the United States, subject to that right, and could be transferred by them whenever they chose. The grantee, it is true, would take only the naked fee, and could not disturb the occupancy of the Indians; that occupancy could only be interfered with or determined by the United States. It is to be presumed that in this matter the United States would be governed by such considerations of justice as would control a Christian people in their treatment of an ignorant and dependent race. Be that as it may, the propriety or justice of their action toward the Indians with respect to their lands is a question of governmental policy, and is not a matter open to discussion in a controversy between third parties, neither of whom derives title from the Indians.

Plenary authority over the tribal relations of the Indians has been exercised by Congress from the beginning, and the power has always been deemed a political one, not subject to be controlled by the judicial department of the Government. Until the year 1871 the policy was pursued of dealing with the Indian tribes by means of treaties, and of course a moral obligation rested upon Congress to act in good faith in performing the stipulations entered into on its behalf. But, as with treaties made with foreign nations (*Chinese Exclusion Cases*, 130 U. S., 581, 600), the legislative power might pass laws in conflict with treaties made with the Indians . . .

The power exists to abrogate the provisions of an Indian treaty, though presumably such power will be exercised only when circumstances arise which will not only justify the Government in disregarding the stipulations of the treaty, but may demand, in the interest of the country and the Indians themselves, that it should do so. When, therefore, treaties were entered into between the United States and a tribe of Indians it was never doubted that the power to abrogate existed in Congress, and that in a contingency such power might be availed of from considerations of governmental policy, particularly if consistent with perfect good faith toward the Indians . . .

The power of the General Government over these remnants of a race once powerful, now weak and diminished in numbers, is necessary to their protection, as well as to the safety of those among whom they dwell. It must exist in that Government, because it never has existed anywhere else; because the theater of its exercise is within the geographical limits of the United States; because it has never been denied, and because it alone can enforce its laws on all the tribes . . .

In view of the legislative power possessed by Congress over treaties with the Indians and Indian tribal property we may not specially consider the contentions pressed upon our notice that the signing by the Indians of the agreement of October 6, 1892, was obtained by fraudulent misrepresentations and concealment; that the requisite three-fourths of adult male Indians had not signed, as required by the twelfth article of the treaty of 1867, and that the treaty as signed had been amended by Congress without submitting such amendments to the action of the Indians, since all these matters, in any event, were solely within the domain of the legislative authority, and its action is conclusive upon the courts.





The act of June 6, 1900, which is complained of in the bill, was enacted at a time when the tribal relations between the confederated tribes of Kiowas, Comanches, and Apaches still existed, and that statute and the statutes supplementary thereto dealt with the disposition of tribal property and purported to give an adequate consideration for the surplus lands not allotted among the Indians or reserved for their benefit. Indeed, the controversy which this case presents is concluded by the decision in *Cherokee Nation v. Hitchcock* (187 U. S., 294), decided at this term, where it was held that full administrative power was possessed by Congress over Indian tribal property. In effect, the action of Congress now complained of was but an exercise of such power, a mere change in the form of investment of Indian tribal property, the property of those who, as we have held, were in substantial effect the words of the Government. We must presume that Congress acted in perfect good faith in the dealings with the Indians of which complaint is made, and that the legislative branch of the Government exercised its best judgment in the premises. In any event, as Congress possessed full power in the matter, the judiciary can not question or inquire into the motives which prompted the enactment of this legislation. If injury was occasioned, which we do not wish to be understood as implying, by the use made by Congress of its power, relief must be sought by an appeal to that body for redress and not to be courts. The legislation in question was constitutional, and the demurrer to the bill was therefore rightly sustained. . . .

## Geronimo: His Own Story (1906)

### COMING OF THE WHITE MEN

About the time of the massacre of "Kaskiyeh" [1858] we heard that some white men were measuring land to the south of us. In company with a number of other warriors I went to visit them. We could not understand them very well, for we had no interpreter, but we made a treaty with them by shaking hands and promising to be brothers. Then we made our camp near their camp, and they came to trade with us. We gave them buckskin, blankets, and ponies in exchange for shirts and provisions. We also brought them game, for which they gave us some

money. We did not know the value of this money, but we kept it and later learned from the Navajo Indians that it was very valuable.

Every day they measured land with curious instruments and put down marks which we could not understand. They were good men, and we were sorry when they had gone on into the west. They were not soldiers. These were the first white men I ever saw. . . .

Not long after this some of the officers of the United States troops invited our leaders to hold a conference at Apache Pass [Fort Bowie]. Just before noon the Indians were shown into a tent and told that they would be given something to eat. When in the tent they were attacked by soldiers. Our chief, Mangus-Colorado, and several other warriors, by cutting through the tent, escaped; but most of the warriors were killed or captured. Among the Bedonkohe Apaches killed at this time were Sanza, Kladetahe, Niyokahe, and Gopi. After this treachery the Indians went back to the mountains and left the fort entirely alone. I do not think that the agent had anything to do with planning this, for he had always treated us well. I believe it was entirely planned by the soldiers . . .

After this trouble all of the Indians agreed not to be friendly with the white men any more. There was no general engagement, but a long struggle followed. Sometimes we attacked the white men, sometimes they attacked us. First a few Indians would be killed and then a few soldiers. I think the killing was about equal on each side. The number killed in these troubles did not amount to much, but this treachery on the part of the soldiers had angered the Indians and revived memories of other wrongs, so that we never again trusted the United States troops.

### GREATEST OF WRONGS

Perhaps the greatest wrong ever done to the Indians was the treatment received by our tribe from the United States troops about 1863. The chief of our tribe, Mangus-Colorado, went to make a treaty of peace for our people with the white settlement at Apache Tejo, New Mexico. It had been reported to us that the white men in this settlement were more friendly and more reliable than those in Arizona, that they would live up to their treaties and would not wrong the Indians.

Mangas-Colorado, with three other warriors, went to Apache Tejo and held a council with these citizens and soldiers. They told him that if he would come with his tribe and live near them, they would issue to him, from the Government, blankets, flour,





provisions, beef, and all manner of supplies. Our chief promised to return to Apache Tejo within two weeks. When he came back to our settlement he assembled the whole tribe in council. I did not believe that the people at Apache Tejo would do as they said and therefore I opposed the plan, but it was decided that with part of the tribe Mangus-Colorado should return to Apache Tejo and receive an issue of rations and supplies. If they were as represented, and if these white men would keep the treaty faithfully, the remainder of the tribe would join him and we would make our permanent home at Apache Tejo . . . No word ever came to us from them. From other sources, however, we heard that they had been treacherously captured and slain. In this dilemma we did not know just exactly what to do, but fearing that the troops who had captured them would attack us, we retreated into the mountains near Apache Pass . . . After we had disbanded our tribe the Bedonkohe Apaches reassembled near their old camp vainly waiting for the return of Mangas-Colorado and our kinsmen. No tidings came save that they had all been treacherously slain. Then a council was held, and as it was believed that Mangus-Colorado was dead, I was elected Tribal Chief. . . .

#### REMOVALS

While returning from trailing the Government troops we saw two men, a Mexican and a white man, and shot them off their horses. With these two horses we returned and moved our camp. My people were suffering much and it was deemed advisable to go where we could get more provisions. Game was scarce in our range then, and since I had been Tribal Chief I had not asked for rations from the Government, nor did I care to do so, but we did not wish to starve.

We had heard that Chief Victoria of the Chihenne [Oje Caliente] Apaches was holding a council with the white men near Hot Springs in New Mexico, and that he had plenty of provisions. We had always been on friendly terms with this tribe, and Victoria was especially kind to my people. With the help of the two horses we had captured, to carry our sick with us, we went to Hot Springs. We easily found Victoria and his band, and they gave us supplies for the winter. We stayed with them for about a year, and during this stay we had perfect peace. We had not the least trouble with Mexicans, white men, or Indians. When we had stayed as long as we should, and had again accumulated some supplies, we decided to leave Victoria's band. When I told him that we were going to

leave he said that we should have a feast and dance before we separated.

The festivities were held about two miles above Hot Springs, and lasted for four days. There were about four hundred Indians at this celebration. I do not think we ever spent a more pleasant time than upon this occasion. No one ever treated our tribe more kindly than Victoria and his band. We are still proud to say that he and his people were our friends.

When I went to Apache Pass (Fort Bowie) I found General Howard in command, and made a treaty with him. This treaty lasted until long after General Howard had left our country. He always kept his word with us and treated us as brothers. We never had so good a friend among the United States officers as General Howard. We could have lived forever at peace with him. If there is any pure, honest white man in the United States army, that man is General Howard. . . .

#### IN PRISON AND ON THE WAR PATH

Soon after we arrived in New Mexico two companies of scouts were sent from San Carlos. When they came to Hot Springs they sent word for me and Victoria to come to town. The messengers did not say what they wanted with us, but as they seemed friendly we thought they wanted a council, and rode in to meet the officers. As soon as we arrived in town soldiers met us, disarmed us, and took us both to headquarters, where we were tried by court-martial. They asked us only a few questions and then Victoria was released and I was sentenced to the guardhouse. Scouts conducted me to the guardhouse and put me in chains. When I asked them why they did this they said it was because I had left Apache Pass.

I do not think that I ever belonged to those soldiers at Apache Pass, or that I should have asked them where I might go. Our bands could no longer live in peace together, and so we had quietly withdrawn, expecting to live with Victoria's band, where we thought we would not be molested. They also sentenced seven other Apaches to chains in the guardhouse.

I do not know why this was done, for these Indians had simply followed me from Apache Pass to Hot Springs. If it was wrong (and I do not think it was wrong) for us to go to Hot Springs, I alone was to blame. They asked the soldiers in charge why they were imprisoned and chained, but received no answer.

I was kept a prisoner for four months, during which time I was transferred to San Carlos. Then I think I had another trial, although I was not present.





In fact I do not know that I had another trial, but I was told that I had, and at any rate I was released.

...

In the summer of 1883 a rumor was current that the officers were again planning to imprison our leaders. This rumor served to revive the memory of all our past wrongs—the massacre in the tent at Apache Pass, the fate of Mangus Colorado, and my own unjust imprisonment, which might easily have been death to me. Just at this time we were told that the officers wanted us to come up the river above Geronimo to a fort [Fort Thomas] to hold a council with them. We did not believe that any good could come of this conference, or that there was any need of it; so we held a council ourselves, and fearing treachery, decided to leave the reservation. We thought it more manly to die on the war path than to be killed in prison. . . .

#### THE FINAL STRUGGLE

We started with all our tribe to go with General [George] Crook back to the United States, but I feared treachery and decided to remain in Mexico. . . . I have suffered much from such unjust orders as those of General Crook. Such acts have caused much distress to my people. I think that General Crook's death was sent by the Almighty as a punishment for the many evil deeds he committed.

Soon General Miles was made commander of all the western posts, and troops trailed us continually. They were led by Captain Lawton, who had good scouts. The Mexican soldiers also became more active and more numerous. We had skirmishes almost every day, and so we finally decided to break up into small bands. With six men and four women I made for the range of mountains near Hot Springs, New Mexico. We passed many cattle ranches, but had no trouble with the cowboys. We killed cattle to eat whenever we were in need of food, but we frequently suffered greatly for water. At one time we had no water for two days and nights and our horses almost died from thirst. We ranged in the mountains of New Mexico for some time, then thinking that perhaps the troops had left Mexico, we returned. On our return through Old Mexico we attacked every Mexican found, even if for no other reason than to kill. We believed they had asked the United States troops to come down to Mexico to fight us. . . .

I sent my brother Porico [White Horse] with Mr. George Wratten on to Fort Bowie to see General Nelson Miles, and to tell him that we wished to return to Arizona; but before these messengers returned I met

two Indian scouts—Kayitah, a Chokonen Apache, and Marteen, a Nedni Apache. They were serving as scouts for Captain Lawton's troops. They told me that General Miles had come and had sent them to ask me to meet him. So I went to the camp of the United States troops to meet General Miles.

When I arrived at their camp I went directly to General Miles and told him how I had been wronged, and that I wanted to return to the United States with my people, as we wished to see our families, who had been captured and taken away from us.

General Miles said to me:

"The President of the United States has sent me to speak to you. He has heard of your trouble with the white men, and says that if you will agree to a few words of treaty we need have no more trouble. Geronimo, if you will agree to a few words of treaty all will be satisfactorily arranged."

So General Miles told me how we could be brothers to each other. We raised our hands to heaven and said that the treaty was not to be broken. We took an oath not to do any wrong to each other or to scheme against each other.

Then he talked with me for a long time and told me what he would do for me in the future if I would agree to the treaty. I did not greatly believe General Miles, but because the President of the United States had sent me word I agreed to make the treaty, and to keep it. Then I asked General Miles what the treaty would be. General Miles said to me:

"I will take you under Government protection; I will build you a house; I will fence you much land; I will give you cattle, horses, mules, and farming implements. You will be furnished with men to work the farm, for you yourself will not have to work. In the fall I will send you blankets and clothing so that you will not suffer from cold in the winter time. There is plenty of timber, water, and grass in the land to which I will send you. You will live with your tribe and with your family. If you agree to this treaty you shall see your family within five days."

I said to General Miles:

"All the officers that have been in charge of the Indians have talked that way, and it sounds like a story to me; I hardly believe you."

He said:

"This time it is the truth."

I said:

"General Miles, I do not know the laws of the white man, nor of this new country where you are to send me, and I might break the laws."

He said:





"While I live you will not be arrested."

Then I agreed to make the treaty. (Since then I have been a prisoner of war, I have been arrested and placed in the guardhouse twice for drinking whisky.)

We stood between his troopers and my warriors. We placed a large stone on the blanket before us. Our treaty was made by this stone, as it was to last until the stone should crumble to dust; so we made the treaty, and bound each other with an oath.

I do not believe that I have ever violated that treaty; but General Miles never fulfilled his promises. . . .

#### A PRISONER OF WAR

When I had given up to the Government they put me on the Southern Pacific Railroad and took me to San Antonio, Texas, and held me to be tried by their laws.

In forty days they took me from there to Fort Pickens [Pensacola], Florida. Here they put me to sawing up large logs. There were several other Apache warriors with me, and all of us had to work every day. For nearly two years we were kept at hard labor in this place and we did not see our families until May, 1887. This treatment was in direct violation of our treaty made at Skeleton Canyon.

After this we were sent with our families to Vermont, Alabama, where we stayed five years and worked for the Government. We had no property, and I looked in vain for General Miles to send me to that land of which he had spoken; I longed in vain for the implements, house, and stock that General Miles had promised me. . . . We were not healthy in this place, for the climate disagreed with us. . . .

When General Miles last visited Fort Sill I asked to be relieved from labor on account of my age. I also remembered what General Miles had promised me in the treaty and told him of it. He said I need not work any more except when I wished to, and since that time I have not been detailed to do any work. I have worked a great deal, however, since then, for, although I am old, I like to work and help my people as much as I am able.

### ***Winters v. United States (1908)***

*Winters v. United States has become the most influential case in defining Native American water rights.*

APPEAL from the United States Circuit Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit to review a decree

which affirmed a decree of the Circuit Court for the District of Montana, enjoining a diversion of the waters of Milk river. Affirmed. . . .

*Statement by Mr. Justice McKenna:*

This suit was brought by the United States to restrain appellants and others from constructing or maintaining dams or reservoirs on the Milk river in the state of Montana, or in any manner preventing the water of the river or its tributaries from flowing to the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation.

An interlocutory order was granted, enjoining the defendants in the suit from interfering in any manner with the use by the reservation of 5,000 inches of the water of the river. The order was affirmed by the circuit court of appeals. 74 C. C. A. 666, 143, Fed. 740. Upon the return of the case to the circuit court, an order was taken pro confesso against five of the defendants. The appellants filed a joint and several answer, upon which and [a]. . . decree was entered making the preliminary injunction permanent. The decree was affirmed by the circuit court of appeals. 78 C. C. A. 546, 148 Fed. 684.

The allegations of the bill, so far as necessary to state them, are as follows: On the 1st day of May 1888, a tract of land, the property of the United States, was reserved and set apart 'as an Indian reservation as and for a permanent home and abiding place of the Gros Ventre and Assiniboin bands or tribes of Indians in the state (then territory) of Montana, designated and known as the Fort Belknap Indian Reservation.' The tract has ever since been used as an Indian reservation and as the home and abiding place of the Indians. Its boundaries were fixed and defined as follows . . .

Milk river, designated as the northern boundary of the reservation, is a nonnavigable stream. Large portions of the lands embraced within the reservation are well fitted and adapted for pasturage and the feeding and grazing of stock, and since the establishment of the reservation the United States and the Indians have had and have large herds of cattle and large numbers of horses grazing upon the land within the reservation, 'being and situate along and bordering upon said Milk river.' Other portions of the reservation are 'adapted for and susceptible of farming and cultivation and the pursuit of agriculture, and productive in the raising thereon of grass, grain, and vegetables,' but such portions are of dry and arid character, and, in order to make them productive, require large quantities of water for the purpose of irrigating them. In 1889 the





United States constructed houses and buildings upon the reservation for the occupancy and residence of the officers in charge of it, and such officers depend entirely for their domestic, culinary, and irrigation purposes upon the water of the river. In the year 1889, and long prior to the acts of the defendants complained of, the United States, through its officers and agents at the reservation, appropriated and took from the river a flow of 1,000 miners' inches, and conducted it to the buildings and premises, used the same for domestic purposes and also for the irrigation of land adjacent to the buildings and premises, and by the use thereof raised crops of grain, grass, and vegetables. Afterwards, but long prior to the acts of the defendants complained of, to wit, on the 5th of July, 1898, the Indians residing on the reservation diverted from the river for the purpose of irrigation a flow of 10,000 miners' inches of water to and upon divers and extensive tracts of land, aggregating in amount about 30,000 acres, and raised upon said lands crops of grain, grass, and vegetables. And ever since 1889 and July, 1898, the United States and the Indians have diverted and used the waters of the river in the manner and for the purposes mentioned, and the United States 'has been enabled by means thereof to train, encourage, and accustom large numbers of Indians residing upon the said reservation to habits of industry and to promote their civilization and improvement.' It is alleged with detail that all of the waters of the river are necessary for all those purposes and the purposes for which the reservation was created, and that in furthering and advancing the civilization and improvement of the Indians, and to encourage habits of industry and thrift among them, it is essential and necessary that all of the waters of the river flow down the channel uninterruptedly and undiminished in quantity and undeteriorated in quality.

It is alleged that, 'notwithstanding the riparian and other rights' of the United States and the Indians to the uninterrupted flow of the waters of the river, the defendants, in the year 1900, wrongfully entered upon the river and its tributaries above the points of the diversion of the waters of the river by the United States and the Indians, built large and substantial dams and reservoirs, and, by means of canals and ditches and water ways, have diverted the waters of the river from its channel, and have deprived the United States and the Indians of the use thereof. And this diversion of the water, it is alleged, has continued until the present time, to the irreparable injury

of the United States, for which there is no adequate remedy at law. . . .

And it is again alleged that the waters of the river are indispensable to defendants, are of the value of more than \$100,000 to them, and that if they are deprived of the waters 'their lands will be ruined, it will be necessary to abandon their homes, and they will be greatly and irreparably damaged, the extent and amount of which damage cannot now be estimated, but will greatly exceed \$100,000,' and that they will be wholly without remedy if the claim of the United States and the Indians be sustained.

Messrs. Edward C. Day and James A. Walsh for appellants.

Mr. Justice McKenna delivered the opinion of the court . . .

The case, as we view it, turns on the agreement of May, 1888, resulting in the creation of Fort Belknap Reservation. In the construction of this agreement there are certain elements to be considered that are prominent and significant. The reservation was a part of a very much larger tract which the Indians had the right to occupy and use, and which was adequate for the habits and wants of a nomadic and uncivilized people. It was the policy of the government, it was the desire of the Indians, to change those habits and to become a pastoral and civilized people. If they should become such, the original tract was too extensive; but a smaller tract would be inadequate without a change of conditions. The lands were arid, and, without irrigation, were practically valueless. And yet, it is contended, the means of irrigation were deliberately given up by the Indians and deliberately accepted by the government. The lands ceded were, it is true, also arid; and some argument may be urged, and is urged, that with their cession there was the cession of the waters, without which they would be valueless, and 'civilized communities could not be established thereon.' And this, it is further contended, the Indians knew, and yet made no reservation of the waters. We realize that there is a conflict of implications, but that which makes for the retention of the waters is of greater force than that which makes for their cession. The Indians had command of the lands and the waters,—command of all their beneficial use, whether kept for hunting, 'and grazing roving herds of stock,' or turned to agriculture and the arts of civilization. Did they give up all this? Did they reduce the area of their occupation and give up the waters which made it valuable or adequate? And, even regarding the allegation of the answer as true, that there are springs and streams on





the reservation flowing about 2,900 inches of water, the inquiries are pertinent. If it were possible to believe affirmative answers, we might also believe that the Indians were awed by the power of the government or deceived by its negotiators. Neither view is possible. The government is asserting the rights of the Indians. But extremes need not be taken into account. By a rule of interpretation of agreements and treaties with the Indians, ambiguities occurring will be resolved from the standpoint of the Indians. And the rule should certainly be applied to determine between two inferences, one of which would support the purpose of the agreement and the other impair or defeat it. On account of their relations to the government, it cannot be supposed that the Indians were alert to exclude by formal words every inference which might militate against or defeat the declared purpose of themselves and the government, even if it could be supposed that they had the intelligence to foresee the 'double sense' which might some time be urged against them.

Another contention of appellants is that if it be conceded that there was a reservation of the waters of Milk river by the agreement of 1888, yet the reservation was repealed by the admission of Montana into the Union, February 22, 1889, 'upon an equal footing with the original states.' The language of counsel is that 'any reservation in the agreement with the Indians, expressed or implied, whereby the waters of Milk river were not to be subject of appropriation by the citizens and inhabitants of said state, was repealed by the act of admission.' But to establish the repeal counsel rely substantially upon the same argument that they advance against the intention of the agreement to reserve the waters. The power of the government to reserve the waters and exempt them from appropriation under the state laws is not denied, and could not be. *United States v. Rio Grande Dam & Irrig. Co.* 174 U. S. 702, 43 L. ed. 1141, 19 Sup. Ct. Rep. 770; *United States v. Winans*, 198 U. S. 371, 49 L. ed. 1089, 25 Sup. Ct. Rep. 662. That the government did reserve them we have decided, and for a use which would be necessarily continued through years. This was done May 1, 1888, and it would be extreme to believe that within a year Congress destroyed the reservation and took from the Indians the consideration of their grant, leaving them a barren waste,—took from them the means of continuing their old habits, yet did not leave them the power to change to new ones.

Appellants' argument upon the incidental repeal of the agreement by the admission of Montana into

the Union, and the power over the waters of Milk river which the state thereby acquired to dispose of them under its laws, is elaborate and able, but our construction of the agreement and its effect make it unnecessary to answer the argument in detail. For the same reason we have not discussed the doctrine of riparian rights urged by the government.

Decree affirmed.

## Indian Citizenship Act (1924)

An Act To Authorize the Secretary of the Interior to issue certificates of citizenship to Indians.

Be it enacted . . . That all non-citizen Indians born within the territorial limits of the United States be, and they are hereby, declared to be citizens of the United States: Provided, That the granting of such citizenship shall not in any manner impair or otherwise affect the right of any Indian to tribal or other property.

## Meriam Report (1928)

### CHAPTER I

#### GENERAL SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Conditions Among the Indians. An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white civilization. . . .

In justice to the Indians, it should be said that many of them are living on lands from which a trained and experienced white man could scarcely wrest a reasonable living. In some instances the land originally set apart for the Indians was of little value for agricultural operations other than grazing. In other instances part of the land was excellent but the Indians did not appreciate its value. Often when individual allotments were made, they chose for themselves the poorer parts, because those parts were near a domestic water supply or a source of firewood, or because they furnished some native product important to the Indians in their primitive life. Frequently the better sections of the land originally set apart for the Indians have fallen into the hands of the whites, and the Indians have retreated to the poorer lands remote from markets. . . .



**Suffering and Discontent.**

Some people assert that the Indians prefer to live as they do; that they are happier in their idleness and irresponsibility. The question may be raised whether these persons do not mistake for happiness and content an almost oriental fatalism and resignation. The survey staff found altogether too much evidence of real suffering and discontent to subscribe to the belief that the Indians are reasonably satisfied with their condition. The amount of serious illness and poverty is too great to permit of real contentment. The Indian is like the white man in his affection for his children, and he feels keenly the sickness and the loss of his offspring. . . .

**The Work of the Government in Behalf of the Indians.**

The work of the government directed toward the education and advancement of the Indian himself, as distinguished from the control and conservation of his property, is largely ineffective. The chief explanation of the deficiency in this work lies in the fact that the government has not appropriated enough funds to permit the Indian Service to employ an adequate personnel properly qualified for the task before it.

**Absence of Well-Considered, Broad Educational Program.**

The outstanding evidence of the lack of adequate, well-trained personnel is the absence of any well considered, broad educational program for the Service as a whole. Here the word education is used in its widest sense and includes not only school training for children but also activities for the training of adults to aid them in adjusting themselves to the dominant social and economic life which confronts them. It embraces education in economic production and in living standards necessary for the maintenance of health and decency.

**Work for the Promotion of Health.**

The inadequacy of appropriations has prevented the development of an adequate system of public health administration and medical relief work for the Indians . . . .

The hospitals, sanatoria, and sanatorium schools maintained by the Service, despite a few exceptions, must be generally characterized as lacking in personnel, equipment, management, and design. The statement is sometimes made that, since the Indians live according to a low scale, it is not nec-

essary for the government to furnish hospital facilities for them which are comparable with those supplied for poor white people in a progressive community. The survey staff regards this basis of judging facilities as unsound. The question is whether the hospitals and sanatoria are efficient institutions for the care and treatment of patients, and this question must generally be answered in the negative. . . .

**Formal Education of Indian Children.**

For several years the general policy of the Indian Service has been directed away from the boarding school for Indian children and toward the public schools and Indian day schools. More Indian children are now in public schools maintained by the state or local governments than in special Indian schools maintained by the nation. It is, however, still the fact that the boarding school, either reservation or non-reservation, is the dominant characteristic of the school system maintained by the national government for its Indian wards.

The survey staff finds itself obliged to say frankly and unequivocally that the provisions for the care of the Indian children in boarding schools are grossly inadequate. . . .

The medical attention given Indian children in the day schools maintained by the government is also below a reasonable standard. . . .

**Economic Education and Development on the Reservations.**

At a few reservations energetic and resourceful superintendents with a real faculty for leadership have demonstrated that the economic education of the Indian is entirely possible. These superintendents have been handicapped in part by their own lack of training in several of the fields which are involved in a well-rounded, effective program of economic and social education, but even more by the general absence of trained and experienced assistants in these different fields.

Even under the best conditions, it is doubtful whether a well-rounded program of economic advancement framed with due consideration of the natural resources of the reservation has anywhere been thoroughly tried out. The Indians often say that programs change with superintendents. Under the poorest administration there is little evidence of anything which could be termed an economic program.

Everywhere the lack of trained subordinate personnel in immediate contact with the Indians is striking. For years the Indian Service has had field





positions with the title "Farmer." The duties of this position would more properly be described by the title "Field Clerk," or in some instances "General Laborer." The duties have rarely been those of an agricultural teacher and demonstrator, and the qualifications required have not been such as are necessary for teachers or leaders in agriculture. The salaries have been so low that, as a rule, the Service is fortunate if it gets a really good agricultural laborer with sufficient education to perform his clerical duties. Some exceptions must be noted. One or two well-trained agricultural teachers employed as farmers have shown what is possible, but in general the economic and industrial education of adult reservation Indians has been neglected.

Even less has been done toward finding profitable employment for Indians. As has been said, the schools do little for their graduates. Little is done on the reservations. In a few jurisdictions labor services are maintained chiefly in recruiting Indians for temporary unskilled labor. This employment service is largely mass work, not individualized, and it does not often seek to find the Indian an opportunity for a permanent position that offers him a chance to work up or one that will arouse his interest.

#### **Family and Community Development.**

The Indian Service has not appreciated the fundamental importance of family life and community activities in the social and economic development of a people. The tendency has been rather toward weakening Indian family life and community activities than toward strengthening them. The long continued policy of removing Indian children from the home and placing them for years in boarding school largely disintegrates the family and interferes with developing normal family life. The belief has apparently been that the shortest road to civilization is to take children away from their parents and insofar as possible to stamp out the old Indian life. The Indian community activities particularly have often been opposed if not suppressed. The fact has been appreciated that both the family life and the community activities have many objectionable features, but the action taken has often been the radical one of attempting to destroy rather than the educational process of gradual modification and development. . . .

#### **Legal Protection and Advancement.**

Much of the best work done by the Indian Service has been in the protection and conservation of Indian property, yet this program has emphasized

the property rather than the Indian. Several legal situations exist which are serious impediments to the social and economic development of the race. . . .

Many Indian tribes still have outstanding against the government claims arising out of the old treaties and laws. The existence of these claims is a serious impediment to progress. The Indians look forward to getting vast sums from these claims; thus the facts regarding their economic future are uncertain. They will hardly knuckle down to work while they still hope the government will pay what they believe is due them. Some Indians, mostly mixed bloods, are maintaining their tribal connections and agitating because they have rights under these claims. Attorneys are naturally interested, and a few are perhaps inclined to urge the Indians to press claims which have comparatively little real merit. . . .

#### **Failure to Develop Cooperative Relationships.**

The Indian Service has not gone far enough in developing cooperative relationships with other organizations, public and private, which can be of material aid to it in educational developmental work for the Indians. . . .

#### **Recommendations.**

The fundamental requirement is that the task of the Indian Service be recognized as primarily educational, in the broadest sense of that word, and that it be made an efficient educational agency, devoting its main energies to the social and economic advancement of the Indians, so that they may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization or be fitted to live in the presence of that civilization at least in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency.

To achieve this end, the Service must have a comprehensive, well-rounded educational program, adequately supported, which will place it at the forefront of organizations devoted to the advancement of a people. This program must provide for the promotion of health, the advancement of productive efficiency, the acquisition of reasonable ability in the utilization of income and property, guarding against exploitation, and the maintenance of reasonably high standards of family and community life. It must extend to adults as well as to children and must place special emphasis on the family and the community. Since the great majority of the Indians are ultimately to merge into the general population, it should cover the transitional period and should endeavor to instruct Indians in





the utilization of the services provided by public and quasi-public agencies for the people at large in exercising the privileges of citizenship and in making their contribution in service and in taxes for the maintenance of the government. It should also be directed toward preparing the white communities to receive the Indian. By improving the health of the Indian, increasing his productive efficiency, raising his standard of living, and teaching him the necessity for paying taxes, it will remove the main objections now advanced against permitting Indians to receive the full benefit of services rendered by progressive states and local governments for their populations. By actively seeking cooperation with state and local governments and by making a fair contribution in payment for services rendered by them to untaxed Indians, the national government can expedite the transition and hasten the day when there will no longer be a distinctive Indian problem and when the necessary governmental services are rendered alike to whites and Indians by the same organization without discrimination.

In the execution of this program, scrupulous care must be exercised to respect the rights of the Indian. This phrase "rights of the Indian" is often used solely to apply to his property rights. Here it is used in a much broader sense to cover his rights as a human being living in a free country. Indians are entitled to unfailing courtesy and consideration from all government employees. They should not be subjected to arbitrary action. Recognition of the educational nature of the whole task of dealing with them will result in taking the time to discuss with them in detail their own affairs and to lead rather than to force them to sound conclusions. The effort to substitute educational leadership for the more dictatorial methods now used in some places will necessitate more understanding of and sympathy for the Indian point of view. Leadership will recognize the good in the economic and social life of the Indians in their religion and ethics and will seek to develop it and build on it rather than to crush out all that is Indian. The Indians have much to contribute to the dominant civilization, and the effort should be made to secure this contribution, in part because of the good it will do the Indians in stimulating a proper race pride and self respect. . . .

#### **Medical Service.**

Adequate appropriations should be made markedly to accelerate the progress of the present

administration in developing a real system of preventive medicine and public health service for the Indians. . . .

The medical examination of the Indian children must therefore be of the highest standard. . . .

#### **School System.**

The first and foremost need in Indian education is a change in point of view. Whatever may have been the official governmental attitude, education for the Indian in the past has proceeded largely on the theory that it is necessary to remove the Indian child as far as possible from his home environment; whereas the modern point of view in education and social work lays stress on upbringing in the natural setting of home and family life. The Indian educational enterprise is peculiarly in need of the kind of approach that recognizes this principle; that is less concerned with a conventional school system and more with the understanding of human beings. . . .

Routinization must be eliminated. The whole machinery of routinized boarding school and agency life works against that development of initiative and independence which should be the chief concern of Indian education in and out of school. The routinization characteristic of the boarding schools, with everything scheduled, no time left to be used at the child's own initiative, every moment determined by a signal or an order, leads just the other way. . . .

The boarding schools demand special consideration. Under the section on health the recommendations have been summarized that relate to the health of the child: better diet, less over-crowding, less heavy productive work, more thorough physical examinations, and better correlation of remediable defects. These factors have an important bearing on education itself that need not be discussed in this brief summary. . . .

The industrial training must be subjected to the tests of practical use. The Indian Service must attempt to place the Indians who leave the school and help them to become established in productive enterprise either on the reservations or in white communities. It must be prepared to enter into cooperative arrangements with employers so that boys and girls shall have opportunity to gain experience in commercial employment while still having some official connection with the school. In this way the school can place its emphasis on helping the pupil to acquire the necessary fundamental skill and then getting him a job where he can apply this skill in an occupation for which there is a local demand. . . .





The present policy of placing Indian children in public schools near their homes instead of in boarding schools or even in Indian Service day schools is, on the whole, to be commended. It is a movement in the direction of the normal transition; it results as a rule in good race contacts, and the Indians like it. The fact must be recognized, however, that often Indian children and Indian families need more service than is ordinarily rendered by public schools, as has just been elaborated in the discussion of boarding schools. The Indian Service must, therefore, supplement the public school work by giving special attention to health, industrial and social training, and the relationship between home and school. . . .

The Indian day schools should be increased in number and improved in quality and should carry children at least through the sixth grade. The Hopi day schools are perhaps the most encouraging feature of the Indian school system. More can perhaps be done in providing transportation to day schools. Where Indians come in to camp near the day schools, special activities should be undertaken for them. In general the day schools should be made community centers for reaching adult Indians in the vicinity as well as children, and they should be tied into the whole program adopted for the jurisdiction.

#### **Improving General Economic Conditions.**

The primary object of the Indian Service in the field of general economic conditions should be to increase the amount and the productivity of Indian labor so that the Indians can support themselves adequately through earned income. . . .

At some jurisdictions the economic resources are apparently insufficient, even if efficiently used, to support the Indian population according to reasonable standards. In some cases the Indians were given poor lands; in others during the course of years the whites have gained possession of the desirable lands. Nothing permanent is to be achieved by trying to make the Indians wrest a living from lands which will not yield a decent return for the labor expended. Some Indians on more promising land are personally interested in pursuits which cannot be followed on the reservations. The "let down your bucket where you are" policy, wise as it is for certain conditions, cannot therefore be exclusively followed. The Indian Service must seek to find suitable employment off the reservation for Indians who have no real chance there or

who desire to seek other employment. In some instances, as in the Navajo country, the situation can be met in part by securing them more land, but, in general, the solution lies in an intelligent employment service. . . .

This shift into industry cannot be made hurriedly or as a wholesale movement if it is to be successful. Employment finding should be individualized and should seek to place the Indians, usually the younger rather than the older Indians, in lines of work in which they are interested and which offer opportunity for advancement and for establishing a permanent home for themselves and, if they are married, for their families. The mass placing of large numbers of Indians in unskilled temporary jobs which offer no permanent opportunity and involve either separation from their families, or the makeshift of group camping, is at best a temporary expedient. Where it involves keeping children out of school and a low type of camp life, it probably does more harm than good. In placing Indians in temporary jobs of this character, the government should see that their wages are fair and their living conditions are up to a reasonable standard. The Indians should not be exploited as a source of cheap labor. . . .

The problem of inherited land should be given thorough detailed study by the Division of Planning and Development. . . . The policy of individual allotment should be followed with extreme conservatism. Not accompanied by adequate instruction in the use of property, it has largely failed in the accomplishment of what was expected of it. It has resulted in much loss of land and an enormous increase in the details of administration without a compensating advance in the economic ability of the Indians. The difficult problem of inheritance is one of its results. Before more allotments are made, the Service should be certain that it has the staff to do the educational work essential to the success of the policy. . . .

In some jurisdictions the tribe is possessed of great natural resources which are not susceptible of individual allotment and which, from the standpoint of sound national economy, should be preserved in large working units so that they may be conserved and used effectively. The two outstanding illustrations are the timber lands on the Klamath Reservation in Oregon and the timber lands and the power sites on the Menominee Reservation in Wisconsin. Only to a limited extent is it possible for these Indians to work with these great resources.





The more progressive Klamath Indians are anxious to get possession of their share of the tribal wealth so that they may use it as capital in individual enterprise . . .

The survey staff suggests that an experiment be tried in these jurisdictions with the modern business device of the corporation. The corporation would own the property, keep it intact, and conserve and operate it as a great national asset. . . .

#### **Taxation of Property of Indians.**

The question of subjecting the property of Indians to state and county taxes should be approached from the educational standpoint. It is essential that the Indians be educated to utilize the services furnished by local and state governments and that they learn the obligation to contribute to the support of these activities. On the other hand, the educational process should be gradual and the relationship between benefits received and tax payments therefore should be obvious. It is a serious mistake suddenly to change the status of an Indian from that of a tax-exempt person to a person subject to the full burden of state and county taxes, especially where the general property tax is in force, the brunt of which falls on land. The Indian has land value out of all proportion to his income from the use of that land, and thus the general property tax, when applied to him, violates the fundamental canon that taxation should be related to capacity to pay. An income tax would be a far better form of taxation for first lessons for the Indians. The imposition of the full weight of the general property tax tends to the loss of the Indians' land. . . .

#### **Improving Family and Community Life.**

The program developed for each jurisdiction should place special emphasis on family life and community activities. Experience has abundantly demonstrated that the family as a whole is the social unit of major importance in the development of a people. The importance of community activities has also been generally recognized. Among the Indians, community activities are probably even more important than among white people because the Indians' social and economic system was and is communistic. Individualism is almost entirely lacking in their native culture. Thus, work with communities as a whole will follow a natural line and will result in accelerated group progress.

The program should embrace health, home making with special emphasis on diet, the use of

money, the supplementing of income by home activities, and organized recreation and other community activities.

In all these activities the Indian point of view and the Indian interests should be given major consideration. In home design and construction the effort should be made to adapt characteristically Indian things to modern uses. . . . In supplementing the Indian incomes and in home decoration, encouragement should be given to native Indian arts and industries. They appeal to the Indians' interest, afford an opportunity for self-expression, and, properly managed, will yield considerable revenue, much more than can be secured by encouraging them to duplicate the handiwork of the whites. Their designs can be readily adapted to articles for which the commercial demand is reasonably good. Persons who have interested themselves in this field uniformly report that the demand for Indian art work of high quality materially exceeds the supply, and that insofar as there is an over supply, it consists of work of poor quality. A little intelligent cooperation and aid in marketing would doubtless tend rapidly to correct this difficulty.

In recreation and in other community activities the existing activities of the Indians should be utilized as the starting point. That some of their dances and other activities have objectionable features is, of course, true. The same thing is true of the recreation and the community activities of almost any people. The object should be not to stamp out all the native things because a few of them have undesirable accompaniments but to seek to modify them gradually so that the objectionable features will ultimately disappear. The native activities can be supplemented by those activities borrowed from the whites that make a distinct appeal to the Indians, notably athletics, music, and sewing, and other close work demanding manual skill. The Indians themselves should have a large hand in the preparation of the program. . . .

#### **Maintenance of Order and Administration of Justice.**

The differences existing among the several jurisdictions with respect to such vital matters as the degree of economic and social advancement of the Indians, the homogeneity of the population, and their proximity to white civilization are so great that no specific act of Congress either conferring jurisdiction over the restricted Indians on state courts or providing a legal code and placing jurisdiction in the





United States courts appears practicable. The law and the system of judicial administration to be effective must be specially adapted to the particular jurisdiction where they are to be applied, and they must be susceptible of change to meet changing conditions until the Indians are ready to merge into the general population and be subjected, like other inhabitants, to the ordinary national and state laws administered by United States and state courts exercising their normal jurisdictions. . . .

#### **Protection of the Property Rights of Indians.**

No evidence warrants a conclusion that the government of the United States can, at any time in the near future, relinquish its guardianship over the property of restricted Indians, secured to the Indians by government action. The legal staff of the Indian Service charged with the duty of protecting Indian rights should be materially strengthened and should be authorized to act more directly. . . .

#### **The Settlement of Claims.**

The unsettled legal claims against the government should be settled at the earliest possible date. A special commission should be created to study those claims which have not yet been approved by Congress for submission to the Court of Claims. . . .

#### **Citizenship.**

All Indians born in the United States are now citizens. The Supreme Court of the United States has held that citizenship is not incompatible with continued guardianship or special protective legislation for Indians. The soundness of this decision is not open to question. It is good law and sound economic and social policy. In handling property, most of the restricted Indians are still children. True friends of the Indians should urge retention of restrictions until the Indian is economically on his feet and able to support himself by his own efforts according to a minimum standard of health and decency in the presence of white civilization.

#### **Missionary Activities.**

The outstanding need in the field of missionary activities among the Indians is cooperation. . . . The missionaries should consider carefully a material broadening of their program and an increase in the number and kinds of contacts with the Indians. Their best work has usually been in the field of education. For adult Indians their main offering has been church activities similar to those conducted in white communities, and those activities apparently

make little appeal to the Indians. The missionaries need to have a better understanding of the Indian point of view of the Indian's religion and ethics, in order to start from what is good in them as a foundation. Too frequently, they have made the mistake of attempting to destroy the existing structure and to substitute something else without apparently realizing that much in the old has its place in the new. . . .

The belief is that it is a sound policy of national economy to make generous expenditures in the next few decades with the object of winding up the national administration of Indian affairs. The people of the United States have the opportunity, if they will, to write the closing chapters of the history of the relationship of the national government and the Indians. The early chapters contain little of which the country may be proud. It would be something of a national atonement to the Indians if the closing chapters should disclose the national government supplying the Indians with an Indian Service which would be a model for all governments concerned with the development and advancement of a retarded race.

### **Wheeler Howard (Indian Reorganization) Act (1934)**

An Act To conserve and develop Indian lands and resources; to extend to Indians the right to form business and other organizations; to establish a credit system for Indians; to grant certain rights of home rule to Indians; to provide for vocational education for Indians; and for other purposes. . . .

#### **SEC. 2.**

The existing periods of trust placed upon any Indian lands and any restriction on alienation thereof are hereby extended and continued until otherwise directed by Congress.

#### **SEC. 3.**

The Secretary of the Interior, if he shall find it to be in the public interest, is hereby authorized to restore to tribal ownership the remaining surplus lands of any Indian reservation heretofore opened, or authorized to be opened, to sale, or any other form of disposal by Presidential proclamation, or by any of the public-land laws of the United States: *Provided, however,* That valid rights or claims of any persons to any lands so withdrawn existing on the date of the withdrawal shall not be affected by this Act. . . .





## SEC. 4.

Except as herein provided, no sale, devise, gift, exchange or other transfer of restricted Indian lands or of shares in the assets of any Indian tribe or corporation organized hereunder, shall be made or approved: *Provided, however,* That such lands or interests may, with the approval of the Secretary of the Interior, be sold, devised, or otherwise transferred to the Indian tribe in which the lands or shares are located or from which the shares were derived or to a successor corporation; and in all instances such lands or interests shall descend or be devised, in accordance with the then existing laws of the State, or Federal laws where applicable, in which said lands are located or in which the subject matter of the corporation is located, to any member of such tribe or of such corporation or any heirs of such member: *Provided further,* That the Secretary of the Interior may authorize voluntary exchanges of lands of equal value, and the voluntary exchange of shares of equal value whenever such exchange, in his judgment, is expedient and beneficial for or compatible with the proper consolidation of Indian lands and for the benefit of cooperative organizations.

## SEC. 5.

The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized, in his discretion, to acquire through purchase, relinquishment, gift, exchange, or assignment, any interest in lands, water rights or surface rights to lands, within or without existing reservations, including trust or otherwise restricted allotments whether the allottee be living or deceased, for the purpose of providing land for Indians. . . . Title to any lands or rights acquired pursuant to this Act shall be taken in the name of the United States in trust for the Indian tribe or individual Indian for which the land is acquired, and such lands or rights shall be exempt from State and local taxation.

## SEC. 6.

The Secretary of the Interior is directed to make rules and regulations for the operation and management of Indian forestry units on the principle of sustained-yield management, to restrict the number of livestock grazed on Indian range units to the estimated carrying capacity of such ranges, and to promulgate such other rules and regulations as may be necessary to protect the range from deterioration, to prevent soil erosion, to assure full utilization of the range, and like purposes.

## SEC. 7.

The Secretary of the Interior is hereby authorized to proclaim new Indian reservations on lands

acquired pursuant to any authority conferred by this Act, or to add such lands to existing reservations: *Provided,* That lands added to existing reservations shall be designated for the exclusive use of Indians entitled by enrollment or by tribal membership to residence at such reservations.

## SEC. 8.

Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to relate to Indian holdings of allotments or homesteads upon the public domain outside, of the geographic boundaries of any Indian reservation now existing or established hereafter. . . .

## SEC. 10.

There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any funds in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of \$10,000,000 to be established as a revolving fund from which the Secretary of the Interior, under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, may make loans to Indian chartered corporations for the purpose of promoting the economic development of such tribes and of their members, and may defray the expenses of administering such loans. Repayment of amounts loaned under this authorization shall be credited to the revolving fund and shall be available for the purposes for which the fund is established. A report shall be made annually to Congress of transactions under this authorization.

## SEC. 11.

There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any funds in the United States Treasury not otherwise appropriated, a sum not to exceed \$250,000 annually, together with any unexpended balances of previous appropriations made pursuant to this section, for loans to Indians for the payment of tuition and other expenses in recognized vocational and trade schools: *Provided,* That not more than \$50,000 of such sum shall be available for loans to Indian students in high schools and colleges. Such loans shall be reimbursable under rules established by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

## SEC. 12.

The Secretary of the Interior is directed to establish standards of health, age, character, experience, knowledge, and ability for Indians who may be appointed, without regard to civil-service laws, to the various positions maintained, now or hereafter, by the Indian Office, in the administration of functions or services affecting any Indian tribe. Such qualified Indians shall hereafter have the preference to appointment to vacancies in any such positions. . . .





## SEC. 15.

Nothing in this Act shall be construed to impair or prejudice any claim or suit of any Indian tribe against the United States. It is hereby declared to be the intent of Congress that no expenditures for the benefit of Indians made out of appropriations authorized by this Act shall be considered as offsets in any suit brought to recover upon any claim of such Indians against the United States.

## SEC. 16.

Any Indian tribe, or tribes, residing on the same reservation, shall have the right to organize for its common welfare, and may adopt an appropriate constitution and bylaws, which shall become effective when ratified by a majority vote of the adult members of the tribe, or of the adult Indians residing on such reservation, as the case may be, at a special election authorized and called by the Secretary of the Interior under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe. Such constitution and bylaws when ratified as aforesaid and approved by the Secretary of the Interior shall be revocable by an election open to the same voters and conducted in the same manner as hereinabove provided. Amendments to the constitution and bylaws may be ratified and approved by the Secretary in the same manner as the original constitution and bylaws.

In addition to all powers vested in any Indian tribe or tribal council by existing law, the constitution adopted by said tribe shall also vest in such tribe or its tribal council the following rights and powers: To employ legal counsel, the choice of counsel and fixing of fees to be subject to the approval of the Secretary of the Interior; to prevent the sale, disposition, lease, or encumbrance of tribal lands, interests in lands, or other tribal assets without the consent of the tribe; and to negotiate with the Federal, State, and local Governments. The Secretary of the Interior shall advise such tribe or its tribal council of all appropriation estimates or Federal projects for the benefit of the tribe prior to the submission of such estimates to the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress.

## SEC. 17.

The Secretary of the Interior may, upon petition by at least one-third of the adult Indians, issue a charter of incorporation to such tribe: . . .

## SEC. 18.

This Act shall not apply to any reservation wherein a majority of the adult Indians, voting at a special election duly called by the Secretary of the Interior, shall vote against its application. It shall be

the duty of the Secretary of the Interior, within one year after the passage and approval of this Act, to call such an election, which election shall be held by secret ballot upon thirty days' notice.

## SEC. 19.

The term "Indian" as used in this Act shall include all persons of Indian descent who are members of any recognized Indian tribe now under Federal jurisdiction, and all persons who are descendants of such members who were, on June 1, 1934, residing within the present boundaries of any Indian reservation, and shall further include all other persons of one-half or more Indian blood. For the purposes of this Act Eskimos and other aboriginal peoples of Alaska shall be considered Indians. The term "tribe" wherever used in this Act shall be construed to refer to any Indian tribe, organized band, pueblo, or the Indians residing on one reservation. The words "adult Indians" wherever used in this Act shall be construed to refer to Indians who have attained the age of twenty-one years.

## House Concurrent Resolution 108 (1953)

Whereas it is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all of the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship; and

Whereas the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States should assume their full responsibilities as American citizens: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring),* That it is declared to be the sense of Congress that, at the earliest possible time, all of the Indian tribes and the individual members thereof located within the States of California, Florida, New York, and Texas, and all of the following named Indian tribes and individual members thereof, should be freed from Federal supervision and control and from all disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians: The Flathead Tribe of Montana, the Klamath Tribe of Oregon, the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin, the Potawatamie Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, and those members of the Chippewa Tribe who are on the Turtle Mountain Reservation,





North Dakota. It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that, upon the release of such tribes and individual members thereof from such disabilities and limitations, all offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the States of California, Florida, New York, and Texas and all other offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs whose primary purpose was to serve any Indian tribe or individual Indian freed from Federal supervision should be abolished. It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that the Secretary of the Interior should examine all existing legislation dealing with such Indians, and treaties between the Government of the United States and each such tribe, and report to Congress at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 1, 1954, his recommendations for such legislation as, in his judgment, may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this resolution.

Public Law 280 (1953)

AN ACT To confer jurisdiction on the State of California, Minnesota, Nebraska, Oregon, and Wisconsin, with respect to criminal offenses and civil causes of action committed or arising on Indian reservations within such States, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,* That chapter 53 of title 18, United States Code, is hereby amended by inserting at the end of the chapter analysis preceding section 1151 of such title the following new item:

1162. State jurisdiction over offenses committed by or against Indians in the Indian country.  
SEC. 2.

Title 18, United States Code, is hereby amended by inserting in chapter 53 thereof immediately after section 1161 a new section, to be designated as section 1162, as follows:

1162. STATE JURISDICTION OVER OFFENSES COMMITTED BY OR AGAINST INDIANS IN THE INDIAN COUNTRY

(a) Each of the States listed in the following table shall have jurisdiction over offenses committed by or against Indians in the areas of Indian country listed opposite the name of the State to the same extent that such State has jurisdiction over offenses committed elsewhere within the State, and the criminal laws of such State shall have the same force and

effect within such Indian country as they have elsewhere within the State:

State of	Indian country affected
California	All Indian country within the State
Minnesota	All Indian country within the State, except the Red Lake Reservation
Nebraska	All Indian country within the State
Oregon	All Indian country within the State, except the Warm Springs Reservation
Wisconsin	All Indian country within the State, except the Menominee Reservation

(b) Nothing in this section shall authorize the alienation, encumbrance, or taxation of any real or personal property, including water rights, belonging to any Indian or any Indian tribe, band, or community that is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by the United States; or shall authorize regulation of the use of such property in a manner inconsistent with any Federal treaty, agreement, or statute or with any regulation made pursuant thereto; or shall deprive any Indian or any Indian tribe, band, or community of any right, privilege, or immunity afforded under Federal treaty, agreement, or statute with respect to hunting, trapping, or fishing or the control, licensing, or regulation thereof.

(c) The provisions of sections 1152 and 1153 of this chapter shall not be applicable within the areas of Indian country listed in subsection (a) of this section.

SEC. 3.

Chapter 85 of title 28, United States Code, is hereby amended by inserting at the end of the chapter analysis preceding section 1331 of such title the following new item:

1360. State civil jurisdiction in actions to which Indians are parties.

SEC. 4.

Title 28, United States Code, is hereby amended by inserting in chapter 85 thereof immediately after section 1359 a new section, to be designated as section 1360, as follows:

§ 1360. STATE CIVIL JURISDICTION IN ACTIONS TO WHICH INDIANS ARE PARTIES

(a) Each of the States listed in the following table shall have jurisdiction over civil causes of action between Indians or to which Indians are parties which arise in the areas of Indian country listed opposite the name of the State to the same extent that such State has jurisdiction over other civil





causes of action, and those civil laws of such State that are of general application to private persons or private property shall have the same force and effect within such Indian country as they have elsewhere within the State:

State of	Indian country affected
California	All Indian country within the State
Minnesota	All Indian country within the State, except the Red Lake Reservation
Nebraska	All Indian country within the State
Oregon	All Indian country within the State, except the Warm Springs Reservation
Wisconsin	All Indian country within the State, except the Menominee Reservation

(b) Nothing in this section shall authorize the alienation, encumbrance, or taxation of any real or personal property, including water rights, belonging to any Indian or any Indian tribe, band, or community that is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by the United States; or shall authorize regulation of the use of such property in a manner inconsistent with any Federal treaty, agreement, or statute or with any regulation made pursuant thereto; or shall confer jurisdiction upon the State to adjudicate, in probate proceedings or otherwise, the ownership or right to possession of such property or any interest therein.

(c) Any tribal ordinance or custom heretofore or hereafter adopted by an Indian tribe, band, or community in the exercise of any authority which it may possess shall, if not inconsistent with any applicable civil law of the State, be given full force and effect in the determination of civil causes of action pursuant to this section.

SEC. 5.

Section 1 of the Act of October 5, 1949 (63 Stat. 705, ch. 604), is hereby repealed, but such repeal shall not affect any proceedings heretofore instituted under that section.

SEC. 6.

Notwithstanding the provisions of any Enabling Act for the admission of a State, the consent of the United States is hereby given to the people of any State to amend, where necessary, their State constitution or existing statutes, as the case may be, to remove any legal impediment to the assumption of civil and criminal jurisdiction in accordance with the provisions of this Act: *Provided*, That the provisions of this Act shall not become effective with respect to

such assumption of jurisdiction by any such State until the people thereof have appropriately amended their State constitution or statutes as the case may be.

SEC. 7.

The consent of the United States is hereby given to any other State not having jurisdiction with respect to criminal offenses or civil causes of action, or with respect to both, as provided for in this Act, to assume jurisdiction at such time and in such manner as the people of the State shall, by affirmative legislative action, obligate and bind the State to assumption thereof.

Approved, August 15, 1953.

Indian Civil Rights Act (1968)

AN ACT To prescribe penalties for certain acts of violence or intimidation, and for other purposes.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

TITLE II—RIGHTS OF INDIANS  
DEFINITIONS

SEC. 201.

For purposes of this title, the term—

- (1) “Indian tribe” means any tribe, band, or other group of Indians subject to the jurisdiction of the United States and recognized as possessing powers of self-government;
- (2) “powers of self-government” means and includes all governmental powers possessed by an Indian tribe, executive, legislative, and judicial, and all offices, bodies, and tribunals by and through which they are executed, including courts of Indian offenses; and
- (3) “Indian court” means any Indian tribal court or court of Indian offense.

INDIAN RIGHTS

SEC. 202.

No Indian tribe in exercising powers of self-government shall—

- (1) make or enforce any law prohibiting the free exercise of religion, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press,





- or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition for a redress of grievances;
- (2) violate the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable search and seizures, nor issue warrants, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched and the person or thing to be seized;
  - (3) subject any person for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy;
  - (4) compel any person in any criminal case to be a witness against himself;
  - (5) take any private property for a public use without just compensation;
  - (6) deny to any person in a criminal proceeding the right to a speedy and public trial, to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and at his own expense to have the assistance of counsel for his defense;
  - (7) require excessive bail, impose excessive fines, inflict cruel and unusual punishments, and in no event impose for conviction of any one offense any penalty or punishment greater than imprisonment for a term of six months or a fine of \$500, or both;
  - (8) deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of its laws or deprive any person of liberty or property without due process of law;
  - (9) pass any bill of attainder or ex post facto law; or
  - (10) deny to any person accused of an offense punishable by imprisonment the right, upon request, to a trial by jury of not less than six persons.

#### HABEAS CORPUS

##### SEC. 203.

The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall be available to any person, in a court of the United States, to test the legality of his detention by order of an Indian tribe.

#### TITLE III—MODEL CODE GOVERNING COURTS OF INDIAN

##### SEC. 301.

The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to recommend to the Congress, on or before July 1, 1968, a model code to govern the administration of justice by courts of Indian offenses on Indian reservations

#### TITLE IV—JURISDICTION OVER CRIMINAL AND CIVIL ACTIONS

##### ASSUMPTION BY STATE

##### SEC. 401.

- (a) The consent of the United States is hereby given to any State not having jurisdiction over criminal offenses committed by or against Indians in the areas of Indian country situated within such State to assume, with the consent of the Indian tribe occupying the particular Indian country or part thereof which could be affected by such assumption, such measure of jurisdiction over any or all of such offenses committed within such Indian country or any part thereof as may be determined by such State to the same extent that such State has jurisdiction over any such offense committed elsewhere within the State, and the criminal laws of such State shall have the same force and effect within such Indian country or part thereof as they have elsewhere within that State . . . .
- (b) Nothing in this section shall authorize the alienation, encumbrance, or taxation of any real or personal property, including water rights, belonging to any Indian or any Indian tribe, band, or community that is held in trust by the United States or is subject to a restriction against alienation imposed by the United States; or shall authorize regulation of the use of such property in a manner inconsistent with any Federal treaty, agreement, or statute or with any regulation made pursuant thereto; or shall deprive any Indian or any Indian tribe, band, or community of any right, privilege, or immunity afforded under





Federal treaty, agreement, or statute with respect to hunting, trapping, or fishing or the control, licensing, or regulation thereof.

#### ASSUMPTION BY STATE OF CIVIL JURISDICTION SEC. 402.

- (a) The consent of the United States is hereby given to any State not having jurisdiction over civil causes of action between Indians or to which Indians are parties which arise in the areas of Indian country situated within such State to assume, with the consent of the tribe occupying the particular Indian country or part thereof which would be affected by such assumption, such measure of jurisdiction over any or all such civil causes of action arising within such Indian country or any part thereof as may be determined by such State to the same extent that such State has jurisdiction over other civil causes of action, and those civil laws of such State that are of general application to private persons or private property shall have the same force and effect within such Indian country or part thereof as they have elsewhere within that State . . .

#### SPECIAL ELECTION SEC. 406.

State jurisdiction acquired pursuant to this title with respect to criminal offenses or civil causes of action, or with respect to both, shall be applicable in Indian country only where the enrolled Indians within the affected area of such Indian country accept such jurisdiction by a majority vote of the adult Indians voting at a special election held for that purpose. The Secretary of the Interior shall call such special election under such rules and regulations as he may prescribe, when requested to do so by the tribal council or other governing body, or by 20 per centum of such enrolled adults . . .

### **Alcatraz Proclamation: A Proclamation from the Indians of All Tribes (1969)**

To the Great White Father and All His People—We, the native Americans, re-claim the land known as

Alcatraz Island in the name of all American Indians by right of discovery.

We wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with the Caucasian inhabitants of this land, and hereby offer the following treaty:

We will purchase said Alcatraz Island for twenty-four dollars (\$24) in glass beads and red cloth, a precedent set by the white man's purchase of a similar island about 300 years ago. We know that \$24 in trade goods for these 16 acres is more than was paid when Manhattan Island was sold, but we know that land values have risen over the years. Our offer of \$1.24 an acre is greater than the 47 cents an acre the white men are now paying the California Indians for their land.

We will give to the inhabitants of this island a portion of the land for their own to be held in trust . . . by the bureau of Caucasian Affairs to hold in perpetuity—for as long as the sun shall rise and the rivers go down to the sea. We will further guide the inhabitants in the proper way of living. We will offer them our religion, our education, our life-ways, in order to help them achieve our level of civilization and thus raise them and all their white brothers up from their savage and unhappy state. We offer this treaty in good faith and wish to be fair and honorable in our dealings with all white men.

We feel that this so-called Alcatraz Island is more than suitable for an Indian reservation, as determined by the white man's own standards. By this we mean that this place most resembles Indians reservations in that:

1. It is isolated from modern facilities, and without adequate means of transportation.
2. It has no fresh running water.
3. It has inadequate sanitation facilities.
4. There are no oil or mineral rights.
5. There is no industry and so unemployment is very great.
6. There are no health care facilities.
7. The soil is rocky and non-productive, and the land does not support game.
8. There are no educational facilities.
9. The population has always exceeded the land base.
10. The population has always been held as prisoners and kept dependent upon others.

Further, it would be fitting and symbolic that ships from all over the world, entering the Golden Gate, would first see Indian land, and thus be





reminded of the true history of this nation. This tiny island would be a symbol of the great lands once ruled by free and noble Indians.

What use will we make of this land?

Since the San Francisco Indian Center burned down, there is no place for Indians to assemble and carry on tribal life here in the white man's city. Therefore, we plan to develop on this island several Indian institutions:

1. A Center for Native American Studies which will educate them to the skills and knowledge relevant to improve the lives and spirits of Indian peoples. . . .
2. An American Indian Spiritual Center which will practice our ancient tribal religious and sacred healing ceremonies. . . .
3. An Indian Center of Ecology which will train and support our young people in scientific research and practice to restore our lands and waters to their pure and natural state. . . .
4. A Great Indian Training School will be developed to teach our people how to make a living in the world, improve our standard of living, and to end hunger and unemployment among all our people. . . .

Some of the present buildings will be taken over to develop an American Indian Museum which will depict our native food & other cultural contributions we have given to the world. Another part of the museum will present some of the things the white man has given to the Indians in return for the land and life he took: disease, alcohol, poverty and cultural decimation (As symbolized by old tin cans, barbed wire, rubber tires, plastic containers, etc.). . . .

In the name of all Indians, therefore, we re-claim this island for our Indian nations. . . .

## Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971)

For purposes of this chapter, the term—

- ...
- (c) "Native Village" means any tribe, band, clan, group, village, community, or association in Alaska listed in sections 1610 and 1615 of this title, or which meets the requirements of this chapter, and which the Secretary determines

was, on the 1970 census enumeration date (as shown by the census or other evidence satisfactory to the Secretary, who shall make findings of fact in each instance), composed of twenty-five or more Natives;

- (d) "Native group" means any tribe, band, clan, village, community, or village association of Natives in Alaska composed of less than twenty-five Natives, who comprise a majority of the residents of the locality;

...

- (g) "Regional Corporation" means an Alaska Native Regional Corporation established under the laws of the State of Alaska in accordance with the provisions of this chapter;

...

- (j) "Village Corporation" means an Alaska Native Village Corporation organized under the laws of the State of Alaska as a business for profit or nonprofit corporation to hold, invest, manage and/or distribute lands, property, funds, and other rights and assets for and on behalf of a Native village in accordance with the terms of this chapter.<sup>[1]</sup>

...

SEC. 7. [43 U.S.C. 1606] (a) For purposes of this Act, the State of Alaska shall be divided by the Secretary within one year after the date of enactment at <sup>[2]</sup> this Act into twelve geographic regions, with each region composed as far as practicable of Natives having a common heritage and sharing common interests. In the absence of good cause shown to the contrary, such regions shall approximate the areas covered by the operations of the following existing Native associations:

- (1) Arctic Slope Native Association (Barrow, Point Hope);
- (2) Bering Straits Association (Seward Peninsula, Unalakleet, Saint Lawrence Island);
- (3) Northwest Alaska Native Association (Kotzebue);
- (4) Association of Village Council Presidents (southwest coast, all villages in the Bethel area, including all villages on the Lower Yukon River and the Lower Kuskokwim River);
- (5) Tanana Chiefs' Conference (Koyukuk, Middle and Upper Yukon Rivers, Upper Kuskokwim, Tanana River);
- (6) Cook Inlet Association (Kenai, Tyonek, Eklutna, Iliamna);





- (7) Bristol Bay Native Association (Dillingham, Upper Alaska Peninsula);
- (8) Aleut League (Aleutian Islands, Pribilof Islands and that part of the Alaska Peninsula which is in the Aleut League);
- (9) Chugach Native Association (Cordova, Tatitlek, Port Graham, English Bay, Valdez, and Seward);
- (10) Tlingit-Haida Central Council (southeastern Alaska, including Metlakatla);
- (11) Kodiak Area Native Association (all villages on and around Kodiak Island); and
- (12) Copper River Native Association (Copper Center, Glennallen, Chitina, Mentasta).

Any dispute over the boundaries of a region or regions shall be resolved by a board of arbitrators consisting of one person selected by each of the Native associations involved, and an additional one or two persons, whichever is needed to make an odd number of arbitrators, such additional person or persons to be selected by the arbitrators selected by the Native associations involved.

(h) (1) Rights and Restrictions.—

(A) Except as otherwise expressly provided in this Act, Settlement Common Stock of a Regional Corporation shall—

...

- (i) carry a right to vote in elections for the board of directors and on such other questions as properly may be presented to shareholders;
  - (ii) permit the holder to receive dividends or other distributions from the corporation; and
  - (iii) vest in the holder all rights of a shareholder in a business corporation organized under the laws of the State.
- (B) Except as otherwise provided in this subsection, Settlement Common Stock, inchoate rights thereto, and rights to dividends or distributions declared with respect thereto shall not be—
- (i) sold;
  - (ii) pledged;
  - (iii) subjected to a lien or judgment execution;
  - (iv) assigned in present or future;

- (v) treated as an asset under—
  - (I) title 11 of the United States Code or any successor statute,
  - (II) any other insolvency or moratorium law, or
  - (III) other laws generally affecting creditors' rights; or
- (vi) otherwise alienated.

(C) Notwithstanding the restrictions set forth in subparagraph (B), Settlement Common Stock may be transferred to a Native or a descendant of a Native—

- (i) pursuant to a court decree of separation, divorce, or child support;
- (ii) by a holder who is a member of a professional organization, association, or board that limits his or her ability to practice his or her profession because he or she holds Settlement Common Stock; or
- (iii) as an inter vivos gift from a holder to his or her child, grandchild, great-grandchild, niece, nephew, or (if the holder has reached the age of majority as defined by the laws of the State of Alaska) brother or sister, notwithstanding an adoption, relinquishment, or termination of parental rights that may have altered or severed the legal relationship between the gift donor and recipient.

(2) Inheritance of Settlement Common Stock.—

(A) Upon the death of a holder of Settlement Common Stock, ownership of such stock [unless canceled in accordance with subsection (g)(1)(B)(iii)] shall be transferred in accordance with the lawful will of such holder or pursuant to applicable laws of intestate succession. If the holder fails to dispose of his or her stock by will and has no heirs under applicable laws of intestate succession, the stock shall escheat to the issuing Regional Corporation and be canceled.

(B) The issuing Regional Corporation shall have the right to purchase at fair value Settlement Common Stock transferred pursuant to applicable laws of intestate succession to a person not a Native or a





descendant of a Native after the date of the enactment of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act Amendments of 1987 if—

(i) the corporation—

- (I) amends its articles of incorporation to authorize such purchases, and
- (II) gives the person receiving such stock written notice of its intent to purchase within ninety days after the date that the corporation either determines the decedent's heirs in accordance with the laws of the State or receives notice that such heirs have been determined, whichever later occurs; and

(ii) the person receiving such stock fails to transfer the stock pursuant to paragraph (1)(C)(iii) within sixty days after receiving such written notice.

(C) Settlement Common Stock of a Regional Corporation—

- (i) transferred by will or pursuant to applicable laws of intestate succession after the date of the enactment<sup>[3]</sup> of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act Amendments of 1987, or
- (ii) transferred by any means prior to the date of the enactment of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act Amendments of 1987, to a person not a Native or a descendant of a Native shall not carry voting rights. If at a later date such stock is lawfully transferred to a Native or a descendant of a Native, voting rights shall be automatically restored.

(3) Replacement Common Stock.—

(A) On the date on which alienability restrictions terminate in accordance with the provisions of section 37, all Settlement Common Stock previously issued by a Regional Corporation shall be deemed canceled, and shares of Replacement Common Stock of the appropriate class shall be issued to

each shareholder, share for share, subject only to subparagraph (B) and to such restrictions consistent with this Act as may be provided by the articles of incorporation of the corporation or in agreements between the corporation and individual shareholders.

(i) Replacement Common Stock issued in exchange for Settlement Common Stock issued subject to the restriction authorized by subsection (g)(1)(B)(iii) shall bear a legend indicating that the stock will eventually be canceled in accordance with the requirements of that subsection.

(ii) Prior to the termination of alienability restrictions, the board of directors of the corporation shall approve a resolution to provide that each share of Settlement Common Stock carrying the right to share in distributions made to shareholders pursuant to subsections (j) and (m) shall be exchanged either for—

- (I) a share of Replacement Common Stock that carries such right, or
- (II) a share of Replacement Common Stock that does not carry such right together with a separate, non-voting security that represents only such right.

(iii) Replacement Common Stock issued in exchange for a class of Settlement Common Stock carrying greater per share voting power than Settlement Common Stock issued pursuant to subsections (g)(1)(A) and (g)(1)(B) shall carry such voting power and be subject to such other terms as may be provided in the amendment to the articles of incorporation authorizing the issuance of such class of Settlement Common Stock.

(C) The articles of incorporation of the Regional Corporation shall be deemed amended to authorize the issuance of Replacement Common Stock and the security described in subparagraph (B)(ii)(II).





- (D) Prior to the date on which alienability restrictions terminate, a Regional Corporation may amend its articles of incorporation to impose upon Replacement Common Stock one or more of the following—
- (i) a restriction denying voting rights to any holder of Replacement Common Stock who is not a Native or a descendant of a Native;
  - (ii) a restriction granting the Regional Corporation, or the Regional Corporation and members of the shareholder's immediate family who are Natives or descendants of Natives, the first right to purchase, on reasonable terms, the Replacement Common Stock of the shareholder prior to the sale or transfer of such stock (other than a transfer by will or intestate succession) to any other party, including a transfer in satisfaction of a lien, writ of attachment, judgment execution, pledge, or other encumbrance; and
  - (iii) any other term, restriction, limitation, or provision authorized by the laws of the State.
- (E) Replacement Common Stock shall not be subjected to a lien or judgment execution based upon any asserted or unasserted legal obligation of the original recipient arising prior to the issuance of such stock.

...

SEC. 8. [43 U.S.C. 1607]

(c) Applicability of Section 7.—The provisions of subsections (g), (h) (other than paragraph (H)), and (o) of section 7 shall apply in all respects to Village Corporations, Urban Corporations, and Group Corporations.

...

[Internal Reference.—SSAct §1613(a) cites the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act.]

<sup>[1]</sup> As in original. Probably should be a colon.

<sup>[2]</sup> As in original. Probably should be "of."

<sup>[3]</sup> February 3, 1988.

## American Indian Movement: Three-Point Program (1973)

*On February 28, 1973, several hundred Oglala Lakota Sioux, supported by organizers from the American Indian Movement (AIM), stormed the Wounded Knee hamlet on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota and took hostages to call attention to the U.S. government's poor treatment of Native Americans. The reservation had been the site of the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre, during which U.S. Army troops had killed at least 150 Sioux. The Wounded Knee siege in 1973 lasted for more than two months. After it ended in a tentative truce, the AIM released a three-point program, an excerpt of which follows, outlining the group's goals.*

Point 1. A Senate Treaty Commission should examine the 371 treaties the U.S. has made (and broken) with Indians. All treaty rights should be enforced.

The land rights involved here for reservations are very large. The 1972 "Trail" [of Broken Treaties] proposal called, at a minimum, for restoration to Indian control of at least 110 million acres of land. Presently, the federal government holds "in trust" about 40 million tribal acres (much of it used for mineral, park, and other interests), with an additional 10 million acres held "in trust" for individual tribal members. Much of this land is leased out, advantageously to white interests. On Pine Ridge Reservation (South Dakota), Indian range land is leased for 80 cents an acre; this land is exactly like land owned by whites, which brings \$15 an acre.

One response to the efforts to enforce the rights of this treaty (re. the 1868 Sioux/U.S. treaty) has been a government "offer" to settle a 50-year-old claim based on it. The U.S. National Indian Claims Commission finds about \$102 million (or \$2000 per person for about 60,000 Sioux) a fair settlement for 7.5 million acres of land, including the Homestake Mine, largest gold producing mine in the Western Hemisphere, and the sacred Paha Sapa, the beautiful Black Hills. However, old habits of cheating Indians die hard. By the time the U.S. government finished taking deductions for "money spent on the Sioux," only about \$4 million is left. We don't want little bits of cash; we want a land base which is ours by right and could support meaningful lives.

...

We need a Treaty Commission, and it should get to work quickly. The sort of litigation which goes on forever is all too familiar. . . . From Washington to New York, there have been many such incidents and





cases; it should not be necessary for Indians to go to court to win rights they (supposedly) already have by treaty.

Point 2. Repeal the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (Wheeler-Howard Act); it has been a major weapon used in robbing Indians of their land, settling white-controlled governments on many reservations, and establishing tribal constitutions which offer no real protection against sale and wholesale lease-out of tribal lands.

Point 3. Remove the Bureau of Indian Affairs from the Department of the Interior, restructure it as an independent agency, controlled by and accountable to, Indian people; audit the BIA records and make reparations for the many crooked land deals; cancel BIA-sanctioned non-Indian leasing of Indian land.

The BIA should never have been located in the Department of the Interior. (Maybe that's better than its original location, the Department of War, but not much.) The Department of the Interior serves oil, mineral, lands trusts, transportation, shipping, wood forestry, and energy interests; these usually conflict with Indian rights.

The BIA has a long history of corruption and mismanagement of our affairs. A tough, independent audit of BIA books and land rent records should be supported by all. Forced land sales and lease rentals arranged by the BIA should be examined, with returns and reparations made.

Pine Ridge data show part of the reason why this needs to be done. As of 1969, the federal government was spending, through BIA, about \$8040 a year per family, to "help the Oglala Sioux out of poverty." But median family income from all sources (employment, land rental, and federal) was only \$1910 per family, supporting many children and old people. Where did the rest of it go? The fact that there was about one well-paid bureaucrat per family gives part of the answer; kickbacks and corruption give the other part. All Indians would benefit if this inept and corrupt agency were accountable to us. . . .

This Three Point Program provides a strategy for a nationally coordinated attack on powerful financial and political interests, which have used the U.S. government to take advantage of Native Americans for more than a century. It will require strong commitment and wide support to win against these interests. Indian rights of sovereignty, self-government, and a decent means of living in accordance with traditions and beliefs will not come easily.

Without massive public pressure, the government will simply continue its present treatment of Indians, a continuing shame to all, and a continuing profit source to a few.

## Boldt Decision (1974)

*Officially titled United States vs. Washington (1974), the "Boldt Decision" established a system by which Native Americans were allowed up to 50 percent of the salmon, and other fish returning to the waters of fishing sites guaranteed them by treaties signed during the 1850s.*

UNITED STATES of America, Plaintiff, Quinault Tribe of Indians on its own behalf and on behalf of the Queets Band of Indians, et al., Intervenor-Plaintiffs, v. STATE OF WASHINGTON, Defendant, Thor C. Tollefson, Director, Washington State Department of Fisheries, et al., Intervenor-Defendants

Civ. No. 9213

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT FOR THE WESTERN DISTRICT OF WASHINGTON, TACOMA DIVISION

384 F. Supp. 312; 1974 U.S. Dist. LEXIS 12291

February 12, 1974 . . .

STATEMENT OF THE CASE

GEORGE H. BOLDT, Senior District Judge.

In September, 1970 the United States, on its own behalf and as trustee for several Western Washington Indian Tribes, later joined as intervenor plaintiffs by additional tribes, filed the complaint initiating this action against the State of Washington. Shortly later the State Department of Fisheries (Fisheries) and the State Game Commission (Game), their respective directors, and the Washington Reef Net Owners Association (Reef Net Owners) were included as defendants. By state statute Fisheries is charged with exercising regulatory authority over fishing for all anadromous food fish. Regulation of anadromous steelhead trout is vested in Game. Plaintiffs seek a declaratory judgment pursuant to 28 U.S.C. §§ 2201 and 2202 concerning off reservation treaty right fishing within the case area by plaintiff tribes, which long has been and now is in controversy, and for injunctive relief to provide enforcement of those fishing rights as they previously have been or herein may be judicially determined. The case area is that portion of the State of Washington west of the Cascade Mountains and north of the Columbia River drainage





area, and includes the American portion of the Puget Sound watershed, the watersheds of the Olympic Peninsula north of the Grays Harbor watershed, and the offshore waters adjacent to those areas. . . .

More than a century of frequent and often violent controversy between Indians and non-Indians over treaty right fishing has resulted in deep distrust and animosity on both sides. This has been inflamed by provocative, sometimes illegal, conduct of extremists on both sides and by irresponsible demonstrations instigated by non-resident opportunists. . . .

The ultimate objective of this decision is to determine every issue of fact and law presented and, at long last, thereby finally settle, either in this decision or on appeal thereof, as many as possible of the divisive problems of treaty right fishing which for so long have plagued all of the citizens of this area, and still do.

#### I. ESTABLISHED BASIC FACTS AND LAW . . .

The "Constitution . . . of the United States . . . and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding." . . .

3. The United States Supreme Court in *Missouri* (252 U.S. p. 434, 40 S. Ct. p. 384) stated:

"Valid treaties of course 'are as binding within the territorial limits of the States as they are elsewhere throughout the dominion of the United States.' *Baldwin v. Franks*, 120 U.S. 678, 683, 7 S. Ct. 656, 30 L. Ed. 766."

4. Each of the basic fact and law issues in this case must be considered and decided in accordance with the treaty language reserving fishing rights to the plaintiff tribes, interpreted in the spirit and manner directed in the above quoted language of the United States Supreme Court. Each treaty in this case contains a provision substantially identical to that in the Medicine Creek treaty: "The right of taking fish, at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations, is further secured to said Indians, in common with all citizens of the territory, and of erecting temporary houses for the purpose of curing, . . ."

5. "The right to resort to the [usual and accustomed] fishing places in controversy was a part of larger rights possessed by the Indians, upon the exercise of which there was not a shadow of impediment, and which were not much less necessary to the existence of the Indians than the atmosphere

they breathed. . . . [The] treaty was not a grant of rights to the Indians but a grant of right from them—a reservation of those not granted."

"And surely it was within the competency of the Nation to secure to the Indians such a remnant of the great rights they possessed as 'taking fish at all usual and accustomed places.'" . . .

6. ". . . [The] [treaty] negotiations were with the tribe. They reserved rights, however, to every individual Indian, as though named therein. . . . And the right was intended to be continuing against the United States and its grantees as well as against the State and its grantees." That those rights are also reserved to the descendants of treaty Indians, without limitation in time, excepting as Congress may determine, has been recognized and applied by the United States Supreme Court from the first to the latest decision of that court involving Indian treaty fishing rights. . . .

7. An exclusive right of fishing was reserved by the tribes within the area and boundary waters of their reservations, wherein tribal members might make their homes if they chose to do so. The tribes also reserved the right to off reservation fishing "at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations" and agreed that "all citizens of the territory" might fish at the same places "in common with" tribal members. The tribes and their members cannot rescind that agreement or limit non-Indian fishing pursuant to the agreement. However, off reservation fishing by other citizens and residents of the state is not a right but merely a privilege which may be granted, limited or withdrawn by the state as the interests of the state or the exercise of treaty fishing rights may require. . . .

#### III. STATE REGULATION OF OFF RESERVATION TREATY RIGHT FISHING

There is neither mention nor slightest intimation in the treaties themselves, in any of the treaty negotiation records or in any other credible evidence, that the Indians who represented the tribes in the making of the treaties, at that time or any time afterward, understood or intended that the fishing rights reserved by the tribes as recorded in the above quoted language would, or ever could, authorize the "citizens of the territory" or their successors, either individually or through their territorial or state government, to qualify, restrict or in any way interfere with the full exercise of those rights. All of the evidence is overwhelmingly to the contrary, particularly in the vivid showing in the record that the treaty Indians pleaded for and insisted upon retain-





ing the exercise of those rights as essential to their survival. They were given unqualified assurance of that by Governor Stevens himself without any suggestion that the Indians' exercise of those rights might some day, without authorization of Congress, be subjected to regulation by non-Indian citizens through their territorial or state government. . . .

These measures and others make plain the intent and philosophy of Congress to increase rather than diminish or limit the exercise of tribal self-government.

The right to fish for all species available in the waters from which, for so many ages, their ancestors derived most of their subsistence is the single most highly cherished interest and concern of the present members of plaintiff tribes, with rare exceptions even among tribal members who personally do not fish or derive therefrom any substantial amount of their subsistence. The right to fish, as reserved in the treaties of plaintiff tribes, certainly is the treaty provision most frequently in controversy and litigation involving all of the tribes and numerous of their individual members for many years past.

The philosophy of Congress referred to above and the evidence in this case as a whole clearly indicate to this court that the time has now arrived, and this case presents an appropriate opportunity, to take a step toward applying congressional philosophy to Indian treaty right fishing in a way that will not be inconsistent with Puyallup-I and Puyallup-II and also will provide ample security for the interest and purposes of conservation. . . .

#### CONCLUSIONS OF LAW . . .

17. Admission of the State of Washington into the Union upon an equal footing with the original states had no effect upon the treaty rights of the Plaintiff tribes. Such admission imposed upon the State, equally with other states, the obligation to observe and carry out the provisions of treaties of the United States. . . .

#### DECLARATORY JUDGMENT AND DECREE . . .

##### B. Treaty Fishing Rights

10. Each of the plaintiff tribes listed below is a Treaty Tribe. The list given below is a declaration only as to those 14 Indian entities which have been represented on the plaintiff side in this case. A Treaty Tribe occupies the status of a party to one or more of the Stevens treaties and therefore holds

for the benefit of its members a reserved right to harvest anadromous fish at all usual and accustomed places outside reservation boundaries, in common with others:

Hoh Tribe of Indians;  
Lummi Indian Tribe;  
Makah Indian Tribe;  
Muckleshoot Indian Tribe;  
Nisqually Indian Community of the  
Nisqually Reservation;  
Puyallup Tribe of the Puyallup  
Reservation;  
Quileute Indian Tribe;  
Quinault Tribe of Indians;  
Sauk-Suiattle Indian Tribe;  
Skokomish Indian Tribe;  
Squaxin Island Tribe of Indians;  
Stillaguamish Tribe of Indians;  
Upper Skagit River Tribe;  
Confederated Tribes and Bands of the  
Yakima Indian Nation

11. The right of a Treaty Tribe to harvest anadromous fish outside reservation boundaries arises from a provision which appears in each of the Stevens treaties and which, with immaterial variations, states: The right of taking fish, at all usual and accustomed grounds and stations, is further secured to said Indians, in common with all citizens of the Territory. . . .
12. It is the responsibility of all citizens to see that the terms of the Stevens treaties are carried out, so far as possible, in accordance with the meaning they were understood to have by the tribal representatives at the councils, and in a spirit which generously recognizes the full obligation of this nation to protect the interests of a dependent people. . . .
15. The treaty-secured rights to resort to the usual and accustomed places to fish were a part of larger rights possessed by the treating Indians, upon the exercise of which there was not a shadow of impediment, and which were not much less necessary to their existence than the atmosphere they breathed. The treaty was not a grant of rights to the treating Indians, but a grant of rights from them, and a reservation of those not granted. In the Stevens treaties, such reservations





- were not of particular parcels of land, and could not be expressed in deeds, as dealings between private individuals. The reservations were in large areas of territory, and the negotiations were with the tribes. The treaties reserved rights, however, to every individual Indian, as though described therein. There was an exclusive right of fishing reserved within certain boundaries. There was a right outside of those boundaries reserved for exercise "in common with citizens of the Territory."
16. The Stevens treaties do not reserve to the Treaty Tribes any specific manner, method or purpose of taking fish; nor do the treaties prohibit any specific manner, method or purpose. Just as non-Indians may continue to take advantage of improvements in fishing techniques, the Treaty Tribes may, in exercising their rights to take anadromous fish, utilize improvements in traditional fishing methods, such for example as nylon nets and steel hooks.
  17. The exercise of a Treaty Tribe's right to take anadromous fish outside of reservation boundaries is limited only by geographical extent of the usual and accustomed places, the limits of the harvestable stock and the number of fish which non-treaty fishermen shall have an opportunity to catch, as provided in the Decision of the Court.
  18. Because the right of each Treaty Tribe to take anadromous fish arises from a treaty with the United States, that right is preserved and protected under the supreme law of the land, does not depend on State law, is distinct from rights or privileges held by others, and may not be qualified by any action of the State.
  19. The treaty phrase "in common with" does not secure any treaty right or privilege to anyone other than the Treaty Tribes, nor does that phrase qualify any Indian's treaty right to fish, except as provided in the Decision of the Court.
  20. Except for tribes now or hereafter entitled to self-regulation of tribal fishing, as provided in the Decision of the Court, the right of a Treaty Tribe to take anadromous fish may be regulated by an appropriate exercise of State power. To be appropriate, such regulation must:
    - a. Not discriminate against the Treaty Tribe's reserved right to fish;
    - b. Meet appropriate standards of substantive and procedural due process; and
    - c. Be shown by the State to be both reasonable and necessary to preserve and maintain the resource. When State law or regulations affect the volume of anadromous fish available for harvest by a Treaty Tribe at usual and accustomed places, such regulations must be designed so as to carry out the purposes of the treaty provision securing to the Tribe the right to take fish.
  21. If any person shows identification, as provided in the Decision of the Court, that he is exercising the fishing rights of a Treaty Tribe and if he is fishing in a usual and accustomed place, he is protected under federal law against any State action which affects the time, place, manner, purpose or volume of his harvest of anadromous fish, unless the State has previously established that such action is an appropriate exercise of its power.
  22. The application of currently effective laws and regulations of the State of Washington specified in the Conclusions of Law which affect the time, place, manner and volume of off-reservation harvest of anadromous fish by Treaty Tribes is unlawful for the reasons also stated in the Conclusions of Law . . . .
- Therefore, it is hereby Ordered, adjudged and decreed that the State of Washington; Thor C. Tollefson, Director, Washington State Department of Fisheries; Carl Crouse, Director, Washington Department of Game; The Washington State Game Commission; the Washington Reef Net Owners Association, their agents, officers, employees, successors in interest; and all persons acting in concert or





participation with any of them (“defendants”) are permanently enjoined and restrained to obey, to respect and to comply with all rulings of this court in its Final Decision #I and with each provision of this injunction, subject only to such modifications as may be approved as a part of an interim program.

1. Defendants shall:

- a. fully and fairly recognize each of the plaintiff tribes as a tribe holding all rights described and declared as to it in Final Decision #I and accord to each the tribal rights and powers recognized as to it in that decision;
- b. fully observe and to the best of their ability carry out the provisions and purposes of the treaties cited in paragraph 1 of the Findings of Fact;
- c. conform their regulatory action and enforcement to each and all of the standards set forth in Final Decision #I;
- d. recognize the fishing rights in the case area of any treaty tribe not a party to this case to the full extent declared in Final Decision #I as to the plaintiff tribes and perform all acts and duties set forth in this injunction with respect to such additional treaty tribe upon the agreement of defendants or determination by the court that the tribe is a treaty tribe.

2. Defendants shall not interfere with or regulate or attempt to regulate the treaty right fishing of members of the Yakima Indian Nation or Quinault Tribe or any other treaty tribe during any period for which said tribe has been or is hereafter determined pursuant to Final Decision #I to be entitled to self-regulate such fishing by its members without any state regulation thereof; provided however that monitoring by the state as stated as a condition for self-regulation may be exercised by the state and in case of a threat to the resource, the

defendants may apply to the court for the exercise of regulatory authority;

3. Defendants shall not interfere with or regulate or attempt to regulate the treaty right fishing of members of any treaty tribe during any period not covered by paragraph 2 above as to such tribe unless the state first shows to the satisfaction of such tribe or this court that such regulation conforms to the requirements of Final Decision #I and this injunction. . . .
11. The state defendants shall not adopt regulations or enforce any statutes or regulations affecting the volume of anadromous fish available for harvest by a treaty tribe at usual and accustomed places unless such regulations are designed so as to carry out the purposes of the treaty provisions securing to the tribe the right to take fish.
12. Except as otherwise provided by paragraph 19 hereof, the state defendants shall not adopt or enforce any regulations that affect the harvest by the tribe on future runs unless there first has been a full, fair and public consideration and determination in accordance with the requirements of the Washington Administrative Procedures Act and regulations under it.
13. The state defendants shall not regulate or restrain the exercise of treaty fishing rights of plaintiff tribes and their members by use of a state statute or regulation of broad applicability instead of one specific as to time, place, species and gear.
14. The state defendants shall not adopt or enforce any regulation which effectively limits the harvest by treaty tribes on future runs unless the state’s regulatory scheme provides an opportunity for treaty tribes and their members to take, at their off-reservation usual and accustomed fishing places, by reasonable means feasible to them, an equal share of the harvestable number of each species





of fish that may be taken by all fishermen; provided that for the present time defendants shall not be required to achieve mathematical precision in so allocating the fish;

Provided further that in order to approach more nearly the principle of equal sharing, the fish which Indian treaty fishermen shall have an opportunity to catch shall include not only an equal share of the total number of fish of any species which are within the regulatory jurisdiction of the State of Washington but shall also include an additional amount or quantity of fish which shall be determined by agreement of the parties or by approval of this court, to reflect the substantially disproportionate numbers of fish, many of which might otherwise be available for harvest by Indian treaty right fishermen, caught by non-treaty fishermen in marine areas closely adjacent to, but beyond the territorial waters of the state, or outside the jurisdiction of the state although within Washington waters; . . .

21. Defendants shall in no manner limit, restrict or inhibit the time, place, manner, volume or purpose of the disposition by a member of a plaintiff tribe of fish harvested according to his rights and the rights and powers of his tribe, as declared and adjudged in Final Decision #I, or interfere with any person purchasing, attempting to purchase, transporting, receiving for shipment, processing or reselling, fish taken pursuant to the exercise of such rights.

...

#### INTERIM PLAN AND STAY ORDER PENDING FINAL DECISION ON APPEAL

The court having considered the need for an interim plan and having considered the interim proposal, now hereby orders that the following interim plan shall be in effect and shall be binding upon all parties to this litigation except as to tribes determined

to be self-regulating. In making this order the court does so reserving jurisdiction to make further modifications if the court deems them necessary and further orders a stay of portions of the injunction, final decision No. 1 and the decree of February 12, 1974.

The court now, therefore, orders, adjudges and decrees:

(1) Effective June 1, 1974, all off-reservation fishing areas in the case area are closed to Indian treaty fishing except to the extent that tribes adopt and file with the court and the defendants tribal regulations for the fishing activities of their members and specifying the areas to be opened to fishing by tribal members. Indians who engage in fishing activities not in accordance with those tribal regulations shall be subject to the same provisions of the state law as non-Indians engaging in fishing activities. . . .

### Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (1975)

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, (25 U.S.C. 450 note) That this Act may be cited as the "Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act".

CONGRESSIONAL FINDINGS SEC. 2. 25 U.S.C. 450 (a) The Congress, after careful review of the Federal Government's historical and special legal relationship with, and resulting responsibilities to, American Indian people, finds that—(1) the prolonged Federal domination of Indian service programs has served to retard rather than enhance the progress of Indian people and their communities by depriving Indians of the full opportunity to develop leadership skills crucial to the realization of self-government, and has denied to the Indian people an effective voice in the planning and implementation of programs for the benefit of Indians which are responsive to the true needs of Indian communities; and (2) the Indian people will never surrender their desire to control their relationships both among themselves and with non-Indian governments, organizations, and persons.

(b) The Congress further finds that—(1) true self-determination in any society of people is dependent upon an educational process which will insure the development of qualified people to fulfill meaningful leadership roles; (2) the Federal responsibility for and assistance to education of Indian children





has not effected the desired level of educational achievement or created the diverse opportunities and personal satisfaction which education can and should provide; and (3) parental and community control of the educational process is of crucial importance to the Indian people.

DECLARATION OF POLICY SEC. 3. 25 U.S.C. 450a (a) The Congress hereby recognizes the obligation of the United States to respond to the strong expression of the Indian people for self-determination by assuring maximum Indian participation in the direction of educational as well as other Federal services to Indian communities so as to render such services more responsive to the needs and desires of those communities.

(b) The Congress declares its commitment to the maintenance of the Federal Government's unique and continuing relationship with, and responsibility to, individual Indian tribes and to the Indian people as a whole through the establishment of a meaningful Indian self-determination policy which will permit an orderly transition from the Federal domination of programs for, and services to, Indians to effective and meaningful participation by the Indian people in the planning, conduct, and administration of those programs and services. In accordance with this policy, the United States is committed to supporting and assisting Indian tribes in the development of strong and stable tribal governments, capable of administering quality programs and developing the economies of their respective communities.

(c) The Congress declares that a major national goal of the United States is to provide the quantity and quality of educational services and opportunities which will permit Indian children to compete and excel in the life areas of their choice, and to achieve the measure of self-determination essential to their social and economic well-being. . . .

WAGE AND LABOR STANDARDS . . .

(b) Any contract, subcontract, grant, or subgrant pursuant to this Act, the Act of April 16, 1934 (48 Stat. 596), as amended, or any other Act authorizing Federal contracts with or grants to Indian organizations or for the benefit of Indians, shall require that to the greatest extent feasible—

(1) preferences and opportunities for training and employment in connection with the administration of such contracts or grants shall be given to Indians; and

(2) preference in the award of subcontracts and subgrants in connection with the administration of

such contracts or grants shall be given to Indian organizations and to Indian-owned economic enterprises as defined in section 3 of the Indian Financing Act of 1974 (88 Stat. 77).

(c) Notwithstanding subsections (a) and (b), with respect to any self-determination contract, or portion of a self-determination contract, that is intended to benefit one tribe, the tribal employment or contract preference laws adopted by such tribe shall govern with respect to the administration of the contract or portion of the contract. . . .

## American Indian Religious Freedom Act

*Enacted on August 11, 1978, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act offers safeguards for Native Americans' traditional religious practices and religions. After the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in Department of Human Services of Oregon v. Smith (1990), and Oregon v. Black (1988) that this law did not allow Native Americans to use the illegal drug peyote in their religious services, Congress amended the act in 1994 to extend such protection.*

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

That henceforth it shall be the policy of the United States to protect and preserve for American Indians their inherent right of freedom to believe, express and exercise the traditional religions of the American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, and Native Hawaiians, including but not limited to access to sites, use and possession of sacred objects, and the freedom to worship through ceremonials and traditional rites.

An Act to amend the American Indian Religious Freedom Act to provide for the traditional use of peyote by Indians for religious purposes, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE. This Act may be cited as the "American Indian Religious Freedom Act Amendments of 1994."

SECTION 2. TRADITIONAL INDIAN RELIGIOUS USE OF THE PEYOTE SACRAMENT. The Act of August 11, 1978 (42 U.S.C. 1996), commonly referred to as the "American Indian Religious Free-





dom Act,” is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

SECTION 3.

- a. The Congress finds and declares that
  1. for many Indian people, the traditional ceremonial use of the peyote cactus as a religious sacrament has for centuries been integral to a way of life, and significant in perpetuating Indian tribes and cultures;
  2. since 1965, this ceremonial use of peyote by Indians has been protected by Federal regulation;
  3. while at least 28 States have enacted laws which are similar to, or are in conformance with, the Federal regulation which protects the ceremonial use of peyote by Indian religious practitioners, 22 States have not done so, and this lack of uniformity has created hardship for Indian people who participate in such religious ceremonies;
  4. the Supreme Court of the United States, in the case of *Employment Division v. Smith*, 494 U.S. 872 (1990), held that the First Amendment does not protect Indian practitioners who use peyote in Indian religious ceremonies, and also raised uncertainty whether this religious practice would be protected under the compelling State interest standard; and
  5. the lack of adequate and clear legal protection for the religious use of peyote by Indians may serve to stigmatize and marginalize Indian tribes and cultures, and increase the risk that they will be exposed to discriminatory treatment.
- b. 1. Notwithstanding any other provision of law, the use, possession, or transportation of peyote by an Indian for bona fide traditional ceremonial purposes in connection with the practice of a traditional Indian religion is lawful, and shall not be prohibited by the United States or any State. No Indian shall be penalized or discriminated against on the basis of such use, possession or transportation, including, but not limited to, denial of otherwise applicable benefits under public assistance programs.
2. This section does not prohibit such reasonable regulation and registration by the Drug Enforcement Administration of those persons who cultivate, harvest, or distribute peyote as may be consistent with the purposes of this Act.
3. This section does not prohibit application of the provisions of section 481.111 of Vernon’s Texas Health and Safety Code Annotated, in effect on the date of enactment of this section, insofar as those provisions pertain to the cultivation, harvest, and distribution of peyote.
4. Nothing in this section shall prohibit any Federal department or agency, in carrying out its statutory responsibilities and functions, from promulgating regulations establishing reasonable limitations on the use or ingestion of peyote prior to or during the performance of duties by sworn law enforcement officers or personnel directly involved in public transportation or any other safety-sensitive positions where the performance of such duties may be adversely affected by such use or ingestion. Such regulations shall be adopted only after consultation with representatives of traditional Indian religions for which the sacramental use of peyote is integral to their practice. Any regulation promulgated pursuant to this section shall be subject to the balancing test set forth in section 3 of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (Public Law 103-141; 42 U.S.C.2000bb-1).
5. This section shall not be construed as requiring prison authorities to permit, nor shall it be construed to prohibit prison authorities from





- permitting, access to peyote by Indians while incarcerated within Federal or State prison facilities.
6. Subject to the provisions of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (Public Law 103-141; 42 U.S.C. 2000bb-1), this section shall not be construed to prohibit States from enacting or enforcing reasonable traffic safety laws or regulations.
  7. Subject to the provisions of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (Public Law 103-141; 42 USC 2000bb-1), this section does not prohibit the Secretary of Defense from promulgating regulations establishing reasonable limitations on the use, possession, transportation, or distribution of peyote to promote military readiness, safety, or compliance with international law or laws of other countries. Such regulations shall be adopted only after consultation with representatives of traditional Indian religions for which the sacramental use of peyote is integral to their practice.
- c. For purposes of this section,
1. the term 'Indian' means a member of an Indian tribe;
  2. the term 'Indian tribe' means any tribe, band, nation, pueblo, or other organized group or community of Indians, including any Alaska Native village (as defined in, or established pursuant to, the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (43 U.S.C. 1601 et seq.), which is recognized as eligible for the special programs and services provide by the United States to Indians because of their status as Indians;
  3. the term 'Indian religion' means any religion, A. which is practiced by Indians; and B. the origin and interpretation of which is from within a traditional Indian culture or community; and
  4. the term 'State' means any State of the United States and any political subdivision thereof.

- d. Nothing in this section shall be construed as abrogating, diminishing, or otherwise affecting,
  1. the inherent rights of any Indian tribe;
  2. the rights, express or implicit, of any Indian tribe which exist under treaties, Executive orders, and laws of the United States;
  3. the inherent right of Indians to practice their religions; and
  4. the right of Indians to practice their religions under any Federal or State law.

### ***Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe (1978)***

Criminal proceedings were brought in the Suquamish Indian Provisional Court against two non-Indian residents of the Port Madison Reservation. Both petitioners applied for a writ of habeas corpus to the United States District Court for the Western District of Washington, arguing that the tribal court does not have criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians. In separate proceedings, the District Court denied the petitions. The Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit (544 F.2d 1007) affirmed in one case, and the other petitioner's appeal was pending before the Court of Appeals. Upon granting certiorari, the Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Rehnquist, held that Indian tribal courts do not have inherent criminal jurisdiction to try and to punish non-Indians, and hence may not assume such jurisdiction unless specifically authorized to do so by Congress . . . .

Respondents do not contend that their exercise of criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians stems from affirmative congressional authorization or treaty provision. Instead, respondents urge that such jurisdiction flows automatically from the "Tribe's retained inherent powers of government over the Port Madison Indian Reservation." Seizing on language in our opinions describing Indian tribes as "quasi-sovereign entities," see, e.g., *Morton v. Mancari*, 417 U.S. 535, 554, 94 S.Ct. 2474, 2484, 41 L.Ed.2d 290 (1974), the Court of Appeals agreed and held that Indian tribes, "though conquered and dependent, retain those powers of autonomous states that





are neither inconsistent with their status nor expressly terminated by Congress." According to the Court of Appeals, criminal jurisdiction over anyone committing an offense on the reservation is a "sine qua non" of such powers. . . .

While in isolation the Treaty of Point Elliott, 12 Stat. 927 (1855), would appear to be silent as to tribal criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians, the addition of historical perspective casts substantial doubt upon the existence of such jurisdiction. In the Ninth Article, for example, the Suquamish "acknowledge their dependence on the government of the United States." As Mr. Chief Justice Marshall explained in *Worcester v. Georgia*, 6 Pet. 515, 551–552, 554, 8 L.Ed. 483 (1832), such an acknowledgment is not a mere abstract recognition of the United States' sovereignty. "The Indian nations were, from their situation, necessarily dependent on [the United States] . . . for their protection from lawless and injurious intrusions into their country." *Id.*, at 555. By acknowledging their dependence on the United States, in the Treaty of Point Elliott, the Suquamish were in all probability recognizing that the United States would arrest and try non-Indian intruders who came within their Reservation. Other provisions of the Treaty also point to the absence of tribal jurisdiction. Thus the Tribe "agree [s] not to shelter or conceal offenders against the laws of the United States, but to deliver them up to the authorities for trial." Read in conjunction with 18 U.S.C. §1152, which extends federal enclave law to non-Indian offenses on Indian reservations, this provision implies that the Suquamish are to promptly deliver up any non-Indian offender, rather than try and punish him themselves.

By themselves, these treaty provisions would probably not be sufficient to remove criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians if the Tribe otherwise retained such jurisdiction. But an examination of our earlier precedents satisfies us that, even ignoring treaty provisions and congressional policy, Indians do not have criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians absent affirmative delegation of such power by Congress. Indian tribes do retain elements of "quasi-sovereign" authority after ceding their lands to the United States and announcing their dependence on the Federal Government. See *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 5 Pet. 1, 15, 8 L.Ed. 25 (1831). But the tribes' retained powers are not such that they are limited only by specific restrictions in treaties or congressional enactments. As the Court of Appeals recog-

nized Indian tribes are prohibited from exercising both those powers of autonomous states that are expressly terminated by Congress and those powers *inconsistent with their status*. *Oliphant v. Schlie*, 544 F.2d, at 1009

Indian reservations are "a part of the territory of the United States." *United States v. Rogers*, 4 How. 567, 571, 11 L.Ed. 1105 (1846). Indian tribes "hold and occupy [the reservations] with the assent of the United States, and under their authority." *Id.*, at 572. Upon incorporation into the territory of the United States, the Indian tribes thereby come under the territorial sovereignty of the United States and their exercise of separate power is constrained so as not to conflict with the interests of this overriding sovereignty. "[T]heir rights to complete sovereignty, as independent nations, [are] necessarily diminished." *Johnson v. M'Intosh*, 8 Wheat. 543, 574, 5 L.Ed. 681 (1823). . . .

In summary, respondents' position ignores that "Indians are within the geographical limits of the United States. The soil and people within these limits are under the political control of the Government of the United States, or of the States of the Union. There exists in the broad domain of sovereignty but these two. There may be cities, counties, and other organized bodies with limited legislative functions, but they . . . exist in subordination to one or the other of these." *United States v. Kagama*, 118 U.S. 375, 379, 6 S.Ct. 1109, 1111, 30 L.Ed. 228 (1886).

We recognize that some Indian tribal court systems have become increasingly sophisticated and resemble in many respects their state counterparts. We also acknowledge that with the passage of the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968, which extends certain basic procedural rights to anyone tried in Indian tribal court, many of the dangers that might have accompanied the exercise by tribal courts of criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians only a few decades ago have disappeared. Finally, we are not unaware of the prevalence of non-Indian crime on today's reservations which the tribes forcefully argue requires the ability to try non-Indians. But these are considerations for Congress to weigh in deciding whether Indian tribes should finally be authorized to try non-Indians. They have little relevance to the principles which lead us to conclude that Indian tribes do not have inherent jurisdiction to try and to punish non-Indians. The judgments below are therefore

Reversed.





## California v. Cabazon Band of Mission Indians (1987)

Justice White (for the Court):

The Cabazon and Morongo Bands of Mission Indians, federally recognized Indian Tribes, occupy reservations in Riverside County, California. [Footnote 1. . . . The Cabazon Band has 25 enrolled members and the Morongo Band . . . approximately 730. . . . Each Band, pursuant to an ordinance approved by the [U.S.] Secretary of the Interior, conducts bingo games on its reservation. The Cabazon Band has also opened a card club at which draw poker and other card games are played. The games are open to the public and are played predominantly by non-Indians coming onto the reservations. The games are a major source of employment for tribal members, and the profits are the Tribes' sole source of income. The State of California seeks to apply to the two Tribes [a California Penal Code provision that] . . . does not entirely prohibit the playing of bingo but permits it [only] when the games are operated and staffed by members of designated charitable organizations who may not be paid for their services. Profits must be kept in special accounts and used only for charitable purposes; prizes may not exceed \$250 per game. Asserting that the bingo games on the two reservations violated each of these restrictions, California insisted that the Tribes comply with state law. Riverside County also sought to apply its local [o]rdsinance . . . regulating bingo, as well as its [o]rdsinance . . . prohibiting the playing of draw poker and the other card games. . . .

[The Ninth Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals], applying what it thought to be the civil/criminal dichotomy [of] Bryan[,] . . . [has drawn] a distinction between state "criminal/prohibitory" laws and state "civil/regulatory" laws: [I]f the intent of a state law is generally to prohibit certain conduct, it falls within Public Law 280's grant of criminal jurisdiction, but if the state law generally permits the conduct at issue, subject to regulation, it must be classified as civil/regulatory and Public Law 280 does not authorize its enforcement on an Indian reservation. The shorthand test is whether the conduct at issue violates the State's public policy. Inquiring into the nature of [the California bingo statute], the Court of Appeals held that it was regulatory rather than prohibitory. . . .

We are persuaded that the prohibitory/regulatory distinction is consistent with Bryan's construc-

tion of Public Law 280. It is not a bright-line rule [and] . . . an argument of some weight may be made that the bingo statute is prohibitory rather than regulatory. But . . . we are reluctant to disagree with [the Court of Appeals'] view of the nature and intent of the state law at issue here. . . .

. . . This case . . . involves a state burden on tribal Indians in the context of their dealings with non-Indians since the question is whether the State may prevent the Tribes from making available high stakes bingo games to non-Indians coming from outside the reservations. . . . [S]tate authority . . . "is preempted . . . if it interferes . . . with federal and tribal interests reflected in federal law, unless the state interests at stake are sufficient to justify the assertion of state authority." [New Mexico v. Mescalero Apache Tribe 1983, 333-334] The inquiry is to proceed in light of traditional notions of Indian sovereignty and the congressional goal of Indian self-government, including its "overriding goal" of encouraging tribal self-sufficiency and economic development. [Mescalero 1983, 334-335]

These are important federal interests. They were reaffirmed by [President Ronald Reagan's] 1983 Statement on Indian Policy. More specifically, the Department of the Interior, which has the primary responsibility for carrying out the Federal Government's trust obligations to Indian tribes, [and also the Department of Health and Human Services and the Department of Housing and Urban Development,] ha[ve] sought to implement these policies by promoting tribal bingo enterprises. . . .

These policies and actions, which demonstrate the Government's approval and active promotion of tribal bingo enterprises, are of particular relevance in this case. The Cabazon and Morongo Reservations contain no natural resources which can be exploited. The tribal games at present provide the sole source of revenues for the operation of the tribal governments and the provision of tribal services. They are also the major sources of employment on the reservations. Self-determination and economic development are not within reach if the Tribes cannot raise revenues and provide employment for their members. The Tribes' interests obviously parallel the federal interests. . . .

The [other] interest asserted by the State to justify the imposition of its bingo laws on the Tribes is in preventing the infiltration of the tribal games by organized crime. To the extent that the State seeks to prevent any and all bingo games from being played





on tribal lands while permitting regulated, off-reservation games, this asserted interest is irrelevant. . . . The State insists that the high stakes offered at tribal games are attractive to organized crime, whereas the controlled games authorized under California law are not. This is surely a legitimate concern, but we are unconvinced that it is sufficient. . . . California does not allege any present criminal involvement in the Cabazon and Morongo enterprises. . . . [F]ar from any action being taken [by the Federal Government] evidencing this concern[,]. . . the prevailing federal policy continues to support these tribal enterprises, including those of the Tribes involved in this case.

We conclude that the State's interest in preventing the infiltration of the tribal bingo enterprises by organized crime does not justify state regulation of [those] enterprises in light of the compelling federal and tribal interests supporting them . .

## Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990)

### SEC. 3. OWNERSHIP.

- (a) **NATIVE AMERICAN HUMAN REMAINS AND OBJECTS**—The ownership or control of Native American cultural items which are excavated or discovered on Federal or tribal lands after the date of enactment of this Act shall be (with priority given in the order listed)—
  - (1) in the case of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects, in the lineal descendants of the Native American; or
  - (2) in any case in which such lineal descendants cannot be ascertained, and in the case of unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony—
    - (A) in the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization on whose tribal land such objects or remains were discovered;
    - (B) in the Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization which has the closest cultural affiliation with such remains or objects and which, upon notice, states a claim for such remains or objects; or
    - (C) if the cultural affiliation of the objects cannot be reasonably ascertained and if the objects were discovered on Federal land that is recognized by a final judgment of the Indian Claims Commission or the United States Court of Claims as the aboriginal land of some Indian tribe—
      - (1) in the Indian tribe that is recognized as aboriginally occupying the area in which the objects were discovered, if upon notice, such tribe states a claim for such remains or objects, or
      - (2) if it can be shown by a preponderance of the evidence that a different tribe has a stronger cultural relationship with the remains or objects than the tribe or organization specified in paragraph (1), in the Indian tribe that has the strongest demonstrated relationship, if upon notice, such tribe states a claim for such remains or objects.
- (b) **UNCLAIMED NATIVE AMERICAN HUMAN REMAINS AND OBJECTS**—Native American cultural items not claimed under subsection (a) shall be disposed of in accordance with regulations promulgated by the Secretary in consultation with the review committee established under section 8, Native American groups, representatives of museums and the scientific community.
- (c) **INTENTIONAL EXCAVATION AND REMOVAL OF NATIVE AMERICAN HUMAN REMAINS AND OBJECTS**—The intentional removal from or excavation of Native American cultural items from Federal or tribal lands for purposes of discovery, study, or removal of such items is permitted only if—
  - (1) such items are excavated or removed pursuant to a permit issued under section 4 of the Archaeological Resources Protection Act of 1979 (93 Stat. 721; 16 U.S.C. 470aa et seq.) which shall be consistent with this Act;
  - (2) such items are excavated or removed after consultation with or, in the case of tribal lands, consent of the





- appropriate (if any) Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization;
- (3) the ownership and right of control of the disposition of such items shall be as provided in subsections (a) and (b); and
- (4) proof of consultation or consent under paragraph (2) is shown.
- (d) **INADVERTENT DISCOVERY OF NATIVE AMERICAN REMAINS AND OBJECTS**—(1) Any person who knows, or has reason to know, that such person has discovered Native American cultural items on Federal or tribal lands after the date of enactment of this Act shall notify, in writing, the Secretary of the Department, or head of any other agency or instrumentality of the United States, having primary management authority with respect to Federal lands and the appropriate Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization with respect to tribal lands, if known or readily ascertainable, and, in the case of lands that have been selected by an Alaska Native Corporation or group organized pursuant to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971, the appropriate corporation or group. If the discovery occurred in connection with an activity, including (but not limited to) construction, mining, logging, and agriculture, the person shall cease the activity in the area of the discovery, make a reasonable effort to protect the items discovered before resuming such activity, and provide notice under this subsection. Following the notification under this subsection, and upon certification by the Secretary of the department or the head of any agency or instrumentality of the United States or the appropriate Indian tribe or Native Hawaiian organization that notification has been received, the activity may resume after 30 days of such certification. . . .

#### SEC. 4. ILLEGAL TRAFFICKING.

- (a) Chapter 53 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section: Sec. 1170.

#### Illegal Trafficking in Native American Human Remains and Cultural Items

- (b) Whoever knowingly sells, purchases, uses for profit, or transports for sale or profit, the human remains of a Native American without the right of possession to those remains as provided in the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act shall be fined in accordance with this title, or imprisoned not more than 12 months, or both, and in the case of a second or subsequent violation, be fined in accordance with this title, or imprisoned not more than 5 years, or both.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**—The table of contents for chapter 53 of title 18, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new item: 1170. Illegal Trafficking in Native American Human Remains and Cultural Items.

#### SEC. 5. INVENTORY FOR HUMAN REMAINS AND ASSOCIATED FUNERARY OBJECTS.

- (a) **IN GENERAL**—Each Federal agency and each museum which has possession or control over holdings or collections of Native American human remains and associated funerary objects shall compile an inventory of such items and, to the extent possible based on information possessed by such museum or Federal agency, identify the geographical and cultural affiliation of such item . . . .

#### SEC. 6. SUMMARY FOR UNASSOCIATED FUNERARY OBJECTS, SACRED OBJECTS, AND CULTURAL PATRIMONY.

- (a) **IN GENERAL**—Each Federal agency or museum which has possession or control over holdings or collections of Native American unassociated funerary objects, sacred objects, or objects of cultural patrimony shall provide a written summary of such objects based upon available information held by such agency or museum. The summary shall describe the scope of the collection, kinds of objects included, reference to geographical location, means and period of acquisition and cultural affiliation, where readily ascertainable. . . .





## Native American Languages Act (1990)

The Congress finds that

- (1) the status of the cultures and languages of Native Americans is unique and the United States has the responsibility to act together with Native Americans to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages;
- (2) special status is accorded Native Americans in the United States, a status that recognizes distinct cultural and political rights, including the right to continue separate identities;
- (3) the traditional languages of Native Americans are an integral part of their cultures and identities and form the basic medium for the transmission, and thus survival, of Native American cultures, literatures, histories, religions, political institutions, and values;
- ...
- (5) there is a lack of clear, comprehensive, and consistent Federal policy on treatment of Native American languages which has often resulted in acts of suppression and extermination of Native American languages and cultures;
- (6) there is convincing evidence that student achievement and performance, community and school pride, and educational opportunity is clearly and directly tied to respect for, and support of, the first language of the child or student;
- (7) it is clearly in the interests of the United States, individual States, and territories to encourage the full academic and human potential achievements of all students and citizens and to take steps to realize these ends;
- (8) acts of suppression and extermination directed against Native American languages and cultures are in conflict with the United States policy of self-determination for Native Americans;
- (9) languages are the means of communication for the full range of human experiences and are critical to the survival of cultural and political integrity of any people; and

- (10) language provides a direct and powerful means of promoting international communication by people who share languages.

Sec. 2902.—Definitions

For purposes of this chapter

- (1) The term “Native American” means an Indian, Native Hawaiian, or Native American Pacific Islander.
- (2) The term “Indian” has the meaning given to such term under section 7881(4) of title 20.
- (3) The term “Native Hawaiian” has the meaning given to such term by section 7912(1) of title 20.
- (4) The term “Native American Pacific Islander” means any descendent of the aboriginal people of any island in the Pacific Ocean that is a territory or possession of the United States.
- (5) The terms “Indian tribe” and “tribal organization” have the respective meaning given to each of such terms under section 450b of this title.
- (6) The term “Native American language” means the historical, traditional languages spoken by Native Americans.
- (7) The term “traditional leaders” includes Native Americans who have special expertise in Native American culture and Native American languages.
- (8) The term “Indian reservation” has the same meaning given to the term “reservation” under section 1452 of this title.

Sec. 2903.—Declaration of policy

It is the policy of the United States to

- (1) preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages;
- (2) allow exceptions to teacher certification requirements for Federal programs, and programs funded in whole or in part by the Federal Government, for instruction in Native American languages when such teacher certification requirements hinder the employment of qualified teachers who teach in Native American languages, and to encourage State and territorial governments to make similar exceptions;





- (3) encourage and support the use of Native American languages as a medium of instruction in order to encourage and support
  - (A) Native American language survival,
  - (B) educational opportunity,
  - (C) increased student success and performance,
  - (D) increased student awareness and knowledge of their culture and history, and
  - (E) increased student and community pride;
- (4) encourage State and local education programs to work with Native American parents, educators, Indian tribes, and other Native American governing bodies in the implementation of programs to put this policy into effect;
- (5) recognize the right of Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies to use the Native American languages as a medium of instruction in all schools funded by the Secretary of the Interior;
- (6) fully recognize the inherent right of Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies, States, territories, and possessions of the United States to take action on, and give official status to, their Native American languages for the purpose of conducting their own business;
- (7) support the granting of comparable proficiency achieved through course work in a Native American language the same academic credit as comparable proficiency achieved through course work in a foreign language, with recognition of such Native American language proficiency by institutions of higher education as fulfilling foreign language entrance or degree requirements; and
- (8) encourage all institutions of elementary, secondary and higher education, where appropriate, to include Native American languages in the curriculum in the same manner as foreign languages and to grant proficiency in Native American languages the same full academic credit as proficiency in foreign languages.

**Sec. 2904.—No restrictions**

The right of Native Americans to express themselves through the use of Native American

languages shall not be restricted in any public proceeding, including publicly supported education programs.

**Sec. 2905.—Evaluations**

- (a) The President shall direct the heads of the various Federal departments, agencies, and instrumentalities to
  - (1) evaluate their policies and procedures in consultation with Indian tribes and other Native American governing bodies as well as traditional leaders and educators in order to determine and implement changes needed to bring the policies and procedures into compliance with the provisions of this chapter;
  - (2) give the greatest effect possible in making such evaluations, absent a clear specific Federal statutory requirement to the contrary, to the policies and procedures which will give the broadest effect to the provisions of this chapter; and
  - (3) evaluate the laws which they administer and make recommendations to the President on amendments needed to bring such laws into compliance with the provisions of this chapter.
- (b) By no later than the date that is 1 year after October 30, 1990, the President shall submit to the Congress a report containing recommendations for amendments to Federal laws that are needed to bring such laws into compliance with the provisions of this chapter.

**Sec. 2906.—Use of English**

Nothing in this chapter shall be construed as precluding the use of Federal funds to teach English to Native Americans.

***United States of America v.  
Robert Lawrence Boyll (1991)***

There is a genius to our Constitution. Its genius is that it speaks to the freedoms of the individual. It is this genius that brings the present matter before the Court. More specifically, this matter concerns a free-





dom that was a natural idea whose genesis was in the Plymouth Charter, and finds its present form in the First Amendment to the United States Constitution—the freedom of religion.

The Government's "war on drugs" has become a wildfire that threatens to consume those fundamental rights of the individual deliberately enshrined in our Constitution. Ironically, as we celebrate the 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, the tattered Fourth Amendment right to be free from unreasonable searches and seizures and the now frail Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination or deprivation of liberty without due process have fallen as casualties in this "war on drugs." It was naive of this Court to hope that this erosion of constitutional protections would stop at the Fourth and Fifth Amendments. But today, the "war" targets one of the most deeply held fundamental rights—the First Amendment right to freely exercise one's religion . . .

The issue presented is the recurring conflict between the Native American Church members' right to freely exercise their religion through the ceremonial use of peyote and the Government's efforts to eradicate illegal drugs. To the Government, peyote is a dangerous hallucinogen. To Robert Boyll, peyote is both a sacrament and a deity essential to his religion. But this matter concerns competing interests far greater than those relating to this small, spineless cactus having psychedelic properties. It draws forth a troublesome constitutional conflict which arises from fundamentally different perspectives of peyote.

In its "war" to free our society of the devastating effects of drugs, the Government slights its duty to observe the fundamental freedom of individuals to practice the religion of their choice, regardless of race. Simply put, the Court is faced with the quintessential constitutional conflict between an inalienable right upon which this country was founded and the response by the Government to the swelling political passions of the day. In this fray, the Court is compelled to halt this menacing attack on our constitutional freedoms. . .

The following will constitute the Court's findings of fact and conclusions of law.

The peyote plant is a small, spineless cactus having psychedelic properties and the experience of eating it is central to the Peyote Religion. Unlike traditional religions which have sacramental symbols such as bread and wine, peyote is more than a sacrament to members of the Native American Church.

Peyote is, itself, considered a deity which cannot be owned by any individual. . .

The peyote ceremony is unique and the very cornerstone of the Peyote Religion. . . Although one branch of the Native American Church, the Native American Church of North America, is known to restrict membership to Native Americans, most other branches of the Native American Church do not. As a result, non-Indian members are accepted within the Native American Church. . .

Since attending his first ceremony of the Native American Church at Taos, New Mexico, in 1981, Mr. Boyll has been, and continues to be, an active member of the Native American Church. As the uncontradicted evidence in this case shows, the history of the Native American Church attests to the fact that non-Indian worshipers have always been, and continue to be, active and sincere members of the Native American Church.

Since the use of peyote by Native American Church members is the very essence of their religious beliefs, the proposed racially restrictive reading of 21 C.F.R. § 1307.31 would have the sure effect of imposing a racial exclusion to membership in the Native American Church itself. To exclude individuals of a particular race from being members of a recognized religious faith is offensive to the very heart of the First Amendment. See *Waltz v. Tax Comm'n of New York*, 397 U.S. 664, 668–69 (1970) (the First Amendment's Establishment Clause ensures that governmental interference with religion will be not tolerated). In fact, there can be no more excessive entanglement of Government with religion than the Government's attempt to impose a racial restriction to membership in a religious organization. . .

An examination of the record as to the nature of peyote and its role in the religion practiced by defendants as [Indian and non-Indian] members of the Native American Church . . . compels the conclusion that the [racially restrictive] prohibition most seriously infringes upon the observance of the religion. . .

The record thus establishes that the [indictment for] . . . the use of peyote results in a virtual inhibition of the practice of defendants' religion. . .

Additionally, the Court finds that Mr. Boyll's trip to Mexico to obtain peyote is an integral part of the Peyote Religion practiced by the Native American Church. Such a substantial infringement necessarily triggers further First Amendment scrutiny. . .





First, the United States has failed to present any evidence of a compelling interest to justify its actions in the present case. "In the absence of evidence, we cannot simply assume that the psychedelic is so baneful that its use must be prohibited to a group of [non-Indian] members but poses no equal threat when used by [Indian] members of the Native American Church." *Peyote Way Church of God*, 742 F.2d at 201. In fact, in light of the absence of factual support and the scarcity of legal support for the United States' opposition to Defendant's motions to dismiss, this Court cannot help but believe that the present prosecution is, at best, an overreaction driven by political passions or, at worst, influenced by religious and racial insensitivity, if not outright hostility. . . .

Congress has articulated an unequivocal federal policy protecting the right of the Native American Church and its members to worship, possess and use peyote in bona fide religious ceremonies. This policy arises out of our country's recognition of the importance of individual freedom. For, the right to free religious expression embodies a precious heritage of our history. In a mass society, which presses at every point toward conformity, the protection of a self-expression, however unique, of the individual and the group become ever more important. . . .

Individual freedom, whether it be freedom of religion, expression or association, has been particularly important to maintaining the culturally diverse character of New Mexico. Here, we celebrate the right of the individual to revel in the passions of the spirit. The survival of this right owes much to the protection afforded by the First Amendment, which has allowed New Mexico's distinct cultures to learn mutual respect for each other's jealously-guarded customs and traditions. Diversity is New Mexico's enchantment.

For the reasons set out in this Memorandum Opinion and Order, the Court holds that, pursuant to 21 C.F.R. § 1307.31 (1990), the classification of peyote as a Schedule I controlled substance, see 21 U.S.C. §812(c), Schedule I (c)(12), does not apply to the importation, possession or use of peyote for bona fide ceremonial use by members of the Native American Church, regardless of race.

Wherefore,

It is ordered, adjudged and decreed that Defendant Robert Boyll's motions to dismiss the indictment be and hereby are granted.

Dated at Albuquerque the—of September, 1991.  
Chief Judge

## Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act (1993)

An Act respecting an Agreement between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty the Queen in right of Canada.

WHEREAS the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area have asserted an aboriginal title to that Area based on their traditional and current use and occupation of the lands, waters and land-fast ice therein in accordance with their own customs and usages;

WHEREAS the Constitution Act, 1982 recognizes and affirms the existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada;

WHEREAS Her Majesty the Queen in right of Canada and the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area have negotiated an Agreement based on and reflecting the following objectives:

to provide for certainty and clarity of rights to ownership and use of lands and resources and of rights for Inuit to participate in decision-making concerning the use, management and conservation of land, water and resources, including the offshore,

to provide Inuit with wildlife harvesting rights and rights to participate in decision-making concerning wildlife harvesting,

to provide Inuit with financial compensation and means of participating in economic opportunities,

to encourage self-reliance and the cultural and social well-being of Inuit;

WHEREAS Her Majesty the Queen in right of Canada and the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area, through their duly mandated representatives, have entered into the Agreement through which Inuit shall receive defined rights and benefits in exchange for the surrender of certain claims, rights, title and interests, based on their assertion of an aboriginal title;

WHEREAS the Agreement provides that it will be a land claims agreement within the meaning of section 35 of the Constitution Act, 1982;

WHEREAS the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area have ratified the Agreement in accordance with the provisions of the Agreement;

AND WHEREAS the ratification by Her Majesty under Article 36 of the Agreement requires the enactment by Parliament of a statute ratifying the Agreement;

NOW, THEREFORE, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:





## SHORT TITLE

1. This Act may be cited as the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act.

## INTERPRETATION

2. In this Act, “Agreement” means the land claims agreement between the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area and Her Majesty the Queen in right of Canada, signed on May 25, 1993, and tabled in the House of Commons for the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development on May 26, 1993, and includes any amendments to that agreement made pursuant to the agreement; “Nunavut Settlement Area” means the area described in section 3.1.1 of the Agreement.

## HER MAJESTY

3. This Act is binding on Her Majesty in right of Canada or a province.

## AGREEMENT

4. (1) The Agreement is hereby ratified, given effect and declared valid.  
(2) For greater certainty, the Agreement is binding on all persons and bodies that are not parties to the Agreement.  
(3) For greater certainty, any person or body on which the Agreement confers a right, privilege, benefit or power or imposes a duty or liability may exercise the right, privilege, benefit or power, shall perform the duty or is subject to the liability, to the extent provided for by the Agreement.
5. The rights and benefits of the Inuit of the Nunavut Settlement Area under the Agreement do not merge in this Act or any other law.
6. (1) In the event of an inconsistency or conflict between the Agreement and any law, including this Act, the Agreement prevails to the extent of the inconsistency or conflict.  
(2) In the event of an inconsistency or conflict between this Act and any other law, this Act prevails to the extent of the inconsistency or conflict.
7. The Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development shall cause a certified copy of the Agreement and any

amendments to the Agreement to be deposited in

- (a) the Library and Archives of Canada;
- (b) the library of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development that is situated in the National Capital Region;
- (c) the legislative library of the territorial government that has jurisdiction over the Nunavut Settlement Area; and
- (d) such other places as the Minister considers advisable.

1993, c. 29, s. 7; 2004, c. 11, s. 34.

8. The Governor in Council may make such orders and regulations as are necessary for the purpose of carrying out any of the provisions of the Agreement.

## APPROPRIATION

9. There shall be paid out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund the sums required to meet the monetary obligations of Her Majesty under Articles 25 and 29 of the Agreement that arise after the coming into force of this Act.

## NUNAVUT WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT BOARD

10. (1) The Nunavut Wildlife Management Board established by the Agreement is hereby constituted as a corporation and, as such, the Board has, for the purposes of carrying out its functions under the Agreement, the capacity, rights, powers and privileges of a natural person.  
(2) The Nunavut Wildlife Management Board is not an agent of Her Majesty in right of Canada.
11. The head office of the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board shall be in Iqaluit or in such other place in the Nunavut Settlement Area as the Governor in Council may designate.
12. The remuneration of the members of the Nunavut Wildlife Management Board shall be set by the Governor in Council.

## COMING INTO FORCE

- \*13. This Act shall come into force on December 31, 1993 or such earlier date as may be fixed by order of the Governor in Council.

[Note: Act in force July 9, 1993]





## Bureau of Indian Affairs: Establishing the Existence of an Indian Tribe

### *Section 2. Purpose.*

The purpose of this part is to establish a departmental procedure and policy for acknowledging that certain American Indian groups exist as tribes. Acknowledgment of tribal existence by the Department is a prerequisite to the protection, services, and benefits of the Federal government available to Indian tribes by virtue of their status as tribes. Acknowledgment shall also mean that the tribe is entitled to the immunities and privileges available to other federally acknowledged Indian tribes by virtue of their government-to-government relationship with the United States as well as the responsibilities, powers, limitations and obligations of such tribes. Acknowledgment shall subject the Indian tribe to the same authority of Congress and the United States to which other federally acknowledged tribes are subjected. . . .

Section 7. Mandatory criteria for Federal acknowledgment.

The mandatory criteria are:

- (a) The petitioner has been identified as an American Indian entity on a substantially continuous basis since 1900. Evidence that the group's character as an Indian entity has from time to time been denied shall not be considered to be conclusive evidence that this criterion has not been met. Evidence to be relied upon in determining a group's Indian identity may include one or a combination of the following, as well as other evidence of identification by other than the petitioner itself or its members.
  - (1) Identification as an Indian entity by Federal authorities.
  - (2) Relationships with State governments based on identification of the group as Indian.
  - (3) Dealings with a county, parish, or other local government in a relationship based on the group's Indian identity.
  - (4) Identification as an Indian entity by anthropologists, historians, and/or other scholars.
  - (5) Identification as an Indian entity in newspapers and books.
  - (6) Identification as an Indian entity in relationships with Indian tribes or with national, regional, or state Indian organizations.
- (b) A predominant portion of the petitioning group comprises a distinct community and has existed as a community from historical times until the present.
  - (1) This criterion may be demonstrated by some combination of the following evidence and/or other evidence that the petitioner meets the definition of community set forth in Section 1:
    - (i) Significant rates of marriage within the group, and/or, as may be culturally required, patterned out-marriages with other Indian populations.
    - (ii) Significant social relationships connecting individual members.
    - (iii) Significant rates of informal social interaction which exist broadly among the members of a group.
    - (iv) A significant degree of shared or cooperative labor or other economic activity among the membership.
    - (v) Evidence of strong patterns of discrimination or other social distinctions by non-members.
    - (vi) Shared sacred or secular ritual activity encompassing most of the group.
    - (vii) Cultural patterns shared among a significant portion of the group that are different from those of the non-Indian populations with whom it interacts. These patterns must function as more than a symbolic identification of the group as Indian. They may include, but are not limited to, language, kinship organization, or religious beliefs and practices.
    - (viii) The persistence of a named, collective Indian identity continuously over a period of more than 50 years, notwithstanding changes in name.
    - (ix) A demonstration of historical political influence under the criterion in Section 7(c) shall be evidence for demonstrating historical community.





- (2) A petitioner shall be considered to have provided sufficient evidence of community at a given point in time if evidence is provided to demonstrate any one of the following:
  - (i) More than 50 percent of the members reside in a geographical area exclusively or almost exclusively composed of members of the group, and the balance of the group maintains consistent interaction with some members of the community;
  - (ii) At least 50 percent of the marriages in the group are between members of the group;
  - (iii) At least 50 percent of the group members maintain distinct cultural patterns such as, but not limited to, language, kinship organization, or religious beliefs and practices;
  - (iv) There are distinct community social institutions encompassing most of the members, such as kinship organizations, formal or informal economic cooperation, or religious organizations; or
  - (v) The group has met the criterion in Section 7(c) using evidence described in Section 7(c)(2).
- (c) The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present.
  - (1) This criterion may be demonstrated by some combination of the evidence listed below and/or by other evidence that the petitioner meets the definition of political influence or authority in Section 1.
    - (i) The group is able to mobilize significant numbers of members and significant resources from its members for group purposes.
    - (ii) Most of the membership considers issues acted upon or actions taken by group leaders or governing bodies to be of importance.
    - (iii) There is widespread knowledge, communication and involvement in political processes by most of the group's members.
  - (iv) The group meets the criterion in Section 7(b) at more than a minimal level.
  - (v) There are internal conflicts which show controversy over valued group goals, properties, policies, processes and/or decisions.
- (2) A petitioning group shall be considered to have provided sufficient evidence to demonstrate the exercise of political influence or authority at a given point in time by demonstrating that group leaders and/or other mechanisms exist or existed which:
  - (i) Allocate group resources such as land, residence rights and the like on a consistent basis.
  - (ii) Settle disputes between members or subgroups by mediation or other means on a regular basis;
  - (iii) Exert strong influence on the behavior of individual members, such as the establishment or maintenance of norms and the enforcement of sanctions to direct or control behavior;
  - (iv) Organize or influence economic subsistence activities among the members, including shared or cooperative labor.
- (3) A group that has met the requirements in paragraph 83.7(b)(2) at a given point in time shall be considered to have provided sufficient evidence to meet this criterion at that point in time.
- (d) A copy of the group's present governing document including its membership criteria. In the absence of a written document, the petitioner must provide a statement describing in full its membership criteria and current governing procedures.
- (e) The petitioner's membership consists of individuals who descend from a historical Indian tribe or from historical Indian tribes which combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.
  - (1) Evidence acceptable to the Secretary which can be used for this purpose includes but is not limited to:





- (i) Rolls prepared by the Secretary on a descendancy basis for purposes of distributing claims money, providing allotments, or other purposes;
  - (ii) State, Federal, or other official records or evidence identifying present members or ancestors of present members as being descendants of a historical tribe or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.
  - (iii) Church, school, and other similar enrollment records identifying present members or ancestors of present members as being descendants of a historical tribe or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.
  - (iv) Affidavits of recognition by tribal elders, leaders, or the tribal governing body identifying present members or ancestors of present members as being descendants of a historical tribe or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.
  - (v) Other records or evidence identifying present members or ancestors of present members as being descendants of a historical tribe or tribes that combined and functioned as a single autonomous political entity.
- (2) The petitioner must provide an official membership list, separately certified by the group's governing body, of all known current members of the group. This list must include each member's full name (including maiden name), date of birth, and current residential address. The petitioner must also provide a copy of each available former list of members based on the group's own defined criteria, as well as a statement describing the circumstances surrounding the preparation of the current list and, insofar as possible, the circumstances surrounding the preparation of former lists.
- (f) The membership of the petitioning group is composed principally of persons who are not members of any acknowledged North American Indian tribe. However, under certain conditions a petitioning group may be acknowledged even if its membership is composed principally of persons whose names have appeared on rolls of, or who have been otherwise associated with, an acknowledged Indian tribe. The conditions are that the group must establish that it has functioned throughout history until the present as a separate and autonomous Indian tribal entity, that its members do not maintain a bilateral political relationship with the acknowledged tribe, and that its members have provided written confirmation of their membership in the petitioning group.
- (g) Neither the petitioner nor its members are the subject of congressional legislation that has expressly terminated or forbidden the Federal relationship. . . .
- Section 10. Processing of the documented petition.
- (a) Upon receipt of a documented petition, the Assistant Secretary shall cause a review to be conducted to determine whether the petitioner is entitled to be acknowledged as an Indian tribe. The review shall include consideration of the documented petition and the factual statements contained therein. The Assistant Secretary may also initiate other research for any purpose relative to analyzing the documented petition and obtaining additional information about the petitioner's status. The Assistant Secretary may likewise consider any evidence which may be submitted by interested parties or informed parties. . . .
- Section 12. Implementation of decisions.
- (a) Upon final determination that the petitioner exists as an Indian tribe, it shall be considered eligible for the services and benefits from the Federal government that are available to other federally recognized tribes. The newly acknowledged tribe shall be considered a historic tribe and shall be entitled to the privileges and immunities





available to other federally recognized historic tribes by virtue of their government-to-government relationship with the United States. It shall also have the responsibilities and obligations of such tribes. Newly acknowledged Indian tribes shall likewise be subject to the same authority of Congress and the United States as are other federally acknowledged tribes. . . .

## Navajo–Hopi Land Dispute Settlement Act of 1996

To provide for the settlement of the Navajo–Hopi land dispute, and for other purposes . . .

The Congress finds that—

- (1) it is in the public interest for the Tribe, Navajos residing on the Hopi Partitioned Lands, and the United States to reach a peaceful resolution of the longstanding disagreements between the parties under the Act commonly known as the “Navajo–Hopi Land Settlement Act of 1974” (Public Law 93–531; 25 U.S.C. 640d et seq.);
- (2) it is in the best interest of the Tribe and the United States that there be a fair and final settlement of certain issues remaining in connection with the Navajo–Hopi Land Settlement Act of 1974, including the full and final settlement of the multiple claims that the Tribe has against the United States;
- (3) this Act, together with the Settlement Agreement executed on December 14, 1995, and the Accommodation Agreement (as incorporated by the Settlement Agreement), provide the authority for the Tribe to enter agreements with eligible Navajo families in order for those families to remain residents of the Hopi Partitioned Lands for a period of 75 years, subject to the terms and conditions of the Accommodation Agreement;
- (4) the United States acknowledges and respects—
  - (A) the sincerity of the traditional beliefs of the members of the Tribe and the Navajo families residing on the Hopi Partitioned Lands; and
  - (B) the importance that the respective traditional beliefs of the members of the

Tribe and Navajo families have with respect to the culture and way of life of those members and families;

- (5) this Act, the Settlement Agreement, and the Accommodation Agreement provide for the mutual respect and protection of the traditional religious beliefs and practices of the Tribe and the Navajo families residing on the Hopi Partitioned Lands;
- (6) the Tribe is encouraged to work with the Navajo families residing on the Hopi Partitioned Lands to address their concerns regarding the establishment of family or individual burial plots for deceased family members who have resided on the Hopi Partitioned Lands; and
- (7) neither the Navajo Nation nor the Navajo families residing upon Hopi Partitioned Lands were parties to or signers of the Settlement Agreement between the United States and the Hopi Tribe . . . .

### Sec. 4. Ratification of Settlement Agreement.

The United States approves, ratifies, and confirms the Settlement Agreement.

### Sec. 5. Conditions for Lands Taken into Trust.

The Secretary shall take such action as may be necessary to ensure that the following conditions are met prior to taking lands into trust for the benefit of the Tribe pursuant to the Settlement Agreement:

- (1) Selection of lands taken into trust.—
  - (A) Primary area.—In accordance with section 7(a) of the Settlement Agreement, the primary area within which lands acquired by the Tribe may be taken into trust by the Secretary for the benefit of the Tribe under the Settlement Agreement shall be located in northern Arizona.
  - (B) Requirements for lands taken into trust in the primary area.—Lands taken into trust in the primary area referred to in subparagraph (A) shall be—
    - (i) land that is used substantially for ranching, agriculture, or another similar use; and
    - (ii) to the extent feasible, in contiguous parcels.
- (2) Acquisition of lands.—Before taking any land into trust for the benefit of the Tribe under this section, the Secretary shall ensure that—





- (A) at least 85 percent of the eligible Navajo heads of household (as determined under the Settlement Agreement) have entered into an accommodation or have chosen to relocate and are eligible for relocation assistance (as determined under the Settlement Agreement . . . )

Sec. 9. 75-Year Leasing Authority.

The first section of the Act of August 9, 1955 (69 Stat. 539, chapter 615; 25 U.S.C. 415) is amended by adding at the end the following new subsections:

- (c) Leases Involving the Hopi Tribe and the Hopi Partitioned Lands Accommodation Agreement.—Notwithstanding subsection (a), a lease of land by the Hopi Tribe to Navajo Indians on the Hopi Partitioned Lands may be for a term of 75 years, and may be extended at the conclusion of the term of the lease . . . .

Sec. 12. Water Rights.

- (a) In General.—

- (1) Water rights.—Subject to the other provisions of this section, newly acquired trust lands shall have only the following water rights:
- (A) The right to the reasonable use of groundwater pumped from such lands.
- (B) All rights to the use of surface water on such lands existing under State law on the date of acquisition, with the priority date of such right under State law.
- (C) The right to make any further beneficial use on such lands which is unappropriated on the date each parcel of newly acquired trust lands is taken into trust. The priority date for the right shall be the date the lands are taken into trust.
- (2) Rights not subject to forfeiture or abandonment.—The Tribe's water rights for newly acquired trust lands shall not be subject to forfeiture or abandonment arising from events occurring after the date the lands are taken into trust.

behalf and on behalf of thirty-eight Gitksan Houses and twelve Wet'suwet'en Houses as shown in Schedule 1) Appellants/ Respondents on the cross-appeal

v.

Her Majesty The Queen in Right of the Province of British Columbia Respondent/ Appellant on the cross-appeal

and

The Attorney General of Canada Respondent and

The First Nations Summit,

the Musqueam Nation et al. (as shown in Schedule 2),

the Westbank First Nation,

the B.C. Cattlemen's Association et al. (as shown in Schedule 3),

Skeena Cellulose Inc.,

Alcan Aluminum Ltd. Interveners

ON APPEAL FROM THE COURT OF APPEAL FOR BRITISH COLUMBIA

The appellants, all Gitksan or Wet'suwet'en hereditary chiefs, both individually and on behalf of their "Houses," claimed separate portions of 58,000 square kilometres in British Columbia. For the purpose of the claim, this area was divided into 133 individual territories, claimed by the 71 Houses. This represents all of the Wet'suwet'en people, and all but 12 of the Gitksan Houses. Their claim was originally for "ownership" of the territory and "jurisdiction" over it. (At this Court, this was transformed into, primarily, a claim for aboriginal title over the land in question.) British Columbia counterclaimed for a declaration that the appellants have no right or interest in and to the territory or alternatively, that the appellants' cause of action ought to be for compensation from the Government of Canada.

At trial, the appellants' claim was based on their historical use and "ownership" of one or more of the territories. In addition, the Gitksan Houses have an "adaawk" which is a collection of sacred oral tradition about their ancestors, histories and territories. The Wet'suwet'en each have a "kungax" which is a spiritual song or dance or performance which ties them to their land. Both of these were entered as evidence on behalf of the appellants. The most significant evidence of spiritual connection between the

***Delgamuukw v. British Columbia (1997)***

Delgamuukw, also known as Earl Muldoe, suing on his own behalf and on behalf of all the members of the Houses of Delgamuukw and Haaxw (and others suing on their own





Houses and their territory was a feast hall where the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en people tell and retell their stories and identify their territories to remind themselves of the sacred connection that they have with their lands. The feast has a ceremonial purpose but is also used for making important decisions.

The trial judge did not accept the appellants' evidence of oral history of attachment to the land. He dismissed the action against Canada, dismissed the plaintiffs' claims for ownership and jurisdiction and for aboriginal rights in the territory, granted a declaration that the plaintiffs were entitled to use unoccupied or vacant land subject to the general law of the province, dismissed the claim for damages and dismissed the province's counterclaim. No order for costs was made. On appeal, the original claim was altered in two different ways. First, the claims for ownership and jurisdiction were replaced with claims for aboriginal title and self-government, respectively. Second, the individual claims by each House were amalgamated into two communal claims, one advanced on behalf of each nation. There were no formal amendments to the pleadings to this effect. The appeal was dismissed by a majority of the Court of Appeal.

The principal issues on the appeal, some of which raised a number of sub-issues, were as follows: (1) whether the pleadings precluded the Court from entertaining claims for aboriginal title and self-government; (2) what was the ability of this Court to interfere with the factual findings made by the trial judge; (3) what is the content of aboriginal title, how is it protected by s. 35(1) of the Constitution Act, 1982, and what is required for its proof; (4) whether the appellants made out a claim to self-government; and, (5) whether the province had the power to extinguish aboriginal rights after 1871, either under its own jurisdiction or through the operation of s. 88 of the Indian Act.

Held: The appeal should be allowed in part and the cross-appeal should be dismissed. . . .

The Ability of the Court to Interfere with the Trial Judge's Factual Findings. . . . The factual findings made at trial could not stand because the trial judge's treatment of the various kinds of oral histories did not satisfy the principles laid down in *R. v. Van der Peet*. The oral histories were used in an attempt to establish occupation and use of the disputed territory which is an essential requirement for aboriginal title. The trial judge refused to admit or gave no independent weight to these oral histories and then concluded that the appellants had not

demonstrated the requisite degree of occupation for "ownership." Had the oral histories been correctly assessed, the conclusions on these issues of fact might have been very different.

The Content of Aboriginal Title, How It Is Protected by s. 35(1) of the Constitution Act, 1982, and the Requirements Necessary to Prove It . . .

Aboriginal title encompasses the right to exclusive use and occupation of the land held pursuant to that title for a variety of purposes, which need not be aspects of those aboriginal practices, customs and traditions which are integral to distinctive aboriginal cultures. The protected uses must not be irreconcilable with the nature of the group's attachment to that land.

Aboriginal title is *sui generis*, and so distinguished from other proprietary interests, and characterized by several dimensions. It is inalienable and cannot be transferred, sold or surrendered to anyone other than the Crown. Another dimension of aboriginal title is its sources: its recognition by the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the relationship between the common law which recognizes occupation as proof of possession and systems of aboriginal law pre-existing assertion of British sovereignty. Finally, aboriginal title is held communally.

The exclusive right to use the land is not restricted to the right to engage in activities which are aspects of aboriginal practices, customs and traditions integral to the claimant group's distinctive aboriginal culture. Canadian jurisprudence on aboriginal title frames the "right to occupy and possess" in broad terms and, significantly, is not qualified by the restriction that use be tied to practice, custom or tradition. The nature of the Indian interest in reserve land which has been found to be the same as the interest in tribal lands is very broad and incorporates present-day needs. Finally, aboriginal title encompasses mineral rights and lands held pursuant to aboriginal title should be capable of exploitation. Such a use is certainly not a traditional one.

The content of aboriginal title contains an inherent limit in that lands so held cannot be used in a manner that is irreconcilable with the nature of the claimants' attachment to those lands. This inherent limit arises because the relationship of an aboriginal community with its land should not be prevented from continuing into the future. Occupancy is determined by reference to the activities that have taken place on the land and the uses to which the land has been put by the particular group. If lands are so





occupied, there will exist a special bond between the group and the land in question such that the land will be part of the definition of the group's distinctive culture. Land held by virtue of aboriginal title may not be alienated because the land has an inherent and unique value in itself, which is enjoyed by the community with aboriginal title to it. The community cannot put the land to uses which would destroy that value. Finally, the importance of the continuity of the relationship between an aboriginal community and its land, and the non-economic or inherent value of that land, should not be taken to detract from the possibility of surrender to the Crown in exchange for valuable consideration. On the contrary, the idea of surrender reinforces the conclusion that aboriginal title is limited. If aboriginal peoples wish to use their lands in a way that aboriginal title does not permit, then they must surrender those lands and convert them into non-title lands to do so.

Aboriginal title at common law was recognized well before 1982 and is accordingly protected in its full form by s. 35(1). The constitutionalization of common law aboriginal rights, however, does not mean that those rights exhaust the content of s. 35(1). The existence of an aboriginal right at common law is sufficient, but not necessary, for the recognition and affirmation of that right by s. 35(1).

Constitutionally recognized aboriginal rights fall along a spectrum with respect to their degree of connection with the land. At the one end are those aboriginal rights which are practices, customs and traditions integral to the distinctive aboriginal culture of the group claiming the right but where the use and occupation of the land where the activity is taking place is not sufficient to support a claim of title to the land. In the middle are activities which, out of necessity, take place on land and indeed, might be intimately related to a particular piece of land. Although an aboriginal group may not be able to demonstrate title to the land, it may nevertheless have a site-specific right to engage in a particular activity. At the other end of the spectrum is aboriginal title itself which confers more than the right to engage in site-specific activities which are aspects of the practices, customs and traditions of distinctive aboriginal cultures. Site-specific rights can be made out even if title cannot. Because aboriginal rights can vary with respect to their degree of connection with the land, some aboriginal groups may be unable to make out a claim to title, but will nevertheless pos-

sess aboriginal rights that are recognized and affirmed by s. 35(1), including site-specific rights to engage in particular activities.

Aboriginal title is a right to the land itself. That land may be used, subject to the inherent limitations of aboriginal title, for a variety of activities, none of which need be individually protected as aboriginal rights under s. 35(1). Those activities are parasitic on the underlying title. Section 35(1), since its purpose is to reconcile the prior presence of aboriginal peoples with the assertion of Crown sovereignty, must recognize and affirm both aspects of that prior presence—first, the occupation of land, and second, the prior social organization and distinctive cultures of aboriginal peoples on that land.

The test for the identification of aboriginal rights to engage in particular activities and the test for the identification of aboriginal title, although broadly similar, are distinct in two ways. First, under the test for aboriginal title, the requirement that the land be integral to the distinctive culture of the claimants is subsumed by the requirement of occupancy. Second, whereas the time for the identification of aboriginal rights is the time of first contact, the time for the identification of aboriginal title is the time at which the Crown asserted sovereignty over the land.

In order to establish a claim to aboriginal title, the aboriginal group asserting the claim must establish that it occupied the lands in question at the time at which the Crown asserted sovereignty over the land subject to the title. In the context of aboriginal title, sovereignty is the appropriate time period to consider for several reasons. First, from a theoretical standpoint, aboriginal title arises out of prior occupation of the land by aboriginal peoples and out of the relationship between the common law and pre-existing systems of aboriginal law. Aboriginal title is a burden on the Crown's underlying title. The Crown, however, did not gain this title until it asserted sovereignty and it makes no sense to speak of a burden on the underlying title before that title existed. Aboriginal title crystallized at the time sovereignty was asserted. Second, aboriginal title does not raise the problem of distinguishing between distinctive, integral aboriginal practices, customs and traditions and those influenced or introduced by European contact. Under common law, the act of occupation or possession is sufficient to ground aboriginal title and it is not necessary to prove that the land was a distinctive or integral part of the aboriginal society before the





arrival of Europeans. Finally, the date of sovereignty is more certain than the date of first contact.

...

If present occupation is relied on as proof of occupation pre-sovereignty, there must be a continuity between present and pre-sovereignty occupation. Since conclusive evidence of pre-sovereignty occupation may be difficult, an aboriginal community may provide evidence of present occupation as proof of pre-sovereignty occupation in support of a claim to aboriginal title. An unbroken chain of continuity need not be established between present and prior occupation. The fact that the nature of occupation has changed would not ordinarily preclude a claim for aboriginal title, as long as a substantial connection between the people and the land is maintained. The only limitation on this principle might be that the land not be used in ways which are inconsistent with continued use by future generations of aboriginals.

At sovereignty, occupation must have been exclusive. This requirement flows from the definition of aboriginal title itself, which is defined in terms of the right to exclusive use and occupation of land. The test must take into account the context of the aboriginal society at the time of sovereignty. The requirement of exclusive occupancy and the possibility of joint title can be reconciled by recognizing that joint title can arise from shared exclusivity. As well, shared, non-exclusive aboriginal rights short of aboriginal title but tied to the land and permitting a number of uses can be established if exclusivity cannot be proved. The common law should develop to recognize aboriginal rights as they were recognized by either de facto practice or by aboriginal systems of governance. . . .

C. What is the content of aboriginal title, how is it protected by s. 35(1) of the Constitution Act, 1982, and what is required for its proof? . . .

(d) Aboriginal Title under s. 35(1) of the Constitution Act, 1982

Aboriginal title at common law is protected in its full form by s. 35(1). This conclusion flows from the express language of s. 35(1) itself, which states in full: "[t]he existing aboriginal and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed". On a plain reading of the provision,

s. 35(1) did not create aboriginal rights; rather, it accorded constitutional status to those rights which were "existing" in 1982. The provision, at the very least, constitutionalized those rights which aboriginal peoples possessed at common law, since those rights existed at the time s. 35(1) came into force. Since aboriginal title was a common law right whose existence was recognized well before 1982 (e.g., *Calder*, supra), s. 35(1) has constitutionalized it in its full form . . . .

#### VI. Conclusion and Disposition

For the reasons I have given above, I would allow the appeal in part, and dismiss the cross-appeal. Reluctantly, I would also order a new trial.

I conclude with two observations. The first is that many aboriginal nations with territorial claims that overlap with those of the appellants did not intervene in this appeal, and do not appear to have done so at trial. This is unfortunate, because determinations of aboriginal title for the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en will undoubtedly affect their claims as well. This is particularly so because aboriginal title encompasses an exclusive right to the use and occupation of land, i.e., to the exclusion of both non-aboriginals and members of other aboriginal nations. It may, therefore, be advisable if those aboriginal nations intervened in any new litigation.

Finally, this litigation has been both long and expensive, not only in economic but in human terms as well. By ordering a new trial, I do not necessarily encourage the parties to proceed to litigation and to settle their dispute through the courts . . . *Sparrow*, at p. 1105, s. 35(1) "provides a solid constitutional base upon which subsequent negotiations can take place." Those negotiations should also include other aboriginal nations which have a stake in the territory claimed. Moreover, the Crown is under a moral, if not a legal, duty to enter into and conduct those negotiations in good faith. Ultimately, it is through negotiated settlements, with good faith and give and take on all sides, reinforced by the judgments of this Court, that we will achieve what I stated in *Van der Peet*, supra, at para. 31, to be a basic purpose of s. 35(1)—"the reconciliation of the pre-existence of aboriginal societies with the sovereignty of the Crown." Let us face it, we are all here to stay . . . ."















# *Native Americans of the Southwest*



## **Acoma Pueblo**

"Acoma" is from the Acoma and Spanish *acoma*, or *acú*, meaning "the place that always was" or "People of the White Rock." "Pueblo" is from the Spanish for "village." It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory buildings made of stone and adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). The Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zuni, Hopi, and sometimes the Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos.

Acoma is located roughly 60 miles west of Albuquerque, New Mexico. The reservation consists of three main communities: Sky City (Old Acoma), Acomita, and McCartys. The traditional lands of Acoma Pueblo encompassed roughly 5 million acres. Of this, roughly 10 percent is included in the reservation. The pueblo's population was perhaps 5,000 in 1550. Acoma is a western Keresan dialect.

All Pueblo people are thought to be descended from Ancestral Puebloan, perhaps Mogollon, and several other ancient peoples. From them they learned architecture, farming, pottery, and basketry. Larger population groups became possible with effective agriculture and the development of ways to store food surpluses. In the context of a relatively stable existence, the people devoted increasing amounts of time and attention to religion, arts, and crafts.

In the 1200s, the Ancestral Puebloans abandoned their traditional canyon homelands in response to climatic and social upheavals. A century or two of migrations ensued, followed by the slow reemergence of their culture in the historic pueblos. Acoma

Pueblo was established at least 800 years ago.

Pueblo governments are derived from two traditions. Elements that are probably indigenous include the cacique, or head of the Pueblos, and the war captain, both chosen for life. These officials were intimately related to the religious structures of the pueblo and reflected the essentially theocratic nature of Pueblo government. A parallel but in most cases distinctly less powerful group of officials was imposed by the Spanish authorities. They generally dealt with external matters and included a governor, two lieutenant governors, and a council. In addition, the All Indian Pueblo Council, dating from 1598, began meeting again in the twentieth century.

One mechanism that works to keep Pueblo societies coherent is a pervasive aversion to individualistic behavior. Children were traditionally raised with gentle guidance and a minimum of discipline. Pueblo Indians were generally monogamous, and divorce was relatively rare. The dead were prepared ceremonially and quickly buried. A vigil of four days and nights was generally observed. Acoma Pueblo recognized roughly twenty matrilineal clans. The economy was basically a socialistic one, whereby labor was shared and produce was distributed equally. In modern times photography by outsiders is discouraged. At Acoma, a formal, traditional education system under the direction of the kiva headmen includes courses on human behavior, the human spirit, the human body, ethics, astrology, child psychology, oratory, history, music, and dance.

The Acoma pueblo featured three rows of three-story, apartment-style dwellings, facing south





*Pottery in the interior of an Acoma dwelling, photographed in 1900. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

on top of a 350-foot-high mesa. The lower levels were reserved mainly for storage. The buildings were constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with beams across the roof that were covered with poles, brush, and plaster. The roof of one level served as the floor of another. The levels were interconnected by ladders. As an aid to defense, the traditional design included no doors or windows; entry was through the roof. Baking ovens stood outside the buildings. Water was primarily obtained from two natural cisterns. Acoma also features seven rectangular pithouses, or kivas, that served as ceremonial chambers and clubhouses. The village plaza is the spiritual center of the

village, where all the balanced forces of the world come together.

Before the Spanish arrived, people living at the Acoma pueblo ate primarily corn, beans, and squash. *Mut-tze-nee* was a favorite thin corn bread. They also grew sunflowers and tobacco and kept turkeys. They hunted deer, antelope, and rabbits and gathered a variety of wild seeds, nuts, berries, and other foods. Favorite foods as of circa 1700 included a blue corn drink, corn mush, pudding, wheat cake, corn balls, paper bread, peach-bark drink, flour bread, wild berries, and prickly pear fruit. The Acomas also raised herds of sheep, goats, horses, and donkeys after the Spanish introduced these animals into the region.





Irrigation techniques included dams and terraces. Pottery was an important technological adaptation, as were weaving baskets and weaving cotton and tanning leather. Farming implements were made of stone and wood. Corn was ground using manos and metates.

All Pueblos were part of extensive Native American trading networks that reached for 1,000 miles in every direction. With the arrival of other cultures, Pueblo Indians also traded with the Hispanic American villages and then U.S. traders. At fixed times during summer or fall, enemies declared truces so that trading fairs might be held. The largest and best-known was at Taos with the Comanches. Nomads exchanged slaves, buffalo hides, buckskins, jerked meat, and horses for agricultural and manufactured pueblo products. Pueblo Indians traded for shell and copper ornaments, turquoise, and macaw feathers. Trade along the Santa Fe Trail began in 1821. By the 1880s and the arrival of railroads, the Pueblos were dependent on many American-made goods, and the Native American manufacture of weaving and pottery declined and nearly died out.

Acoma Pueblo was first visited by non-Indians in 1539, probably by Estevan, an advance scout of the Coronado expedition. The following year the people welcomed Hernando de Alvarado, also a member of Coronado's group. In 1598, Juan de Oñate arrived in the area with settlers, founding the colony of New Mexico. However, that year Acomas killed some of his representatives, for which they faced a Spanish reprisal in 1599: The Spanish killed 800 people, tortured and enslaved others, and destroyed the pueblo. The survivors rebuilt shortly thereafter and began a process of consolidating several farming sites near Acoma, which were later recognized by the Spanish as two villages.

Oñate carried on the process, already underway, of subjugating the local Indians, forcing them to pay taxes in crops, cotton, and work and opening the door for Catholic missionaries to attack the Indians' religion. The Spanish renamed the pueblos with saints' names and began a program of church construction. At the same time, they introduced such new crops as peaches, wheat, and peppers into the region. In 1620, a royal decree created civil offices at each pueblo; silver-headed canes, many of which remain in use today, symbolized the governor's authority. In 1629, the Franciscan Juan Ramirez founded a mission at Acoma and built a huge church there.

The Pueblo Indians organized and instituted a general revolt against the Spanish in 1680. For years, the Spaniards had routinely tortured Indians for practicing traditional religion. They also forced the Indians to labor for them, sold them into slavery, and let Spaniard-owned cattle overgraze Indian land, a situation that eventually led to drought, erosion, and famine. Popé of San Juan Pueblo and other Pueblo religious leaders planned the revolt, sending runners carrying cords of maguey fibers to mark the day of rebellion. On August 10, 1680, a virtually united stand on the part of the Pueblos drove the Spanish from the region. The Indians killed many Spaniards but refrained from mass slaughter, allowing them to leave Santa Fe for El Paso.

The Pueblos experienced many changes during the following decades: Refugees established communities at Hopi, guerrilla fighting continued against the Spanish, and certain areas were abandoned. By the 1700s, excluding Hopi and Zuni, only Taos, Picuris, Isleta, and Acoma Pueblos had not changed locations since the arrival of the Spanish. Although Pueblo unity did not last, and Santa Fe was officially reconquered in 1692, Spanish rule was notably less severe from then on. Harsh forced labor all but ceased, and the Indians reached an understanding with the Church that enabled them to continue practicing their traditional religion. The Acomas resisted further Spanish contact for several years thereafter, then bowed to Spanish power and accepted a mission.

In general, the Pueblo eighteenth century was marked by smallpox epidemics and increased raiding by the Apache, Comanche, and Ute. Occasionally Pueblo Indians fought with the Spanish against the nomadic tribes. The people practiced their religion, more or less in secret. During this time, intermarriage and regular exchange between Hispanic villages and Pueblo Indians created a new New Mexican culture, neither Spanish nor strictly Indian, but rather a blend of the two.

Mexican "rule" in 1821 brought little immediate change to the Pueblos. The Mexicans stepped up what had been a gradual process of appropriating Indian land and water, and they allowed the nomadic tribes even greater latitude to raid. As the presence of the United States in the area grew, it attempted to enable the Pueblo Indians to continue their generally peaceful and self-sufficient ways and recognized Spanish land grants to the Pueblos. Land disputes with neighboring Laguna Pueblos were not settled so easily, however.





During the nineteenth century, the process of acculturation among Pueblo Indians quickened markedly. In an attempt to retain their identity, Pueblo Indians clung even more tenaciously to their heritage, which by now included elements of the once-hated Spanish culture and religion. By the 1880s, railroads had largely put an end to the traditional geographical isolation of the pueblos. Paradoxically, the U.S. decision to recognize Spanish land grants to the Pueblos denied the Indians certain rights granted under official treaties and left them particularly open to exploitation by squatters and thieves.

After a gap of more than 300 years, the All Indian Pueblo Council began to meet again in the 1920s, specifically in response to a congressional threat to appropriate Pueblo lands. Partly as a result of the Council's activities, Congress confirmed Pueblo title to their lands in 1924 by passing the Pueblo Lands Act. The United States also acknowledged its trust responsibilities in a series of legal decisions and other acts of Congress. Still, especially after 1900, Pueblo culture was increasingly threatened by highly intolerant Protestant evangelical missions and schools. The Bureau of Indian Affairs also weighed in on the subject of acculturation, forcing Indian children to leave their homes and attend culture-killing boarding schools. In 1922, most Acoma children had been sent away to such schools.

Following World War II, the issue of water rights took center stage at most pueblos. Also, the All Indian Pueblo Council succeeded in slowing the threat against Pueblo lands as well as religious persecution. Making crafts for the tourist trade became an important economic activity during this period. Since the late nineteenth century, but especially after the 1960s, Pueblos have had to cope with onslaughts by (mostly white) anthropologists and seekers of Indian spirituality. The region is also known for its major art colonies at Taos and Santa Fe.

*See also* All Indian Pueblo Council; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Pueblo Revolt; Water Rights.

## Apache, Chiricahua

"Chiricahua" is a name taken from their stronghold in the Chiricahua Mountains, in southeast Arizona, and "Apache" is from the Zuni word *apachu*, mean-

ing "enemy." The Apaches call themselves Ndee, or Dine'é, "the People."

The Apaches arrived in the Southwest from present-day Canada around 1400. By the early 1600s, the Chiricahua were living in southwestern New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and northern Mexico. Late twentieth-century Chiricahua communities include the Mescalero Apache Reservation in southeastern New Mexico and a presence at Fort Sill, Oklahoma.

Ancestors of today's Apaches began the trek from Asia to North America relatively late, in roughly 1000 BCE. Most members of this group, which included the Athapaskans, were known as the Nadene. By 1300, the group that was to become the southern Athapaskans (Apaches and Navajos) broke away from other Athapaskan tribes and began migrating southward, reaching the American Southwest around 1400 and crystallizing into separate cultural groups.

The Apaches generally filtered into the mountains surrounding the Pueblo-held valleys. This process ended in the 1600s and 1700s, with a final push southward and westward by the Comanches. Before contact with the Spanish, the Apaches were relatively peaceful and may have engaged in some agricultural activities.

Traditionally, the Chiricahuas knew little tribal cohesion and no central political authority. They were a tribe based on common territory, language, and culture. As much central authority as existed was found in the local group (thirty-five to 200 people), composed of extended families. Its leader, or chief, enjoyed authority because of personal qualities, such as persuasiveness and bravery, often in addition to ceremonial knowledge. (All the famous Apache "chiefs" were local group leaders.) Decisions were made by consensus. One of the chief's most important functions was to minimize friction among his people.

Local groups joined to form three Chiricahua bands. One was the eastern, or Cihene (Red Paint People), also known as Mimbrenos, Coppermine, Warm Spring, or Mogollon Apaches; the second was the central (Chokonen). The third band was the southern (Nednai, Enemy People, also called Pinery or Bronco Apaches), who lived mainly in Mexico. Some intermarriage occurred between bands.

Women were the anchors of the Apache family. Residence was matrilineal. Besides the political organization, society was divided into a number of





matrilineal clans. Apaches in general respected the elderly and valued honesty above all other qualities.

Gender roles were clearly defined but not rigidly enforced. Women gathered, prepared, and stored food; built the home; carried water; gathered fuel; cared for the children; tanned, dyed, and decorated hides; and wove baskets. Men hunted, raided, and waged war. They also made weapons and were responsible for their horses and equipment. They also made musical instruments.

Girls as well as boys practiced with the bow and arrow, sling, and spear, and both learned to ride expertly. Although actual marriage ceremonies were brief or nonexistent, the people practiced a number of formal preliminary rituals, designed to strengthen the idea that a man owed deep allegiance to his future wife's family. Out of deference, married men were not permitted to speak directly with their mothers-in-law. Divorce was relatively easy to obtain.

All Apaches had a great fear of ghosts. Chiricahuas who died had their faces painted red and were buried the same day. Their personal possessions were burned or destroyed, including their house and favorite horse.

Chiricahua Apaches lived in dome-shaped brush wickiups, which they covered with hides in bad weather. The doors always faced east. Eastern Chiricahuas sometimes used teepees.

Chiricahua Apaches were primarily hunters and gatherers. They hunted buffalo prior to the sixteenth century, and afterward they continued to hunt deer, elk, antelope, rabbits, and other game. They did not eat bear, turkey, or fish.

Wild foods included agave; cactus shoots, flowers, and fruit; berries; seeds; nuts; honey; and wild onions, potatoes, and grasses. Nuts and seeds were often ground into flour. The agave or century plant was particularly important. Baking its base in rock-lined pits for several days yielded mescal, a sweet, nutritious food that was dried and stored.

Traditional farm crops were obtained from the Pueblos by trade or raid. The Chiricahuas, particularly the eastern band, also practiced some agriculture: Corn, for instance, was used to make *tiswin*, a weak beer.

The Chiricahuas traditionally wore buckskin clothing and moccasins. As they acquired cotton and later wool through trading and raiding, women tended to wear two-piece calico dresses, with long, full skirts and long blouses outside the skirt belts. They occasionally carried knives and later ammuni-

tion belts. Girls wore their hair over their ears, shaped around two willow hoops. Some older women wore their hair Plains-style, parted in the middle with two braids. Men's postcontact styles included calico shirts, muslin breechclouts with belts, cartridge belts, moccasins, and headbands.

Historically, the Apache made formidable enemies. Raiding was one of their most important activities. The main purpose of raiding, in which one sought to avoid contact with the enemy, was to gain wealth and honor. It differed fundamentally from warfare, which was undertaken primarily for revenge. Chiricahua Apaches did not generally take scalps, nor did they maintain formal warrior societies.

Thrust into contact with the Spanish, the Apaches, having acquired horses, began raiding Spanish and Pueblo settlements. This dynamic included trading as well as raiding and warfare, but the Spanish habit of selling captured Apaches into slavery led to Apache revenge and increasingly hostile conditions along the Spanish frontier. After 1821, the Mexicans put a bounty on Apache scalps, increasing Apache enmity and adding to the cycle of violence in the region.

Following the war between Mexico and the United States (1848), the Apaches, who did their part to bring misery to Mexico, assumed that the Americans would continue to be their allies. They were shocked and disgusted to learn that their lands were now considered part of the United States and that the Americans planned to "pacify" them. Having been squeezed by the Spanish, the Comanches, the Mexicans, and now miners, farmers, and other landgrabbers from the United States, the Apaches were more than ever determined to protect their way of life.

Some Chiricahua bands tried to stay out of trouble in the 1850s by planting fields under the supervision of federal agents, but when raiding resumed as a result of broken promises of food and protection, all sides were caught in a spiral of violence. Mangas Coloradas, a peaceful Mimbrenño chief, turned to war after he was bullwhipped by U.S. miners in 1860. Cochise, son-in-law of Mangas Coloradas and leader of the central band of Chiricahua, began a guerrilla war along the Butterfield Trail after whites killed some of his men. Cochise began as central band war chief, but by force of personality and integrity he eventually claimed authority over other Chiricahua bands as well. Resistance continued until 1874, when Cochise, hungry and exhausted, surrendered. He





could no longer control other Chiricahua bands, though, and their raiding continued.

Meanwhile, the U.S. policy of concentration via forced marches resulted in thousands of Chiricahua and western Apaches living on the crowded and disease-ridden San Carlos Reservation. There, a handful of dissident chiefs, confined in chains, held out for the old life of freedom and self-respect. Victorio fled in 1877, taking 350 Indians with him. He battled the army and Apache scouts until he was killed in Mexico in 1880. Nana, his successor, continued the raids until joining the Mescalero Reservation.

When soldiers killed a White Mountain Apache medicine man in 1881, Geronimo, a southern band shaman, led a group of Chiricahua away from San Carlos. In 1883 he agreed to return peacefully, but two years later, when soldiers banned the Indians' ceremonial drink *tiswin*, the Chiricahua fled again. In 1886 Geronimo surrendered in Mexico but on the way back to the United States escaped with thirty-six other Apaches. Their final surrender and the effective end of Apache military resistance came several months later: General Nelson Miles and one-quarter of the U.S. Army, plus Apache scouts, were needed to find and capture them. Geronimo regretted his surrender until his death as a prisoner of war in 1909.

As punishment for the freedom fighting activities of some of their group, the U.S. government sent all the Chiricahuas, including those who had been living peacefully at San Carlos, to prison in Alabama and Florida, where roughly one-quarter of them died over the following few years. Since the citizens of New Mexico opposed the return of the Apaches to San Carlos, the Chiricahuas who remained alive were sent in 1894 to the Kiowa Reservation at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where they took up cattle raising and farming. In 1913, the Chiricahua were granted full freedom, although no reservation. Although some remained at Fort Sill, most moved back to New Mexico and life on the Mescalero Reservation.

Cattle raising and timber sales proved lucrative in the early twentieth century. Eventually, day schools replaced the hated, culture-killing boarding schools. By the late 1940s, every family had a house, and the economy at Mescalero was relatively strong. The reservation is managed cooperatively with the Mescalero and the Lipan Apaches.

*See also* Apache Wars; Geronimo: His Own Story; Mangas Coloradas; Relocation; Victorio.

## Apache, Cibecue

*See* Apache, Western.

## Apache, Fort Sill

*See* Apache, Chiricahua.

## Apache, Jicarilla

"Jicarilla" is from the Spanish for "little basket" or "chocolate basket," and "Apache" is from the Zuni word *apachu*, meaning "enemy." The Apaches call themselves Ndee, or Dine'é, "the People." Jicarillas spoke a dialect of southern Athapaskan, or Apachean.

Beginning around the nineteenth century, the Jicarillas recognized two distinct bands. The Llaneros lived in the eastern Sangre de Cristo Mountains in adobe houses with nearby farms. From the pueblos, especially Taos, they learned pottery and social and religious customs. The Olleros gave up plains life somewhat later. In addition to hunting buffalo, they had picked up some Plains technology, such as teepees, parfleches, and travois.

Jicarilla Apaches were primarily hunters and gatherers. They hunted buffalo into the seventeenth century, and afterward they continued to hunt deer, mountain sheep, elk, antelope, rabbits, and other game. They did not eat bear, turkey, or fish.

Wild foods included agave shoots, flowers, and fruit; berries; seeds; nuts; honey; and wild onions, potatoes, and grasses. Nuts and seeds were often ground into flour. The agave or century plant was particularly important. Baking its base in rock-lined pits for several days yielded mescal, a sweet, nutritious food that was dried and stored.

In the late 1600s they learned farming from the Pueblos, and by the early nineteenth century they farmed river bottomlands and built irrigation ditches, growing some corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, peas, wheat, and melons. When supplies ran low, crops were obtained from the Pueblos by trade or raid.

Following the war between Mexico and the United States (1848), the Apaches, who did their part to bring misery to Mexico, assumed that the Americans would continue as allies. They were shocked and disgusted to learn that their lands were now considered part of the United States and that the





Americans planned to “pacify” them. Having been squeezed by the Spanish, the Comanches, the Mexicans, and now miners, farmers, and other land-grabbers from the United States, the Apaches were more than ever determined to protect their way of life.

Increased military activity led to a treaty in 1851 that called for the cessation of hostilities on all sides and, in exchange for aid, bound the Jicarillas to remain at least fifty miles from all settlements. When U.S. promises of food and protection went unkept, however, the Jicarillas returned to raiding, and the region was plunged into a spiral of violence. Another treaty in 1855 created agencies: Options for the Jicarillas now included either begging for food at the agency or raiding.

In the 1860s, the tribe escaped confinement at the deadly Bosque Redondo (Fort Sumner) only because the camp failed before they could be rounded up. By 1873 they were the only Southwestern tribe without an official reservation. At about this time, leaders of the two Jicarilla bands, the Olleros and the Llaneros, began consulting with each other, creating a new tribal consciousness. They sent a joint delegation to Washington, D.C., where they lobbied for a reservation, but in 1883 the tribe was moved to the Mescalero Reservation. Finding all the good land already taken, the Jicarillas began shortly to drift back north to their old lands. In 1887, the government granted them an official home.

Unfortunately, the climate on the new reservation was unfavorable for farming, and in any case non-Indians owned whatever good arable land existed. This, plus the existence of individual allotments and centralized government control, slowed economic progress. The tribe sold some timber around the turn of the century. In 1903, the government established a boarding school in Dulce, the reservation capital, but turned it into a sanatorium in 1918 following a tuberculosis epidemic (90 percent of the Jicarillas had tuberculosis by 1914). The Dutch Reformed Church of America opened a school in 1921.

A major addition to the reservation in 1907 provided the Jicarillas with land suitable for herding sheep. They began this activity in the 1920s, and the tribe soon realized a profit. Livestock owners and the “progressive” proacculturation group tended to be Olleros, whereas the Llaneros were the farmers, the conservatives, and guardians of tradition. In the early 1930s bad weather wiped out most of the sheep

herd, although by 1940 it had largely been rebuilt. Also by this time the people were generally healthy again, and acculturation quickened.

The postwar years saw a huge increase in tribal income from oil and gas development. With part of this money, the tribe bought out most non-Indian holdings on the reservation. Education levels, health, and morale all rose. In the 1950s, a decline in the sheep industry brought much of the population to live in Dulce. The tribe began per-capita payments at that time, partly to offset a lack of economic opportunities in Dulce. This action kept families going until more help arrived with the federal programs of the 1960s as well as an increasingly diversified economy. In the 1970s the tribe won \$9 million in land claims.

*See also* Agriculture; Assimilation; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Relocation.

## Apache, Lipan

“Lipan” may mean “warriors of the mountains.” “Apache” comes from the Zuni word *apachu*, meaning “enemy.” The Apaches call themselves Ndee, or Dine’é, “the People.” The Apaches arrived in the Southwest from present-day Canada around 1400. By about 1700, the Lipans were living on the south central Texas plains, as far south as Texas’s Colorado River. Today they live on the Mescalero Reservation in southeast New Mexico.

Lipan Apaches generally lived in hide teepees. Occasionally, and especially when they were moved off the Plains, they used dome-shaped brush wickiups, which they covered with grass thatch or with hides in bad weather.

Lipan Apaches were primarily hunters and gatherers. They hunted buffalo into the eighteenth century, and afterward they continued to hunt deer, elk, antelope, rabbits, and other game. They ate few birds and did not eat fish, coyote, snake, or owl.

Wild foods included agave; cactus shoots, flowers, and fruit; berries; seeds; nuts; honey; and wild onions, potatoes, and grasses. Nuts and seeds were often ground into flour. The agave or century plant was particularly important. Baking its base in rock-lined pits for several days yielded mescal, a sweet, nutritious food that was dried and stored. The Lipans moved often to follow animal migrations as well as the ripening of their wild foods. Traditional farm crops were obtained by trade or raid and by practicing some agriculture.





By about 1700 the Lipans had become separated from the Jicarillas and had migrated into the central and south Texas plains. They had also acquired horses and had become expert buffalo hunters and raiders of the western Plains from Kansas to Mexico. Caddoan villages felt the wrath of Lipan raiders and slavers until they acquired guns from French traders and were able to drive the Lipan back into Texas.

A Lipan request for Spanish protection against the Comanches, who were pressing them from the north and east, resulted in the establishment of a mission in 1757, which the Comanches promptly destroyed the following year. By the late eighteenth century, the Comanches had forced most Lipans from Texas into New Mexico to join other Apache bands there.

By the early nineteenth century, the remaining Lipans had established good terms with the Texans, serving as their scouts, guides, and trading partners. Following the war between Mexico and the United States (1848), the Apaches, who did their part to bring misery to Mexico, assumed that the Americans would continue as allies. Instead, the Texans adopted an extermination policy, and the Lipans who escaped went to live in Mexico. In the late 1870s, some Lipans fought with the Chiricahua leader Victorio in his last stand against the United States and captivity. He and they were killed in Mexico.

In 1873, the U.S. government had granted the Mescalero Apaches a small reservation surrounding the Sierra Blanca Mountains. The Mescaleros absorbed Apache refugees and immigrants in hopes that the increased numbers would help them gain the elusive title to their land. In 1903, thirty-seven Mexican Lipan Apaches arrived, followed in 1913 by 187 Chiricahuas from Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Eventually, largely through intermarriage, these peoples evolved into the modern Mescalero community.

The United States engaged in extreme repression and all-out assault on traditional culture at the end of the nineteenth century. Cattle raising and timber sales proved lucrative in the early twentieth century. Eventually, day schools replaced the hated, culture-killing boarding schools. By the late 1940s, every family had a house, and the Mescalero economy was relatively stable. The reservation is managed cooperatively with the Mescalero and the Chiricahua Apaches.

*See also* Apache Wars; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Victorio.

## Apache, Mescalero

"Mescalero," from mescal, a food derived from the agave, or century, plant and an important part of their diet. "Apache" comes from the Zuni *apachu*, or "enemy." The Apaches call themselves Ndee, or Dine'é, "the People." Mescalero is a southern Athapaskan, or Apachean dialect.

The Mescaleros traditionally lived from east of the Rio Grande to the Pecos and beyond to the west Texas plains. The Mescalero Reservation is located in southeast New Mexico, northeast of Alamogordo.

The Mescaleros had moved into southern New Mexico by the early sixteenth century and had acquired horses at about the same time. They and the Jicarillas raided (and traded with) Spanish settlements and pueblos on the Rio Grande, and after 1680 they controlled the Camino Real, the main route from El Paso to Santa Fe. They hunted buffalo on the southern Plains and were the de facto masters of the Plains.

Some Mescalero bands tried to stay out of trouble in the 1850s by planting fields under the supervision of federal agents, but, when raiding resumed owing to broken promises of food and protection, all sides became caught up in a spiral of violence. By 1863, General James Carleton forced them off their informal reservation in the Sierra Blanca Mountains to Fort Sumner, at Bosque Redondo, on the Pecos. It was a concentration camp: Living with 9,000 Navajos, the Mescalero endured overcrowding, disease, bad water, and starvation. Two years later they escaped into the mountains, where they lived for seven years.

In 1873, the U.S. government granted the Mescaleros a small reservation surrounding the Sierra Blanca, which included their traditional summer territory. This land made for a harsh home in winter, however, and in any case it was too small for hunting and gathering. That decade was marked by disease, white incursions, and violence directed against them. In 1880, in retaliation after some Mescaleros joined the Chiricahuas in their wars against the United States, the army placed the Mescaleros under martial law, disarmed them, and penned them in a corral filled deep with manure.

By the mid-1880s, gambling had replaced traditional raiding. Missionaries arrived, as did a day school, which the Indians hated for separating the children from their elders. Meanwhile, their population plummeted from 3,000 in 1850 to 431 in 1888. These were years marked by dependency, agent





thievery, tyranny, disease, starvation and malnourishment, and uncertainty about the status of their reservation. Still, they survived the epidemics and efforts to steal their reservation by turning it into a national park (a move that proved unsuccessful in the long run).

The Mescaleros had absorbed Apache refugees and immigrants in hopes that increased numbers would help them gain the elusive title to their land. In 1883, the Jicarillas arrived, although they left by 1887. In 1903, thirty-seven Lipan Apaches arrived, followed in 1913 by 187 Chiricahuas from Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Eventually, largely through intermarriage, all evolved into the modern Mescalero community.

The United States engaged in extreme repression and all-out assault on traditional culture at the end of the nineteenth century. Cattle raising and timber sales proved lucrative in the early twentieth century. Eventually, day schools replaced the hated, culture-killing boarding schools. By the late 1940s, every family had a house, and the reservation economy was relatively strong. The reservation is managed cooperatively with the Chiricahua and the Lipan Apaches.

*See also* Apache Wars; Assimilation; Gambling; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights.

## Apache, Mimbrenño

*See* Apache, Chiricahua.

## Apache, Northern Tonto

*See* Apache, Western.

## Apache, San Carlos

*See* Apache, Western.

## Apache, Southern Tonto

*See* Apache, Western.

## Apache, Western

The word “Apache” comes from the Zuni *apachu*, meaning “enemy.” These people are properly known as Ndee, or Dine’é, “the People.” “Western Apache” is a somewhat artificial designation given to an Apache tribe composed, with some exceptions, of bands living in Arizona. After 1850 these bands were primarily the San Carlos, White Mountain, Tonto (divided into northern and southern Tonto by anthropologists), and Cibecue. Apaches spoke southern Athapaskan, or Apachean.

Traditionally, western Apache bands covered nearly all but the northwesternmost quarter of Arizona. Their territory encompassed an extreme ecological diversity. Today’s reservations include Fort Apache (Cibecue and White Mountain); San Carlos



*An Apache bride. (National Archives and Records Administration)*





(San Carlos); Camp Verde, including Clarkdale and Middle Verde (mostly Tonto, shared with the Yavapai); and Payson. Tontos also live in the Middle Verde, Clarkdale, and Payson communities.

Each of the western Apache tribes was considered autonomous and distinct, although intermarriage did occur. Tribal cohesion was minimal; there was no central political authority. A tribe was based on a common territory, language, and culture. Each was made up of between two and five bands of greatly varying size. Bands formed the most important Apache unit, which were in turn composed of local groups (thirty-five to 200 people in extended families, themselves led by a headman) headed by a chief. The chief lectured his followers before sunrise every morning on proper behavior. His authority was based on his personal qualities and perhaps his ceremonial knowledge. Decisions were made by consensus. One of the chief's most important functions was to mitigate friction among his people.

Having acquired the horse, the western Apache groups established a trading and raiding network with at least a dozen other groups, from the Hopi to Spanish settlements in Sonora. Although the Spanish policy of promoting docility by providing liquor to Native Americans worked moderately well from the late eighteenth century through the early nineteenth, Apache raids remained ongoing into the nineteenth century. By 1830, the Apaches had drifted away from the presidios and resumed a full schedule of raiding.

Following the war between Mexico and the United States (1848), the Apaches, who did their part to bring misery to Mexico, assumed that the Americans would continue to be their allies. The Apaches were shocked and disgusted to learn that their lands were now considered part of the United States and that the Americans planned to "pacify" them. Having been squeezed by the Spanish, the Comanches, the Mexicans, and now miners, farmers, and other land-grabbers from the United States, some Apaches were more than ever determined to protect their way of life.

Throughout the 1850s most of the anti-Apache attention was centered on the Chiricahuas. The White Mountain and Cibecue people never fought to the finish with the Americans; out of range of the mines and settlements, they continued their lives of farming and hunting. When Fort Apache was created (1863), these people adapted peacefully to reservation life and went on to serve as scouts against the Tontos and Chiricahuas.

The Prescott gold strike (1863) heralded a cycle of raid, murder, and massacre for the Tonto. By 1865 a string of forts ringed their territory; they were defeated militarily eight years later. A massacre of San Carlos (Aravaipa) women in 1871 led to Grant's Peace Policy, a policy of concentration via forced marches. The result was that thousands of Chiricahuas and western Apaches lived on the crowded and disease-ridden San Carlos Reservation. There, a handful of dissident chiefs, confined in chains, held out for the old life of freedom and self-respect. The Chiricahua Victorio bolted with 350 followers and remained at large and raiding for years. More fled in 1881. By 1884 all had been killed or had returned, at least temporarily. In general, the western Apaches remained peaceful on the reservations while corrupt agents and settlers stole their best land.

The White Mountain people joined Fort Apache in 1879. As the various bands were spuriously lumped together, group distinctions as well as traditional identity began to break down. A man named Silas John Edwards established a significant and enduring religious cult at Fort Apache in the 1920s. Though not exactly Christian, it did substitute a new set of ceremonies in place of the old ones, contributing further to the general decline of traditional life. In 1918 the government issued cattle to the Apaches, and lumbering began in the 1920s. In 1930, the government informed the Apaches that a new dam (the Coolidge) would flood old San Carlos. All residents were forced out, and subsistence agriculture ended for them. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) provided them with cattle and let all Anglo leases expire; by the late 1930s these Indians were stockherders.

*See also* Apache Wars; Horse, Economic Impact; Victorio; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Apache, White Mountain

*See* Apache, Western.

## Chemehuevi

"Chemehuevi" is Yuman for "nose in the air like a roadrunner," referring to a running style of the original settlers of the Chemehuevi Valley. These Indians traditionally called themselves *Nuwu*, "the People,"





or *Tantáwats*, “Southern Men.” Chemehuevis spoke Paiute, a group of the Shoshonean branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family.

Since the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these people have lived in the Chemehuevi Valley, California (part of the Colorado River Valley east of Joshua Tree National Monument), and southwestern California. Their traditional territory was located in southwestern Utah, the Mojave Desert, and finally the Chemehuevi Valley, near the present Lake Havasu.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the Chemehuevis and the Las Vegas band of southern Paiutes may have exterminated the Desert Mojaves. In the midnineteenth century, the Chemehuevis took over their territory as well as that of the Pee-Posh (Maricopa) Indians, who had been driven away by the Mojave Indians and who had gone to live on the Gila River. The Mojaves either actively or passively accepted the Chemehuevis. On the Colorado River, the Chemehuevis developed a crop-based economy and at the same time began to think of themselves as a distinct political entity. They also became strongly influenced in many ways by the Mojaves, notably in their interest in warfare and their religious beliefs. Some Chemehuevis raided miners in northern Arizona from the 1850s through the 1870s.

In 1865 the Chemehuevis and Mojaves fought each other. The Chemehuevis lost and retreated to the desert. Two years later, however, many returned to the California side of the Colorado River, where they resumed their lives on the Colorado River Reservation, established two years earlier. Many Chemehuevis also remained in and around the Chemehuevi Valley, combining wage labor and traditional subsistence. By the turn of the century, most Chemehuevis were settled on the Colorado River Reservation and among the Serranos and Cahuillas in southern California. In 1885, after a particularly severe drought, a group moved north to farm the Chemehuevi Valley. When a reservation was established there, in 1907, the tribal split became official.

The creation of Hoover Dam in 1935 and Parker Dam in 1939 spelled disaster for the Chemehuevis. The Hoover stopped the seasonal Colorado River floods, which the Chemehuevi people had depended on to nourish their crops. The Parker Dam created Lake Havasu, placing most of the Chemehuevi Valley under water. At that point, most Indians in the Chemehuevi Valley moved south again to join their

people at the Colorado River Reservation. A government relocation camp operated on the reservation from 1942 to 1945.

By the end of World War II, 148 Navajo and Hopi families had also colonized the reservation; they, with the Chemehuevis and Mojaves, became known as the Colorado River Indian Tribes (CRIT). As a result of a 1951 lawsuit, the Chemehuevis were awarded \$900,000 by the United States for land taken to create Lake Havasu. The tribe was not formally constituted until they adopted a constitution in 1971. At about that time, some Chemehuevis began a slow return to the Chemehuevi Valley, where they remain today, operating a resort on their tribal lands.

Before their move to the Colorado River, the Chemehuevis had little tribal consciousness or government per se. They roamed their territory in many bands, each with a relatively powerless chief. They assumed a tribal identity toward the midnineteenth century. At the same time, the chief, often a generous, smart, wealthy man succeeded by his eldest son, assumed a stronger leadership role.

Following their move to the river, a diet based on foods obtained by hunting and by gathering desert resources was partially replaced by crops such as corn, beans, pumpkins, melons, grasses (semicultivated), and wheat. The Chemehuevis also ate fish from the river; game, including turtles, snakes, and lizards; and a variety of wild plants, such as mesquite beans (a staple) and piñon nuts.

*See also* Environment and Pollution; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Cochiti Pueblo

“Cochiti” comes from the original Keresan via a Spanish transliteration. The word “pueblo” comes from the Spanish for “village.” It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zuni, Hopi, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. Cochiti is a Keresan dialect.





In the sixteenth century, Cochiti Pueblo featured two- to three-story, apartment-style dwellings as well as individual houses, facing south. The buildings were constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with beams across the roof that were covered with poles, brush, and plaster. Floors were of wood plank or packed earth. The roof of one level served as the floor of another. The levels were interconnected by ladders. As an aid to defense, the traditional design included no doors or windows; entry was through the roof. Pithouses, or kivas, served as ceremonial chambers and clubhouses. The village plaza, around which all dwellings were clustered, is the spiritual center of the village where all the balanced forces of the world come together.

Cochitis were farmers. Before the Spanish arrived, they ate primarily corn, beans, and pumpkins. They also grew sunflowers and tobacco. They hunted deer, mountain lion, bear, antelope, and rabbits. Occasionally, men from Cochiti and Santo Domingo pueblos would travel east to hunt buffalo. Cochitis also gathered a variety of wild seeds, nuts, berries, and other foods. The Spanish introduced wheat, alfalfa, sheep, cattle, and garden vegetables, which soon became part of the regular diet.

All Pueblos were part of extensive Native American trading networks. With the arrival of other cultures, Pueblo Indians also traded with the Hispanic American villages and then U.S. traders. At fixed times during summer or fall, enemies declared truces so that trading fairs might be held. The largest and best-known was at Taos with the Comanches. Nomads exchanged slaves, buffalo hides, buckskins, jerked meat, and horses for agricultural and manufactured pueblo products. Pueblo Indians traded for shell and copper ornaments, turquoise, and macaw feathers. Trade along the Santa Fe Trail began in 1821. By the 1880s and the arrival of railroads, the Pueblos were dependent on many American-made goods, and the Native American manufacture of weaving and pottery declined and nearly died out.

Though often depicted as passive and docile, most Pueblo groups regularly engaged in warfare. The great revolt of 1680 stands out as the major military action, but they also skirmished at other times with the Spanish and defended themselves against attackers such as Apaches, Comanches, and Utes. They also contributed auxiliary soldiers to provincial forces under Spain and Mexico, which were used mainly against raiding Indians and to protect merchant caravans on the Santa Fe Trail. After the raid-

ing tribes began to pose less of a threat in the late nineteenth century, Pueblo military societies began to wither away, with the office of war captain changing to civil and religious functions.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.

## Cocopah

"Cocopah" is from the Mojave *kwi-ka-pah*. The Cocopahs called themselves *Xawil Kunyavaei*, "Those Who Live on the River." The traditional home of the Cocopahs is near the Colorado River delta. Presently, many tribal members live in northwestern Mexico and on a reservation near Somerton, Arizona. Cocopahs spoke River Yuman, a member of the Hokan-Siouan language family.

The Cocopahs traditionally maintained little political leadership. They lived in small settlements, or rancherias, of ten to twelve families. Society was organized into clans, with each clan having a leader. Other quasi officials included dance and war leaders and funeral orators. Leadership was generally determined by experience, ability, and, as with everything else, dreams.

Originally concentrated in nine rancherias, the Cocopahs built two different types of homes. In winter they built conical, partially excavated (later four-post rectangular) structures, covering the walls of sticks with earth. In summer they built oval-domed, brush-covered huts. They also used a circular, unroofed ramada for dwelling and/or cooking and small granaries with elevated floors for storing food.

Corn, beans, black-eyed peas, pumpkins, and later melons were planted, usually in July. Gathered food, such as the seeds of wild saltgrass, roots, fruits, eggs, and especially mesquite, were also important, as was fish (such as mullet and bass) from the river and the Gulf of California. Wild game included deer, boar, and smaller animals. Much of the food was dried and stored for the winter. In general, the women gathered and cooked food, and the men hunted.

The Cocopahs planted seeds in holes rather than plowed rows in order to preserve topsoil. They used pottery (jars, seed-toasting trays), crude baskets, fire drills, vegetable-fiber fishing nets, clubs and bow and arrow for warfare, stone and wooden mortars, and stone and clamshell tools. Their musical instruments included a scraped and





drummed basket, gourd rattles, and cane flutes and whistles. They also used small earthen dikes for irrigation.

Warfare united the Cocopahs. They observed formalized war patterns and respected special war leaders. They prepared for war by dreaming, fasting, and painting their bodies and underwent purification rituals upon their return. Traditional enemies included the Mojave and the Quechan; allied peoples included the O'odham, Pee-Posh, and Pai. Their weapons were the war club, bow and arrow, lance, and deerskin shield.

By 1540 the Mojave and Quechan Indians had forced them down the Colorado River, to a place where they farmed 50,000 acres of delta land, made rich by the annual spring floods. The Cocopahs encountered Spanish soldiers and travelers during the mid-sixteenth century but remained in place and relatively unaffected by contact with the Europeans until U.S. dams stopped the Colorado from flooding in the late nineteenth century.

In 1853, the Gadsden Treaty separated the four bands of Cocopahs: Two remained in Mexico, and two moved north near Somerton, Arizona. By the mid-1800s, with the cessation of warfare with their ancient enemies, the Quechans, the Cocopahs lost a certain sense of purpose. A generation of men obtained employment as river pilots and navigators along the Colorado River, whetting their appetite for American goods and foods. Riverboat traffic ended when the railroad reached Yuma in 1877. In 1905, an accidental diversion of the Colorado River (the Salton Sea debacle) led to the Cocopahs' final displacement. Lacking strong political, religious, or social leadership, they quickly fell further into disintegration and impoverishment.

Thanks mainly to the work of Frank Tehanna, the U.S. government established a reservation in 1917 for the Cocopahs and some Quechans and Pee-Posh. The government then almost completely abandoned them for the next sixty years. By the end of World War II, fewer than sixty Cocopahs remained on the desolate reservation; the rest lived elsewhere, generally in even worse poverty. In the 1960s, the tribe organized and won from the government electricity and improved housing, building their first tribal building and rewriting their constitution.

In 1986, the tribe received an additional 615 acres, now known as the North Reservation. In the 1970s and 1980s, the tribe made improvements in education as well as other social and cultural pro-

grams. That period also witnessed a revival of crafts such as beadwork and the development of fine arts.

*See also* Agriculture; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Havasupai

"Havasupai" is a name meaning "People of the Blue-Green Water." With the Hualapais, from whom they may be descended, they are also called the Pais (Pa'as) Indians ("the People"; Hualapais are western Pais, and Havasupais are eastern Pais). With the Hualapais and the Yavapais, the Havasupais are also Upland Yumans, in contrast to River Yumans such as the Mojaves and Quechans. The Havasupais spoke Upland Yuman, a member of the Hokan-Siouan language family.

Since approximately 1100, the Havasupais have lived at Cataract Canyon in the Grand Canyon as well as on the nearby upland plateaus.

The Havasupais probably descended from the prehistoric Cohoninas, a branch of the Hakataya culture. Thirteen bands of Pais originally hunted, farmed, and gathered in northwest Arizona along the Colorado River. By historic times, the Pais were divided into three subtribes: the Middle Mountain People; the Plateau People (including the Blue Water People, also called Cataract Canyon Band, who were ancestors of the Havasupais); and the Yavapai Fighters.

The Blue Water People were comfortable in an extreme range of elevations. They gathered desert plants from along the Colorado River at 1,800 feet and hunted on the upper slopes of the San Francisco peaks, their center of the world, at 12,000 feet.

Formal authority among the Havasupais was located in chiefs, hereditary in theory only, of ten local groups. Their only real power was to advise and persuade. The Havasupais held few councils; most issues were dealt with by men informally in the sweat lodge.

The Havasupais were individualists rather than band or tribe oriented. The family was the main unit of social organization. In place of a formal marriage ceremony, a man simply took up residence with a woman's family. The couple moved into their own home after they had a child. Women owned no





property. Babies stayed mainly on basket cradle boards until they were old enough to walk. With some exceptions, work was roughly divided by gender.

In winter and summer, dwellings consisted of domed or conical wickiups of thatch and dirt over a pole frame. People also lived in rock shelters. Small domed lodges were used as sweat houses and clubhouses.

In Cataract Canyon the people grew corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, and tobacco. During the winter they lived on the surrounding plateau and ate game such as mountain lion and other cats, deer, antelope, mountain sheep, fowl, and rabbit, which were killed in communal hunting drives. Wild foods included piñon nuts, cactus and yucca fruits, agave hearts, mesquite beans, and wild honey.

Traditional implements included stone knives, bone tools, bows and arrows, clay pipes for smoking, and nets of yucca fiber. The Havasupais tilled their soil with sticks. Baskets and pottery were used for a number of purposes. Grinding was accomplished by means of a flat rock and rotary mortars.

The Havasupais often traded with the Hopis and other allied tribes, exchanging deerskins, baskets, salt, lima beans, and red hematite paint for food, pottery, and cloth. They also traded with tribes as far away as the Pacific Ocean.

Buckskin, worked by men, was the main clothing material. Women wore a two-part dress, with a yucca-fiber or textile belt around the waist, and trimmed with hoof tinklers. In the nineteenth century they began wearing ornamental shawls. Moccasins, when worn, were made with a high upper part wrapped around the calf. Men wore shirts, loincloths, leggings, headbands, and high-ankle moccasins. Personal decoration consisted of necklaces, earrings of Pueblo and Navajo shell and silver, and occasionally painted faces.

With the possible exception of Francisco Garces, in 1776, few if any Spanish or other outsiders disturbed them into the 1800s. Spanish influences did reach them, however, primarily in the form of horses, cloth, and fruit trees through trading partners such as the Hopis.

In the early 1800s, a trail was forged from the Rio Grande to California that led directly through Pai country. By around 1850, with invasions and treaty violations increasing, the Pais occasionally reacted with violence. When mines opened in their territory in 1863, they perceived the threat and read-

ied for war. Unfortunately for them, the Hualapai War (1865–1869) came just as the Civil War ended. After their military defeat by the United States, some Pais served as army scouts against their old enemies, the Yavapais and the Tonto Apaches.

Although the Hualapais were to suffer deportation, the United States paid little attention to those who returned to their isolated homes. At this point the two tribes became increasingly distinct. Despite their remote location, Anglo encroachment eventually affected even the Havasupais, and an 1880 executive order established their reservation along Havasu Creek. The final designation in 1882 included just 518 acres in the canyon; the Havasupais also lost their traditional upland hunting and gathering grounds (some people continued to use the plateau in winter but were forced off in 1934, when the National Park Service destroyed their homes).

The Havasupais intensified farming on their little remaining land and began a wide-scale cultivation of peaches. In 1912 they purchased cattle. Severe epidemics in the early twentieth century reduced their population to just over 100. At the same time the Bureau of Indian Affairs, initially slow to move into the canyon, proceeded with a program of rapid acculturation. By the 1930s, Havasupai economic independence had given way to a reliance on limited wage labor. Traditional political power declined as well, despite the creation in 1939 of a tribal council.

Feeling confined in the canyon, the Havasupai stepped up their fight for permanent grazing rights on the plateau. The 1950s were a grim time for the people, with no employment and little tourism. Conflict over land led to deep familial divisions, which in turn resulted in serious cultural loss. Food prices at the local store were half again as high as those in neighboring towns. In the 1960s, however, an infusion of federal funds provided employment in tribal programs as well as modern utilities. Still, croplands continued to shrink, as more and more land was devoted to the upkeep of pack animals for the tourists, the tribe's limited but main source of income. In 1975, after an intensive lobbying effort, the government restored 185,000 acres of land to the Havasupai.

*See also* Agriculture; Environment and Pollution; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.





## Hopi

"Hopi" comes from *Hopituh Shi-nu-mu*, "Peaceful People." They were formerly called the Moki (or Moqui) Indians, a name probably taken from a Zuni epithet. The Hopis are the westernmost of the Pueblo peoples. First, Second, and Third Mesas are all part of Black Mesa, located on the Colorado Plateau between the Colorado River and the Rio Grande, in northeast Arizona. Of the several Hopi villages, all but Old Oraibi are of relatively recent construction. Hopi, a Shoshonean language, is a member of the Uto-Aztecan language family.

According to legend, the Hopis agreed to act as caretakers of this Fourth World in exchange for permission to live here. Over centuries of a stable existence based on farming, they evolved an extremely rich ceremonial life. The Hopi Way, whose purpose is to maintain a balance between nature and people in every aspect of life, is ensured by the celebration of their ceremonies.

The Hopis recognize two major ceremonial cycles, masked (January or February until July) and unmasked, which are determined by the position of the sun and the lunar calendar. The purpose of most ceremonies is to bring rain. As the symbol of life and well-being, corn, a staple crop, is the focus of many ceremonies. All great ceremonies last nine days, including a preliminary day. Each ceremony is controlled by a clan or several clans. Central to Hopi ceremonialism is the kiva, or underground chamber, which is seen as a doorway to the cave world from whence their ancestors originally came.

Katsinas are guardian spirits, or intermediaries between the creator and the people. They are said to dwell at the San Francisco peaks and at other holy places. Every year at the winter solstice, they travel to inhabit people's bodies and remain until after the summer solstice. Recreated in dolls and masks, they deliver the blessings of life and teach people the proper way to live. Katsina societies are associated with clan ancestors and with rain gods. All Hopis are initiated into katsina societies, although only men play an active part in them.

Perhaps the most important ceremony of the year is Soyal, or the winter solstice, which celebrates the Hopi worldview and recounts their legends. Another important ceremony is Niman, the harvest festival. The August Snake Dance has become a well-known Hopi ceremony.

Like other Pueblo peoples, the Hopis recognize a dual division of time and space between the upper

world of the living and the lower world of the dead. Prayer may be seen as a mediation between the upper and lower, or human and supernatural, worlds. These worlds coexist at the same time and may be seen in oppositions such as summer and winter, day and night, life and death. In all aspects of Hopi ritual, ideas of space, time, color, and number are all interrelated in such a way as to provide order to the Hopi world.

Traditionally, the Hopis favored a weak government coupled with a strong matrilineal, matrilocal clan system. They were not a tribe in the usual sense of the word but were characterized by an elaborate social structure, each village having its own organization and each individual his or her own place in the community. The "tribe" was "invented" in 1936, when the non-Native Oliver La Farge wrote their constitution. Although a tribal council exists, many people's allegiance remains with the village kikmongwi (cacique). A kikmongwi is appointed for life and rules in matters of traditional religion. Major villages include Walpi (First Mesa), Shungopavi (Second Mesa), and Oraibi (Third Mesa).

Hopi children learn their traditions through katsina dolls, including scare-katsinas, as well as social pressure, along with an abundance of love and attention. This approach tends to encourage friendliness and sharing in Hopi children. In general, women owned (and built) the houses and other material resources, whereas men farmed and hunted away from the village. Special societies included katsina and other men's and women's organizations concerned with curing, clowning, weather control, and war.

Distinctive one- or two-floor pueblo housing featured sandstone and adobe walls and roof beams of pine and juniper, gathered from afar. The dwellings were entered via ladders through openings in the roofs and were arranged around a central plaza. This architectural arrangement reflects and reinforces cosmological ideas concerning emergence from an underworld through successive world levels.

Hopis have been expert dry farmers for centuries, growing corn, beans, squash, cotton, and tobacco on floodplains and sand dunes or, with the use of irrigation, near springs. The Spanish brought crops such as wheat, chilies, peaches, melons, and other fruit. Men were the farmers and hunters of game such as deer, antelope, elk, and rabbits. The Hopi also kept domesticated turkeys. Women gathered wild food and herbs, such as pine nuts, prickly





*Hopi woman dressing hair of unmarried girl, ca. 1900. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

pear, yucca, berries, currants, nuts, and seeds. Crops were dried and stored against drought and famine.

Farming technology included digging sticks (later the horse and plow), small rock or brush-and-dirt dams and sage windbreaks, and an accurate calendar on which each year's planting time was based. Grinding tools were made of stone. Men wove clothing and women made pottery, which was used for many purposes. Men also hunted with the bow and arrow and used snares and nets to trap animals.

The Hopis are probably descended from the prehistoric Ancestral Puebloan culture. Ancestors of the Hopis have been in roughly the same location for at least 10,000 years. During the fourteenth century, the Hopis became one of three centers of

Pueblo culture, along with the Zuni/Acoma and Rio Grande Pueblos. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, three traits in particular distinguished the Hopi culture: a highly specialized agriculture, including selective breeding and various forms of irrigation; a pronounced artistic impulse, as seen in mural and pottery painting; and the mining and use of coal (after which the Hopi returned to using wood for fuel and sheep dung for firing pottery).

The Hopis first met non-Native Americans when members of Coronado's party came into their country in 1540. The first missionary arrived in 1629, at Awatovi. Although the Spanish did not colonize Hopis, they did make the Indians swear allegiance to





the Spanish crown and attempted to undermine their religious beliefs. For this reason, the Hopis joined the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. They destroyed all local missions and established new pueblos at the top of Black Mesa that were easier to defend. The Spanish reconquest of 1692 did not reach Hopi land, and the Hopis welcomed refugees from other pueblos who sought to live free of Spanish influence. In 1700, the Hopis destroyed Awatovi, the only village with an active mission, and remained free of Christianity for almost 200 years thereafter.

During the nineteenth century the Hopis endured an increase in Navajo raiding. Later in the century they again encountered non-Natives, this time permanently. The U.S. government established a Hopi reservation in 1882, and the railroad began bringing in trading posts, tourists, missionaries, and scholars. The new visitors in turn brought disease epidemics that reduced the Hopi population dramatically.

Like many tribes, the Hopis struggled to deal with the upheaval brought about by these new circumstances. Following the Dawes Act (1887), surveyors came in preparation for parceling the land into individual allotments; the Hopis met them with armed resistance. Although there was no fighting, Hopi leaders were imprisoned. They were imprisoned as well for their general refusal to send their children to the new schools, which were known for brutal discipline and policies geared toward cultural genocide. Hopi children were kidnapped and sent to the schools anyway.

Factionalism also took a toll on Hopi life. Ceremonial societies split between “friendly” and “hostile” factions. This development led in 1906 to the division of Oraibi, which had been continuously occupied since at least 1100, into five villages. Contact with the outside world increased significantly after the two world wars. By the 1930s, the Hopi economy and traditional ceremonial life were in shambles (yet perhaps the latter remained more intact than that of any other U.S. tribe). Most people who could find work worked for wages or the tourist trade. For the first time, alcoholism became a problem.

In 1943, a U.S. decision to divide the Hopi and Navajo Reservations into grazing districts resulted in the loss of most Hopi land. This sparked a major disagreement between the tribes and the government that continues to this day. Following World War II, the “hostile” traditionalists emerged as the caretakers of land, resisting Cold War–related poli-

cies such as mineral development and nuclear testing and mining. The official (“friendly”) tribal council, however, instituted policies that favored the exploitation of the land, notably permitting Peabody Coal to strip-mine Black Mesa, beginning in 1970.

*See also* Agriculture; Ancestral Puebloan Culture; Katsinas; Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute; Uranium Mining.

## Hopi-Tewa

The Hopi-Tewas are a small group (roughly 700) of Native Americans living mostly on the Hopi Reservation. These Indians are descended from immigrants who settled at First Mesa (Tewa Village [Hano] and Polacca) following the Pueblo Revolt, around 1700. They speak a variety of Tewa, a Tanoan language, and have some distinct cultural attributes.

*See also* Ancestral Puebloan Culture; Pueblo Revolt.

## Hualapai

The Hualapai, or Walapai (Xawálapáiya), “Pine Tree People,” were named after the piñon pine nut. With the Havasupais, they are called the Pais (Pa’as) Indians (“the People”; the Hualapais are the western Pais, and the Havasupais are the eastern Pais). They are also described, with the Havasupais and the Yavapais, as Upland Yumans, in contrast to the River Yumans, such as the Mojaves and Quechans. Hualapais spoke Upland Yuman, a member of the Hokan-Siouan language family.

The Pai Indians, who traditionally considered themselves one people, probably descended from the prehistoric Patayans of the ancient Hakataya culture. Thirteen bands of Pais originally ranged in northwest Arizona along the Colorado River, hunting, farming, and gathering. By historic times, three subtribes had been organized: the Middle Mountain People, the Plateau People, and the Yavapai Fighters. Each subtribe was further divided into several bands, which in turn were divided into camps and families.

Traditional political authority was decentralized. The headmen of both a camp (roughly twenty people) and a band (roughly eighty-five to 200 people) led by fostering consensus. They served as





war chiefs and spokespeople when necessary. The position of headman was occasionally hereditary but more often based on personality and ability. There was little or no tribal identity until the early twentieth century, when the Hualapais created a fledgling tribal council. In the 1930s they adopted a constitution and elected their first tribal president.

Occasionally the Hualapais grew the standard American crops (corn, beans, and squash) near springs and ditches. Corn was made into mush, soup, and bread; pumpkins were dried in long strips. In the main, however, they obtained their food by hunting and gathering, leaving their summer camps to follow the seasonal ripening of wild foods. The women gathered piñon nuts, cactus and yucca fruits, agave (mescal) hearts, mesquite beans, and other plants. The men hunted deer, antelope, mountain sheep, rabbits (in drives), and small game. Meat was dried and stored in skin bags. The Hualapais also ate fish.

The Hualapais were part of an extensive system of exchange that stretched from the Pacific Ocean to the Pueblos. Shell decorations and horses came from the Mojaves and the Quechans. Rich red ocher pigment was a key trade item, as were baskets and dried mescal and dressed skins. Meat and skins went for crops; lima beans for Hopi peaches.

Although the Pais encountered non-Natives in 1540, or perhaps as late as 1598, neither the Spanish nor the Mexicans developed Hualapai country, which remained fairly isolated until the 1820s. Around that time, a trail was blazed from the Rio Grande to California that led directly through Pai country. After the Mexican cession (1848), Hualapais began working in white-owned mines. With Anglo invasions and treaty violations increasing and the mines ever exploitative, the Hualapais, in 1865, met violence with violence. A warrior named Cherum forced a key U.S. retreat but later scouted for his old enemy. Later, the United States selected Hualapai Charley and Leve Leve as principal chiefs because they were amenable to making peace. The Hualapai War ended in 1869.

Because the eastern Pais played a minor role in the war, they were allowed to return home afterward; it was at this juncture that the two "tribes," Hualapais and Havasupais, became increasingly separate. The army forced the Hualapais who failed to escape to march in 1874 to the Colorado River Reservation. There, the low altitude combined with disease and poor rations brought the Hualapais much suffering and death. When they filtered back

home several years later, they found their land in non-Native hands. Still, they applied for and received official permission to remain, and a reservation was established for them in 1883.

The reservation consisted of 1 million acres on the South Rim of the Grand Canyon, a fraction of their original land. Before long, overgrazing by non-Indians had ruined the Native food supply, and ranchers and cattlemen were directly threatening the Indians with physical violence. A series of epidemics struck the Hualapais. Most Hualapais lived off the reservation, scrambling for wage work and sending their children to Anglo schools. As the Hualapais formed an underclass of cheap, unskilled labor, their way of life began to vanish. The railroad depot at Peach Springs became the primary Hualapai village, but the railroad brought only dislocation, disease, and some jobs. Their new condition strengthened their differences with the still isolated Havasupais.

The Hualapais began herding cattle in 1914, although their herds were greatly outnumbered by those of non-Natives. Extensive prejudice against the Indians diminished somewhat after World War I, out of respect for Indian war heroes. Through the midtwentieth century the Hualapais retained a strong sense of their culture, although economic progress was extremely slow up to then.

*See also* Disease, Historic and Contemporary;  
Reservation Economic and Social Conditions;  
Trade.

## Isleta Pueblo

"Isleta" is a name taken from the Spanish missions San Antonio de la Isleta and San Augustin de la Isleta (*isleta* means "little island"). The word "pueblo" comes from the Spanish for "village." It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). The Pueblos along the Rio Grande are known as eastern Pueblos; Zunis, Hopis, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. The Tiwa name for Isleta Pueblo is Shiewhibak, meaning "flint kick-stick place." The Isletas spoke southern Tiwa, a Kiowa-Tanoan language.

Since at least the eighteenth century, the Isleta Pueblo has been located on the Rio Grande several





miles south of Albuquerque. The pueblo consists of a main village (San Agustín) and two farm villages (Chikal and “town chief”) three miles to the south.

Like many Pueblos, Isleta was governed by a dual leadership system: a cacique (head of the Pueblo), intimately related to traditional religion, and a governor and his staff, which derived from Spanish colonial rule. The last correctly installed cacique at Isleta died in 1896. After that date, disruptions of installation rituals caused the war chiefs to serve for decades as acting caciques. This situation came to a head in the 1940s, when a political revolution split the pueblo into several factions and postponed elections. With the help of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, a constitution was drawn up; elections were held and the proper officers installed in 1950.

Isleta Pueblo was organized into seven corn groups. Men led the groups, although there were women’s auxiliaries. The groups were ritual units, similar to kiva groups, functioning for personal crises and societal ceremonies. The tribe was also divided into Red Eyes (summer) and Black Eyes (winter) groups. Each had a war captain and two or three assistants. Four men from each group served for life as grandfathers or disciplinarians. Each group had ceremonial, irrigation, clowning, hunting, ballplaying, and other group responsibilities.

Two medicine societies (for illness due to misbehavior or witchcraft) were the Town Fathers and the Laguna Fathers. A warrior’s society consisted of people who had taken a scalp and had been ritually purified. Closely associated with the kiva, this group also had a women’s component, with special duties. The economy was basically a socialistic one, whereby labor was shared and produce was distributed equally. In modern times photography by outsiders is discouraged.

The Isleta Pueblo featured apartment-style dwellings as high as five stories, as well as individual houses, facing south. The buildings were constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with beams across the roof that were covered with poles, brush, and plaster. Floors were of wood plank or packed earth. The roof of one level served as the floor of another.

The levels were interconnected by ladders. As an aid to defense, the traditional design included no doors or windows; entry was through the roof. Pit-houses, or kivas, served as ceremonial chambers and clubhouses. The village plaza, around which all dwellings were clustered, is the spiritual center of

the village where all the balanced forces of the world come together. A track for ceremonial foot races was also part of the village.

Isletas were farmers. Before the Spanish arrived, they ate primarily corn, beans, and squash. They also grew cotton and tobacco. They hunted deer, mountain lion, bear, antelope, and rabbits. Occasionally, men from Isleta would travel east to hunt buffalo. Isletas also gathered a variety of wild seeds, nuts, berries, and other foods and fished in rivers and mountain streams. The Spanish introduced wheat, alfalfa, chilies, fruit trees, grapes (often made into wine for sale to the Laguna Pueblo or nearby Spanish-American villages), sheep, cattle, and garden vegetables, which soon became part of the regular diet.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.

## Jemez Pueblo

Jemez is from the Spanish *Jémez*, taken from the Jemez self-designation. The Jemez name for their pueblo is *Walatowa*, “at the pueblo in the cañada” or “this is the place.” The word “pueblo” comes from the Spanish for “village.” It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zuni, Hopi, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. The people spoke Towa, a Kiowa-Tanoan language. The Jemez Pueblo is located along the east bank of the Jemez River, twenty-five miles north of Bernalillo, New Mexico.

The Jemez people lived near Stone Canyon, south of Dulce, New Mexico, around 2,000 years ago. They moved to near their present location after the arrival of the Athapaskans, around the fourteenth century. However, some of them moved to the San Diego Canyon–Guadalupe Canyon area, south of Santa Fe, where they established numerous large fortresses and hundreds of small houses.

The Jemez recognized two divisions, or kiva groups: Squash and Turquoise. The people were further arranged into matrilineal clans with specific ceremonial functions. In modern times photography by outsiders has been discouraged.





More than any other pueblo, Jemez was built on the heights of mesas. It featured apartment-style dwellings of up to four stories, containing as many as 2,000 rooms, as well as one- and two-room houses. The buildings were constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with pine beams across the roof that were covered with poles, brush, and plaster. Floors were of wood plank or packed earth. The roof of one level served as the floor of another. The levels were interconnected by ladders. As an aid to defense, the traditional design included no doors or windows; entry was through the roof. Two rectangular pithouses, or kivas, served as ceremonial chambers and clubhouses. The village plaza, around which all dwellings were clustered, is the spiritual center of the village where all the balanced forces of the world come together. Jemez people also built cliff dwellings to guard access to important places and monitor trails.

Before the Spanish arrived, Jemez people ate primarily corn, beans, and squash. They also grew cotton and tobacco. They hunted deer, mountain lion, bear, antelope, and rabbits. Twice a year, after planting and again after the harvest, men would travel east to hunt buffalo. The women also gathered a variety of wild foods including piñon seeds, yucca fruit, berries, and wild potatoes. The Spanish introduced wheat, alfalfa, chilies, fruit trees, grapes, sheep, cattle, and garden vegetables, which soon became part of the regular diet.

The Spaniards found them in 1540 and built a mission at Giusewa Pueblo in the late sixteenth century. In 1621, they began another mission at the Pueblo de la Congregación, the present Jemez Pueblo. In 1628, Fray Martin de Arvide arrived at the Mission of San Diego de la Congregación with orders to unite the scattered Jemez communities, after which the Jemez Pueblo became an important center for missionary activity.

Despite the pueblo's position as a missionary center, the Jemez people actively resisted Spanish efforts to undermine their religion. They joined in rebellion with the Navajo about 1645, a crime for which twenty-nine Jemez leaders were hanged. They also took a leading part in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. For years, the Spaniards had routinely tortured Indians for practicing traditional religion. They also forced the Indians to labor for them, sold them into slavery, and let Spaniard-owned cattle overgraze Indian land, a situation that eventually led to drought, erosion, and famine. Popé of the San Juan Pueblo and other Pueblo religious leaders

planned the great revolt, sending runners carrying cords of maguey fibers to mark the day of rebellion. On August 10, 1680, a virtually united stand on the part of the Pueblos drove the Spanish from the region. The Indians killed many Spaniards but refrained from mass slaughter, allowing most of them to leave Santa Fe for El Paso.

The Jemez people withdrew to sites on the top of the San Diego Mesa in 1681. When the Spanish left they descended, only to reascend in 1689 when they sighted a new Spanish force. Some returned again to the pueblo in 1692, when they, along with Keresans from the Zia Pueblo, arrived at an understanding with the Spanish. Most Jemez, however, still resisted the Spanish, a situation that resulted in fighting between the Jemez and the Keresan pueblos of Zia and Santa Ana. This in turn resulted in a punitive Spanish-Keresan expedition in 1694, ending in the death or capture of over 400 Jemez people. All prisoners were pardoned after they helped the Spanish defeat the Tewas at Black Mesa.

By 1696, the Jemez Pueblo had been rebuilt and reoccupied at or near the original site. The following year, however, after joining again with the Navajo in an anti-Spanish revolt, the Jemez returned to their ancestral homeland near Stone Canyon. Others went west to Navajo country; of these, some eventually returned to Jemez but many remained with the Navajo. Some Jemez also fled to the Hopi Pueblo but were returned several years later by missionaries. The Jemez exile did not end until the early eighteenth century, when members of the tribe returned and settled at Walatowa, twelve miles south of their former mesa homes. At that time they built a new church, San Diego de los Jémez.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.

## Laguna Pueblo

"Laguna," Spanish for "lake," refers to a large pond near the pueblo. The word "pueblo" comes from the Spanish for "village." It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). The Pueblos along the Rio Grande are known as eastern Pueblos; Zunis, Hopis, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos.





The Lagunas call their pueblo *Kawaika*, “Lake.” The people spoke a Keresan dialect similar to that of the Acoma Pueblo. The Laguna Pueblo is made up of six major villages in central New Mexico, forty-two miles west of Albuquerque.

All Pueblo people are thought to be descended from Ancestral Puebloan, perhaps Mogollon, and several other ancient peoples, although the precise origin of the Keresan peoples is unknown. From them they learned architecture, farming, pottery, and basketry. Larger population groups became possible with effective agriculture and ways to store food surpluses. In the context of a relatively stable existence, the people devoted increasing amounts of time and attention to religion, arts, and crafts.

The Laguna Pueblo featured multistory, apartment-style dwellings. The lower levels were reserved mainly for storage. The buildings were constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with beams across the roof that were covered with poles, brush, and plaster. The roof of one level served as the floor of another. The levels were interconnected by ladders. As an aid to defense, the traditional design included no doors or windows; entry was through the roof. Baking ovens stood outside the buildings. Water was primarily obtained from two natural cisterns. Laguna also features two rectangular pithouses, or kivas, for ceremonial chambers and clubhouses. Herders stayed in caves, small rectangular houses, logs in a horseshoe shape covered with brush, or dugouts. The village plaza is the spiritual center of the village where all the balanced forces of the world come together.

Before the Spanish arrived, people living at the Laguna Pueblo ate primarily corn, beans, and squash. They also grew sunflowers and tobacco and kept turkeys. They hunted deer, antelope, and rabbits and gathered a variety of wild seeds, nuts, berries, and other foods. Favorite foods as of about 1700 included a blue corn drink, corn mush, pudding, wheat cake, corn balls, paper bread, peach-bark drink, flour bread, wild berries, and prickly pear fruit. The Lagunas also raised herds of sheep, goats, horses, and donkeys after the Spanish introduced these animals into the region.

Lagunas practiced dry farming and ditch irrigation technology. They used mica for window lights. Fine white clay yielded excellent pottery, and wicker baskets were fashioned of red willow shoots.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.

## Maricopa

*See* Pee-Posh.

## Mojave or Mohave

The original name is *Tzi-na-ma-a*. “Mojave” is a Hispanicization of the Yuman *aha-makave*, meaning “beside the water.” The Mojaves traditionally lived in the Mojave Valley and along the northern lower Colorado River. Today, Mojave Indians live primarily on the Fort Mojave Reservation (Arizona) and on the Colorado River Indian Reservation (Arizona and California). Mojaves spoke River Yuman, a member of the Hokan-Siouan language family. Roughly 20,000 Mojaves lived along the river in the early sixteenth century. Their number was reduced to 3,000 by 1770.

The modern Mojave Indians settled the Mojave Valley around 1150. These people farmed soil enriched from sediment left by the annual spring floods. The Mojave may have encountered non-Natives as early as 1540. Although they served as scouts for Father Francisco Garces’s Grand Canyon expedition in 1776, among others, they generally resisted Spanish interference and maintained their independence.

The Mojaves believed, as did all Yumans, that they originally emerged into this world from a place near Spirit Mountain, Nevada. Dreaming was the key to the Mojave religious experience. Dreams were seen as visits with ancestors. There were omen dreams and, more rarely, great dreams, which brought the power to cure, to lead in battle, to orate at a funeral, or to do almost anything. However, dreams were considered of questionable authenticity unless they conferred success. Dreams permeated every aspect of Mojave culture. They were the source of constant discussion and meditation. Shamans had the most elaborate great dreams, which were considered to have begun in the womb. Shamans could cause disease as well as cure it, a situation that made for a precarious existence for them.

The Mojaves performed few public ceremonies or rituals. Instead, they sang song cycles for curing, funerals, and entertainment. The cycles consisted of dreams and tribal mythology and were accompanied by people shaking rattles and beating sticks on baskets. A complete cycle could take a night or more to sing, and the Mojaves knew about thirty cycles, each with 100 to 200 songs.





*Four Mojave chiefs with a Yuma, second from left, acting as interpreter, ca. 1887. (Library of Congress)*

Positions of authority, such as subchiefs or local leaders, derived from dreaming or oratory. Hereditary chiefs in the male line did exist, although with obscure functions. Despite their loose division into bands and local groups, the Mojaves thought of themselves as a true tribe; that is, they possessed a national consciousness, and they came together for important occasions such as warfare. Men planted the crops and women harvested them. Leaders addressed the people from rooftops in the morning about proper ways of living. Hunters generally gave away what they killed. Both men and women tattooed and painted their bodies. The dead were cremated, and their possessions and homes were also burned after a special ceremony during which mourners sang song cycles. No formal marriage ceremony existed: Marriages were arranged by the couple, and divorce was easy and common. Women carried babies on the hip, never on the back. Mojaves often traveled widely for trade and fun, covering up to 100 miles by foot in a day.

Bands and families lived in scattered rancherias, or farms. In warm weather they lived in flat-roofed, open-sided structures. Cold weather dwellings were low and rectangular, with roofs of thatch-covered

poles; sand and earth or river mud were piled over the exterior. Doors faced south against the cold north winds. The people also used cylindrical granaries with flat roofs.

Crops such as corn, beans, and pumpkins (and wheat and melons after the Spanish arrived) constituted 50 percent of the Mojave diet. They also caught fish; hunted game such as rabbits and beaver with bows and arrows, traps, or deadfalls; and gathered wild foods. Mesquite beans in particular were a staple, used for food, drink, flour (pith from pods), shoes and clothing (bark), hair dye, instruments (roots), glue (sap), fuel for firing pottery, and funeral pyres.

Men and women wore loincloths; women also wore willow-bark aprons. Both went barefoot except when traveling, when they wore badger-hide sandals. Rabbit-skin blankets and robes kept them warm in winter. Both sexes wore their hair long; women's hung loose, and men rolled theirs into strands. Both tattooed their chins and painted their faces.

The Mojaves were fierce fighters. A warrior society (*kwanamis*) led three different fighting groups: archers, clubbers, and stick (or lance) men. In addition to those three types of weapons, they also used deer-hide shields, mesquite or willow bows, and arrows in coyote or wildcat quivers. War leaders





experienced dreams conferring power in battle. Traditional enemies included the Pimas, O'odhams, Pee-Posh, and Cocopahs; allies included the Quechans, Chemehuevis, Yavapais, and western Apaches. The Mojaves often took girls or young women as prisoners, giving them to old men as an insult to the enemy.

Contact with non-Natives remained sporadic until the nineteenth century. At about that time they began raiding Anglo-American fur trappers. They also allowed a band of Paiute Indians called the Chemehuevis to settle in the southern portion of their territory. The Mexican cession and discovery of gold in California brought more trespassers and led to more raids. In 1857, the Mojaves suffered a decisive military loss to their ancient enemies, the Pima and Pee-Posh (Maricopa) Indians. Two years later, the United States built Forts Mojave and Yuma to stem Mojave raiding. By this time, however, the Mojaves, defeated in battle and weakened by disease, settled for peace.

In 1865, the Mojave leader Irrateba (or Yara Tav) convinced a group of his followers to relocate to the Colorado River Valley area. The same year, Congress created the Colorado River Reservation for "all the tribes of the Colorado River drainage," primarily the Mojaves and Chemehuevis. Roughly 70 percent of the Mojaves had remained in the Mojave Valley, however, and they received a reservation in 1880. This split occasioned intratribal animosities for decades.

The early twentieth century was marked by influenza epidemics and non-Indian encroachment. The first assimilationist government boarding school had opened at the Colorado River Reservation in 1879. Legal allotments began in 1904. Traditional floodplain agriculture disappeared in the 1930s when the great dams tamed the Colorado River. During World War II, many U.S. citizens of Japanese heritage were interned on the Colorado River Reservation: For this operation the United States summarily appropriated 25,000 acres of Indian land.

For nineteen years after the war, until 1964, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) opened the reservation to Hopi and Navajo settlement (tribal rejection of this rule in 1952 was ignored by the BIA). Now all members of four tribes call the reservation home, having evolved into the CRIT (Colorado River Indian Tribes) Indians, a difficult development for the few remaining Mojave elders. In 1963 a federal court case guaranteed the tribes title to federal water

rights. They received a deed to the reservation the following year.

*See also* Agriculture; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Nambé Pueblo

"Nambé" is a Spanish rendition of a similar sounding Tewa name, loosely interpreted as "rounded earth." The word "pueblo" comes from the Spanish for "village." It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). The Pueblos along the Rio Grande are known as eastern pueblos; Zunis, Hopis, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. The Nambé Pueblo is located about fifteen miles north of Santa Fe, New Mexico. The Nambé people spoke a dialect of Tewa, a Kiowa-Tanoan language.

The Nambé people built small, irregular dwellings clustered around a central plaza. The buildings were constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with beams across the roof that were covered with poles, brush, and plaster. Floors were of wood plank or packed earth. Pithouses, or kivas, served as ceremonial chambers and clubhouses. The village plaza, around which all dwellings were clustered, is the spiritual center of the village where all the balanced forces of the world come together.

Before the Spanish arrived, people from the Nambé Pueblo ate primarily corn, beans, and squash. They also grew cotton and tobacco. They hunted deer, mountain lion, antelope, and rabbit, and gathered a variety of wild seeds, nuts, berries, and other foods. The Spanish introduced wheat, alfalfa, chilies, fruit trees, grapes, sheep, cattle, and garden vegetables, which soon became part of the regular diet.

In the Pueblo Way, art and life are inseparable. Nambé artists specialized in making embroidered dresses. Songs, dances, and dramas also qualify as traditional arts. Many Pueblos experienced a renaissance of traditional arts in the twentieth century, beginning in 1919 with San Ildefonso pottery.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.





## Navajo (Dine'é)

"Navajo" is a Tewa word meaning "planted fields." The Navajos call themselves Dine'é, "the People." Like the Apaches, they are of Athapaskan descent. Dinétah, the traditional Navajo homeland, is located on the lower Colorado Plateau, between the San Juan and Little Colorado Rivers, about seventy-five miles northwest of Santa Fe. Today's Navajo Nation occupies a 28,800-square-mile reservation in northern Arizona and New Mexico and southern Utah. This land is mostly plateau (above 5,000 feet) and is marked by deep, sheer-walled canyons. The winters are cold, the summers are hot, and there is little water.

The Dine'é are the most numerous Indian tribe in the United States. In 1990, 144,000 Indians lived on the Navajo Reservation, plus 1,177 at Cañoncito and 191 at Ramah. Many thousands also live off-reservation. More than 200,000 Indians now qualify for membership in the Navajo Nation (officially

219,198 in 1990). Perhaps 6,000 Navajos lived in the Dinétah in 1800. Navajo is an Athapaskan language.

Roughly 3,000 years ago, the Athapaskans, along with others (all called the Na-Dene), began a new wave of Asian migration into North America. Nomadic hunter-gatherers, the southern Athapaskans arrived in the Southwest in roughly 1400 and filled in the mountains around the Pueblo-held valleys. The northern Athapaskans remained in the subarctic.

*Sa'ah Naaghei Bik'en Hozho*, which may be characterized as being grounded to the earth, whole, and in harmony with life, is the Navajo Way. Everything is sacred and interrelated. For instance, religion equals identity equals clan equals place. The chief role of ceremonialism is to maintain or restore this harmony. Therefore, most ceremonies are for curing illness, broadly defined as being off balance for any number of reasons, such as contact with non-Natives, ghosts, witches, or the dead.



*Navajo hogan and cornfield near Holbrook, Arizona, ca. 1889. (National Archives and Records Administration)*





According to legend, Navajos (and all other beings) came to this world 600 to 800 years ago through a progression of underworlds. They were assisted by powerful and mysterious spiritual beings such as coyote, changing woman, spider woman, spider man, and the hero twins. These beings exist in the natural and supernatural worlds and may be called upon for help with curing. Most ceremonies are held when needed, not according to the calendar.

Many important aspects of Navajo ceremonialism, such as the use of masked dancers, feathered prayer sticks, altars, dry (sand) painting, cornmeal, and pollen, were borrowed from the Hopi and other Pueblo people. Traditional Navajo religion excludes organized priesthoods or religious societies. Instead, ceremonies are conducted by “singers” who have mastered one or more of twenty-four chantway systems. The systems are divided into six main groups: blessingway, warway, gameway (hunting), and the three curing ceremonials—holyway, evilway (ghostway), and lifeway. Each group might be composed of fifty or more chants, which in turn might have hundreds of songs or prayers. Specific sandpaintings and social functions often accompany each chant.

As part of the ceremony, the singers use bundles containing items such as rattles, feathered wands and brushes, various stones, and herbal medicines. The most important is the mountain earth bundle, which contains pinches of soil from the tops of the four sacred (bordering) mountains. Around 1940, the Native American Church took its place in Navajo religious practice.

Traditionally, the Navajos were organized in a number of bands, each led by a headman (appointed for life) and a clan leader, who were assisted by one or more war leaders. The leaders met formally only every few years. Decisions were made by consensus.

In general, the individual takes precedence over the group in Navajo culture. Property ownership is individual. The residence group, which was organized around a head mother, a sheep herd, and a customary land-use area, was the largest traditional Navajo organization. Clans were both matrilineal and matrilocal. Men were not allowed to see or talk with their mothers-in-law, so families lived near the wife's mother but in their own homes. The Navajos had a great fear of death. After the dead were buried, their belongings were destroyed.

The extended family was an important economic and social unit, as was the “outfit” in later times, a grouping that consisted of two or more

extended families. Home, crops, pottery, and livestock belonged to women and were considered women's work; men made jewelry and represented the family in public and at ceremonies. A four-day girls' puberty ceremony ranked among the most important occasions.

Navajos lived in hogans. At first they were cone-shaped structures, framed with logs and poles and covered with earth and bark. Later the hogans had six or eight sides and were covered with stone and adobe. Doorways always faced east. The hogans were grouped in rancherias, or small settlements. Other structures included sweat lodges, brush corrals, and ramadas.

To the Athapaskans, Spanish influence (beginning in the early seventeenth century) meant primarily horses, guns, and places to raid. Consequently their interest in raiding grew, and they effectively established the northern Spanish frontier. Spanish missionaries had little success with the Navajos. Navajos also raided Pueblo Indians for food, women, slaves, and property. Between raids, Navajo and Pueblo people traded with each other. From this contact, the Navajos adopted some Pueblo habits, arts, and customs, especially farming, and settled down. They became farmers, then herders of sheep, goats, and horses.

Navajos helped the Pueblo people in their great revolt against the Spanish (1680), mainly by accepting, occasionally on a permanent basis, fugitives and refugees. Throughout much of the eighteenth century, the Navajos came in greater contact with Pueblo people and adopted more and more of their ways. Dine'é-Pueblo “pueblitas” became almost a distinct culture in parts of the Dinétah. What is now considered the traditional Navajo culture arose out of this cultural mix.

Animal husbandry, agriculture, hunting, gathering, and weaving wool made up the economic base of the Navajos as they began slowly to spread west and south. The early nineteenth century saw much reciprocal raiding with Mexicans, Spaniards, and early U.S. travelers on the Santa Fe Trail. Faced with the Mexicans' better firepower, Navajos, especially children, became targets of slave traders during the first half of the nineteenth century. At this time the Navajos possessed no tribal consciousness. They traveled with their livestock in clans (there were over sixty) to summer and winter hogans.

In the 1840s, the Navajos held out against U.S. troops in their sacred stronghold, Canyon de Chelly. However, treaties signed then did not stop





the conflict over grazing lands; white abuses of Indians, including the slave trade; and U.S. Army depredations. Following the Mexican Cession (1848), the Navajos were shocked to learn that the United States considered itself the “owner” of all traditional Navajo territory. In the face of Navajo resistance, the United States determined to take the land by force.

The great warrior and war chief Manuelito attacked and almost took Fort Defiance in 1860. Kit Carson defeated the Navajos in 1864 through a scorched-earth policy: He destroyed their fields, orchards, and livestock, and then he invaded Canyon de Chelly. Band by band the Navajos surrendered. Manuelito surrendered in 1866. The United States then forcibly relocated 8,000 Navajos to Bosque Redondo (Fort Sumner) in eastern New Mexico, with plans to transform them into farmers. Hundreds of Navajos died on the 400-mile walk, and 2,000 more died in a smallpox epidemic the following year. The Navajos who had not been captured hid in and around Navajo country.

In 1868 the Navajos were allowed to return and were granted 3.5 million acres of land for a reservation. Although the treaty called for a U.S. government-appointed tribal chief, local headmen retained their power. Manuelito returned home to serve as a Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA)-appointed subchief and then head chief of the Navajos. He also served as the head of the Navajo Cavalry, the local police dedicated to ending Navajo raiding. After their return, the Navajos turned successfully to horse and sheep herding. Navajo culture changed quickly at that time: Trading posts opened, rug weaving for tourists began to take the place of traditional blanket weaving, children were sent to U.S. boarding schools (although this was fiercely resisted at first), Navajos began working for the railroads, missionaries arrived in force, and non-Native health care made inroads into traditional cultural practices.

By 1886 the reservation had grown from 3.5 to 11.5 million acres, although much of the best land was taken for railroad rights of way. Tremendous sheep and goat herds made the Navajos relatively prosperous and independent until the mid-1890s, when economic and natural disasters combined to reduce the herds by 75 percent. Following this period the Navajos switched from subsistence herding to raising stock for market.

The Navajos remained organized primarily by band into the twentieth century and thus knew little

or no true tribal consciousness until a business council began to meet in 1922. Local business councils, the first and most important community-level political entities, had been created in 1904 (well over a hundred chapters of the councils now exist). In 1915, the BIA divided the Navajo Reservation into six districts (which were in turn reorganized in 1955), each with a non-Indian superintendent. These communities retain their character as government towns. In 1923 the Secretary of the Interior appointed a tribal commissioner and a tribal council. In 1923 Henry Chee Dodge, who had assumed the position of head chief after Manuelito, became the first tribal chair. He provided the tribe with valuable leadership until his death in 1947.

Overgrazing was the key issue in the 1930s; a BIA-mandated stock reduction at that time led to dramatically lower standards of living. It also led to rejection by the tribe of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), of which the stock reduction plan was a part. World War II was a watershed for the tribe: Navajos traveled off the reservation in numbers for the first time, and those who returned came home not only with some money but also with a sense of honor gained from fighting as well as from using their language as a code the enemy was unable ever to break. Still, a crisis of unemployment and even starvation marked the immediate postwar years for the Navajos.

The 1950s brought large-scale energy development and with it jobs, money, and new social problems. Coal, oil, and uranium were the most important resources. The number of tribal programs increased dramatically, as did the power of the tribal council. The tribe adopted its own court system and legal code in 1959. The new programs culminated in 1965 with the Office of Navajo Economic Opportunity (ONEO), led by Peter MacDonald. The ONEO funneled tens of millions of dollars into social programs. MacDonald dominated Navajo politics for twenty years, both as head of the ONEO and as tribal chairman in 1970, 1974, 1978, and 1986.

However, the coal leases of the 1960s included provisions for massive strip mining. Soon the once pristine region was seriously polluted, and by the late 1970s there was strong sentiment against further development. MacDonald himself was convicted in 1990 and 1992 of several felony corruption-related crimes and later jailed. Peterson Zah served as tribal chairman in 1982, as president of the Navajo Nation in 1990, and as chair of the Nation in 1992. The controversy over the degree and type of economic





development continues today, the Navajos having achieved a large degree of self-determination.

*See also* Dodge, Henry Chee; Long Walk; MacDonald, Peter; Manuelito; Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute.

## Papago

*See* Tohono O'odham.

## Pecos Pueblo

*See* Jemez Pueblo.

## Pee-Posh

"Pee-Posh" or "Pipatsje" means "the People." These people are also known as the Maricopas. (*See also* Pima.) The Pee-Posh lived for centuries along the lower Colorado River and then began migrating to the Gila River region in the 1600s. Today the majority of Pee-Posh live outside Arizona and California, although the greatest concentrations live with the Pima on the Gila River and Salt River Reservations in Arizona (none live on the Maricopa Reservation). The Pee-Posh spoke a dialect of River Yuman, a Hokan-Siouan language.

The people whom the Spanish called the Opas or the Cocomaricopas were one of several small Yuman tribes (including the related groups—the Halchidomas, Kahwans, Kavelchadoms, and the Halyikwamais) who lived along the lower Colorado River. Contact with the Spanish was minimal and sporadic. By the early eighteenth century, these peoples had relocated up the Gila River, owing to an escalation of attacks by the Quechans and Mojaves. The Pimas offered them land and protection, and the two groups soon formed a confederation. By the early nineteenth century, the Pee-Posh had all but absorbed the smaller tribes.

The Pima-Maricopa confederacy went a long way toward making non-Indian settlement of that part of the desert possible, protecting Anglos from Apaches, starvation, and thirst. For example, the Indians used much of their surplus wheat to pro-

vide food for the so-called forty-niners on their way to California. (By 1870, their wheat production had reached 3 million pounds, an achievement that aroused the wrath of Anglo wheat farmers.) The Indians also sold wheat to the U.S. Army. Beginning in the 1840s, and continuing throughout the century, epidemics took a heavy toll on the Indian population. In 1857, the confederacy decisively defeated the Quechans and Mojaves at Maricopa Wells, marking the last major formal battle between Indian nations in the Southwest.

In recognition of its alliance with the confederation, the U.S. government established a reservation on the Gila River in 1863 for the Pimas and the Pee-Posh. However, river water levels soon began to fall to such low levels as a result of upstream diversions by non-Natives that a group of Indians moved to the confluence of the Gila and Salt Rivers. Now known as Laveen, this community was first called Maricopa Colony. Halchidoma descendants soon relocated to the Salt River, around the present site of Lehi. In 1879, the original reservation was enlarged, and the Salt River Reservation was established.

During that decade several factors conspired to ruin the Indians' thriving economy: a decline in rainfall, a doubling of the population, and, in particular, huge diversions of Gila River water by non-Indians. By the 1880s, Indian crops routinely failed and famine threatened. Many Pimas and Pee-Posh were forced into the wage economy at the lowest levels. With the loss of the river, the heart of their culture also disappeared. The U.S. government continued to ignore the key problem of water rights, and Pima and Pee-Posh impoverishment continued well into the twentieth century.

In the late nineteenth century, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) began a campaign to assimilate local Indians. With its blessing, the Presbyterian Church became very active at Gila River, beginning a day school and in general imposing a religious structure on the tribes. The issue of Christianity proved to be a very divisive one on the reservation. In 1914, allotment hit both reservations (against active Indian opposition), scattering the people and further disrupting community life. In 1926, the BIA formed a Pima Advisory Council in an effort to create a formal body that spoke for the tribe. In 1934, the Pimas created a constitution, which was revised by the Pima and Pee-Posh community two years later.

By 1930, non-Native water diversions had effectively ended Gila River surface water flowing to the





Pee-Posh. Rather than redress the situation, the BIA forced the Indians to use brackish well water. This water was suitable only for growing cotton and some grains, however, and the people could no longer grow edible crops. Several other factors worked to cancel any benefits that might have come with the well water, including a dependency of Indians on wage work, continued ongoing water shortages, and the hated allotments (heirships), which had destroyed their effective land base.

In 1934, the Pimas and the Pee-Posh accepted the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) and formed the Gila River Indian Community. Following World War II, many Pee-Posh (encouraged by the BIA's relocation program) moved away from the reservation. For years outsiders thought that the Pee-Posh had died out and become a subgroup of the Pima Indians.

Nominal village chiefs exerted little influence. Recognized specialists had the true authority, as curers, calendar stick keepers, singers, potters, and dancers. All obtained their power from dreams.

Entire villages moved when someone died, after the body, residence, and possessions had been burned. Special singers sang elaborate song cycles for funerals and transmitted legends, such as ancestral wanderings or conflicts with other groups. Girls celebrated a special puberty ceremony, after which they were tattooed. Both sexes cultivated a high tolerance of pain. As was true for other River Yumans, farming, including ownership of the farm site, was essentially an individual activity. Boundary disputes were solved by mediation or by controlled fighting. The Pee-Posh recognized patrilineal clan as well as village divisions.

Flattened-dome houses were built with a frame of mesquite or cottonwood uprights and covered with willow ribs and arrowweed thatch. Walls were packed with earth. Rectangular ramadas often adjoined the houses. All dwelling entrances faced east. Other structures included storage sheds, woven basket granaries, and sweat lodges.

The Pee-Posh used floodwater agriculture in their farming. Their staples were mesquite beans and corn. Men planted and cultivated, and women harvested. Much food was also gathered, including seeds, berries, nuts, cactus fruit, honey, caterpillars, and beans. The people also ate jackrabbits and fish (caught with nets or bare hands).

*See also* Agriculture; Confederacies; Indian Reorganization Act.

## Picuris Pueblo

"Picuris" comes from the Spanish *picurís*, "at the mountain gap." The word "pueblo" comes from the Spanish for "village." It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zunis, Hopis, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. The people call their pueblo *pingultha*, which means either "mountain warrior place" or "mountain pass place." People from Picuris spoke a dialect of northern Tiwa, a Tanoan language.

The Picuris Pueblo is located on the western slopes of the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, eighteen miles south of Taos Pueblo. The average elevation is about 7,000 feet, which makes for a relatively short and somewhat precarious growing season.

The relative isolation of the Picuris delayed the assimilationist pressures faced by other pueblos. However, a government day school, in which children learned Anglo ways and values, opened in 1899. Adults were encouraged to engage in wage work off the pueblo. Timber operations also began, damaging the fragile irrigation system. In an attempt to retain their identity, the Pueblo Indians clung even more tenaciously to their heritage, which by now included elements of the once hated Spanish culture and religion. By the 1880s, railroads had largely put an end to the traditional geographical isolation of the pueblos. Paradoxically, the U.S. decision to recognize Spanish land grants to the Pueblos denied them certain rights granted under official treaties and left them particularly open to exploitation by squatters and thieves.

In 1947, the adult men of the Picuris voted to change the name of the pueblo to San Lorenzo; however, the name "Picuris" was again adopted in 1955.

The Picuris Pueblo featured apartment-style dwellings as high as nine stories. The buildings were constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with beams across the roof that were covered with poles, brush, and plaster. Floors were of wood plank or packed earth. The roof of one level served as the floor of another. The levels were interconnected by ladders. As an aid to defense, the traditional design included no doors or windows; entry was through the roof. Pithouses, or kivas, served as ceremonial chambers and clubhouses. The village plaza, around





which all dwellings were clustered, is the spiritual center of the village where all the balanced forces of world come together.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.

## Pima

"Pima" is derived from *pi-nyi-match*, "I don't know" (a reply to early questioners). The Pimas were originally called Akimel O'odhams, or River People, and they are also known as One Villagers because of their relatively settled lives. The O'odham Indians include the Pimas, Tohono O'odhams (Papagos, or Desert People, also known as Two Villagers because of their traditional migration patterns), Sand Papagos (Hia C-ed O'odham, or No Villagers because of their more or less constant migrations in search of food), and the Ak-chin O'odhams. Piman is a language of the Uto-Aztecan family.

Traditionally, the Pimas lived in rancherias in present-day southern Arizona and northern Sonora, Mexico (the Sonoran Desert). The Spanish categorized them as the Pima Alto (upper Pimas, who lived near the Gila and Salt Rivers) and the Pima Bajo (or Nevones, lower Pimas, who lived along the Yaqui and Sonora Rivers). Today's (upper) Pima reservations are located in southern Arizona. There were roughly 50,000 Pimas in 1500 and perhaps 3,000 in 1700.

The Pimas are probably descended from ancient Hohokam Indians. They lived and farmed in permanent settlements (rancherias) near rivers on the northern edge of the Spanish frontier, which at the time was at present-day Tucson. The first non-Indian to visit the Pimas was Marcos de Niza (1589). In 1684, Father Eusebio Francisco Kino organized several missions and introduced livestock, wheat, and metal tools into the region.

An accommodation between the Pimas and Spanish masked resentments over religious, political, and cultural imperialism, not to mention forced labor. In 1695 the lower Pimas, under Luis Oacpicagigua and others, revolted against the Spanish, and in 1751 the upper Pima rebelled. The latter had little support from other tribes or even a majority of Pimas, however, and peace was soon established.

Around 1800 the Pee-Posh (Maricopa) Indians came to live near the upper Pimas. At the same time the area came under more frequent attacks by

Apache raiders. The twin factors of winter wheat production plus increased conflict with the Apaches led to a thorough transformation of Pima society. Pima bands engaged in closer cooperation and began to produce agricultural surpluses. This led in turn to an increased integration of their society. By the midnineteenth century the position of governor had become hereditary, and the Pimas had become a true tribe. They were also the only effective force in the area against the Apaches as well as an important economic power.

Despite Pima food assistance to the forty-niners and the U.S. Army, Anglo settlers along the Gila River took the best farmland and diverted water for their own use. After the Gadsden Purchase (1853) split O'odham country in two, Anglos began using the term "Pima" for residents on the Gila River and "Papago" for Piman speakers south of the Gila. The United States established a Pima-Maricopa reservation on the Gila River in 1859. However, as a result of failing water supplies, many Indians moved north, where another reservation was established in 1879 on the Salt River. From the 1850s on, three generations of the Azul family led the Pima-Maricopa confederation.

By 1870, Pima annual wheat production had reached 3 million pounds. Non-Natives reacted to this achievement with fear, envy, and retaliation. Major Anglo water diversions soon left the Pimas with little water for their crops. Combined with a drought and population increases, this led to Pima impoverishment in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Many Pimas were forced into the wage economy at the lowest levels. The U.S. government ignored the key problem of Pima water rights.

The loss of the river and the growing influence of Presbyterians brought about a severe decline in Pima culture and traditional religion. The Presbyterians replaced the Pima religious structure with one of their own creation. The Presbyterian Church and the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) opened day and boarding schools, respectively. Allotment hit the reservation in 1914, breaking up tribal land patterns and further disrupting community life.

In 1926, the BIA created a Pima Advisory Council to meet the bureau's need for a body that spoke for the tribe. Eight years later the Pimas adopted a constitution and tribal council, which remained quite powerless, because the Pima "tribe" had virtually disappeared. The Pima and Maricopa community revised the constitution and bylaws in 1936. In the 1930s the San Carlos Project began returning irri-





*A Pima home with a woman seated by the doorway, ca. 1907. (Library of Congress)*

gation water to the Pimas, but several factors worked to cancel its benefits, including the dependency of Indians on wage work (at that point they were reluctant to return to subsistence farming), a complex water management bureaucracy that mandated required crops, chronic ongoing water shortages, and the fact that allotments (heirship) had destroyed their effective land base. The post-World War II period has been a time for Pimas once again to assume a degree of control over their own resources and lives.

A civil leader and one or more shamans presided over economically and politically independent Pima villages. Village ceremonial leaders were known as “keepers of the smoke.” Village chiefs elected a tribal chief, who ran council meetings. His other responsibilities included overseeing farm projects and defending against Apache raiders. In the midnineteenth century, the chieftainship went from

a position of power and no wealth to one of wealth and no power. In 1936 the adoption of a new constitution under the Indian Reorganization Act marked the beginning of the Pima battle for legal rights.

Each village was divided into two groups, Red Ant and White Ant, who opposed each other in games and other ceremonial functions. The groups were further divided into patrilineal clans. In general, men farmed, fished, hunted, built the houses, and wove cotton; women gathered food and made baskets, pottery, and clothing. They also carried firewood and food on their backs in burden baskets. The Pimas used a lunar calendar. Their year began with the rainy season and the appearance of flowers on certain plants, such as the saguaro cactus. Viikita was a celebration held every fourth harvest to celebrate and ensure the favor of the gods.

Pimas lived in small, round, flat-topped, pole-framed structures, covered with grass and mud. In





warm weather they moved into simple open-sided brush arbors. They also built cylindrical bins in which they stored mesquite beans. Ramadas, used for clubhouses, also dotted each village.

Farm products such as corn, squash (cut into strips and dried), and tepary beans accounted for up to 60 percent of the Pima diet. The people also grew tobacco and cotton and, after the Spanish arrived, wheat (winter wheat ensured protection against starvation and made farms very productive) and alfalfa. Wild foods included cactus fruit, mesquite beans, greens, chilies, and seeds, which, with corn, were ground into meal on a cottonwood mortar and used in gruel and cakes. Pimas also ate fish and hunted deer, rabbit, mountain sheep, antelope, and reptiles. They drank saguaro wine for ceremonial purposes.

To irrigate their crops, Pimas diverted water from rivers with dams of logs and brush. They also built canals and feeder ditches. Farm tools consisted of digging sticks and a flat board used for hoeing and harvesting. Hunting bows were made of Osage orange or willow. After a great meteor shower in 1833, the people used calendar sticks—saguaro ribs with cuts—to mark certain events. The Spanish brought horse- and oxen-drawn wagons, plows, and metal picks and shovels into the region.

*See also* Agriculture; Hohokam Culture; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Pojoaque Pueblo

“Pojoaque” is an adaptation of the Tewa *posuwaageh*, meaning “drink-water place.” The word “pueblo” comes from the Spanish for “village.” It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zunis, Hopis, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. The Pojoaque Pueblo is located sixteen miles north of Santa Fe; it is the smallest of the six Tewa villages. Tewa is a Kiowa-Tanoan language.

Pojoaque took an active part in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt against the Spanish. For years, the Spaniards had routinely tortured Indians for practicing traditional religion. They also forced the Indians to labor for them, sold them into slavery, and let Spaniard-owned cattle overgraze Indian land, a situation that

eventually led to drought, erosion, and famine. Popé of San Juan Pueblo and other Pueblo religious leaders planned the revolt, sending runners carrying cords of maguey fibers to mark the day of rebellion. On August 10, 1680, a virtually united stand on the part of the Pueblos drove the Spanish from the region. The Indians killed many Spaniards but refrained from mass slaughter, allowing them to leave Santa Fe for El Paso.

Pojoaque suffered greatly in the aftermath of the revolt. Spanish recolonizers took much of their best land. The tribe was decimated and scattered but was able to reestablish itself in 1706. However, by then most of their population had been absorbed by other pueblos. Although Pueblo unity did not last, and Santa Fe was officially reconquered in 1692, Spanish rule was notably less severe from then on. Harsh forced labor all but ceased, and the Indians reached an understanding with the Church that enabled them to continue practicing their traditional religion.

During the nineteenth century the population at Pojoaque became so small (it was recorded as thirty-two in 1870) that the people could no longer hold their ceremonies. A steady loss of their land base contributed to the tribe’s degeneration. Many people left to live at other pueblos or to make their way in the outside world. At the same time, documents attesting to Spanish land grants and water rights were lost, although the United States did confirm their holding in 1858; shortly afterward, leaders traveled to Washington to receive the patent as well as a silver-headed Lincoln cane. Paradoxically, the U.S. decision to recognize Spanish land grants to the Pueblos denied them certain rights granted under official treaties and left them particularly open to exploitation by squatters and thieves.

By the early twentieth century, the Pojoaque Pueblo was all but abandoned, although it had become a small Spanish-American settlement by the 1930s. At that time a handful of Pojoaque families returned, evicted non-Indians, and fenced the land. Antonio José Tapia was instrumental in reestablishing the pueblo during this period. Government payment for losses suffered over the years acted as an incentive for other Pojoaques to return. Partly because of lobbying from the All Indian Pueblo Council, Congress confirmed Pueblo title to their lands in 1924 by passing the Pueblo Lands Act. The United States also acknowledged its trust responsibilities in a series of legal decisions and other acts of Congress. Still, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) forced Indian children to leave their homes and





attend culture-killing boarding schools and in general did its best to undermine Indian identity and survival.

At Pojoaque, in contrast with most other pueblos, seasons were traditionally delineated not so much by the solstice as by the actual change in seasons. Formerly a summer and a winter cacique, appointed for life, oversaw the pueblo. Society was divided into two groups: summer (associated with the Squash kiva) and winter (associated with the Turquoise kiva). Membership in a group was patrilineal. These groups were further divided into clans. A number of secret societies also existed. For instance, the warrior society was concerned with hunting, war, crops, fertility, and curing. Each society had its own dances and ritual paraphernalia.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.

## Quechan

"Quechan" comes from *xam kwatcan*, "another going down" (a reference to their ancestral migration). Quechans are also known as Yuma Indians; *Yuma* is an O'odham word for "People of the River." Quechan farmers began using the floodwaters of the Colorado River for irrigation around 2,500 years ago. The Quechans lived in several small settlements, or rancherias, along the bottomlands of the Colorado River, near the mouth of the Gila. Many Quechans now live on the Fort Yuma Reservation as well as on the Cocopah Reservation with Pee-Posh and Cocopas, having once been allied with these tribes. Quechan is a dialect of River Yuman.

The Quechans were organized into patrilineal clans. Little or no status differences existed among family groups. Rancheria leaders addressed the people from rooftops on correct behavior. All possessions of the deceased, even the house, were given away or destroyed. Dung was burned to keep away mosquitoes.

Like those of all Yumans, Quechan religion and knowledge were based on dreaming. Dreams were seen as visits with ancestors. The most powerful dreamer was their religious leader. Dreams also brought power to lead in battle, to orate at a funeral, or to do almost anything. However, dreams were considered of questionable authenticity unless they conferred success. Shamans were specialists who

were able to cure using supernatural powers acquired through very powerful dreams, perhaps begun in the womb. They also controlled the weather.

Quechans sang extended song cycles for curing, funerals, and entertainment. The cycles consisted of dreams and tribal mythology and were accompanied by people shaking rattles and beating sticks on baskets. Important Quechan ceremonies included a four-day-long girls' puberty rite and a boy's nose-piercing ceremony (at age seven, which also included racing and fasting). A mesquite harvest festival in the summer and a crop harvest festival in the fall both featured games, contests, gambling, and songs. Quechans also observed a four-day-long mourning ceremony.

All political authority among the Quechans was based on dreams, as was the authority of singers, speakers, and curers. Each rancheria had one or more headmen: Although they might meet in council to discuss tribal matters, decision making was by consensus. Other offices included the war leader and funeral orator.

Quechans considered war essential to the acquisition and maintenance of their spiritual power. They distinguished between raiding, an activity whose main purpose was to acquire horses or captives, and warfare, the purpose of which was revenge. The Mojaves were traditional allies; their enemies included the Cocopahs, Pee-Posh, and Pimas. The Quechan warrior hierarchy included the leader, then spearmen and clubmen, archers, horsepeople (after contact) with spears, and finally women with clubs. For weapons they used mesquite bows, clubs, stone knives, hide shields, and spears.

The Quechans first encountered a non-Native person in 1540, in the person of Hernando de Alarcón. Father Eusebio Francisco Kino arrived in 1698 and Father Francisco Garces in 1775. The Quechans generally resisted Spanish missions and settlements. A rebellion in 1781 ended Spanish control of a key river crossing, and the Quechans were able to continue their traditional way of life.

In the midnineteenth century, Quechans occasionally raided overland travelers (on the Southern Overland Trail, or Butterfield Route), partly in retaliation for crop thievery. The number of non-Indians passing through their territory increased greatly in and after 1849, due to the California gold rush. At that time, the Quechans provided a ferry service across the Colorado. When Anglos attempted to





open a competing service, the Quechans blocked the passage. When the U.S. Army intervened to keep the passage open, the Quechans fought back, driving the U.S. forces away for a year. In 1852, the soldiers returned and built Fort Yuma, effectively ending Quechan resistance in the area. Five years later, the Quechans and their Mojave allies were defeated by the Pimas and Maricopas in the last big intra-Indian fight near the Colorado River.

In 1853 the United States established the Fort Yuma Reservation with 45,000 acres, on the California side of the Colorado. Steamship and railroad travel, as well as the town of Yuma, boomed in the following decades. Quechans worked as steamship pilots and woodcutters until railroads ended the industry and then as laborers and domestics.

By the end of the century the tribe, devastated by disease, was in a state of cultural eclipse. Factionalism also weakened the tribe, and Anglos took the opportunity to appoint Quechan leaders unilaterally. Clan and village affiliations broke down when youths were taken away forcibly to boarding school. The Quechans relinquished most of their land in 1893 and lost the best of what was left to Anglos by 1910. Upstream dams prevented natural flooding, and Quechan farmers, people of the river for centuries, found themselves in the position of having to pay for irrigation water.

Quechans lived in poverty well into the twentieth century. The mandated allotment of their land in 1912 led to endless subdivision and rendered it useless for agriculture; most was leased to non-Indians. The federal War on Poverty arrived in the 1960s, and with it new opportunities for decent housing and economic development. In 1978 the government returned 25,000 acres (minus the vital water rights) and paid for even more in the 1980s.

*See also* Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Sandia Pueblo

"Sandia" comes from the Spanish for "watermelon," referring to the size, shape, and color of the nearby Sandia Mountains. The word "pueblo" comes from the Spanish for "village." It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of

adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zuni, Hopi, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. The Tiwa name for Sandia Pueblo is *Napeya* or *Nafiat*, "at the dusty place." Southern Tiwa is a Kiowa-Tanoan language.

Sandia Pueblo is located fifteen miles north of Albuquerque, on the east bank of the Rio Grande. The altitude ranges from 5,000 to 10,670 feet, and the land contains good farmland, game, and wild foods.

Francisco Vasquez de Coronado probably visited Sandia Pueblo in 1540. In 1598, Juan de Oñate arrived in the area with settlers, founding the colony of New Mexico. Oñate carried on the process, already underway in nearby areas, of subjugating the local Indians; forcing them to pay taxes in crops, cotton, and work and opening the door for Catholic missionaries to attack their religion. The Spanish renamed the pueblos with saints' names and began a program of church construction, constructing the Mission of San Francisco Sandia in 1617. At the same time, the Spanish introduced such new crops as peaches, wheat, and peppers into the region. In 1620, a royal decree created civil offices at each pueblo; silver-headed canes, many of which remain in use today, symbolized the governor's authority.

Sandia joined the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. For years, the Spaniards had routinely tortured Indians for practicing traditional religion. They also forced the Indians to labor for them, sold them into slavery, and let Spaniard-owned cattle overgraze Indian land, a situation that eventually led to drought, erosion, and famine. Popé of San Juan Pueblo and other Pueblo religious leaders planned the great revolt, sending runners carrying cords of maguey fibers to mark the day of rebellion. On August 10, 1680, a virtually united stand on the part of the Pueblos drove the Spanish from the region. The Indians killed many Spaniards but refrained from mass slaughter, allowing most of them to leave Santa Fe for El Paso.

The Spanish burned the Sandia Pueblo after the revolt. It was then reoccupied but later burned or abandoned several times in the 1680s and 1690s; the pueblo was in ruins in 1692. The Sandias first fled to the nearby mountains and then lived for a time at the Hopi Pueblo. The Sandia Pueblo was permanently reoccupied in 1748 by a mixed group of refugees from various pueblos. Meanwhile, Santa Fe was officially reconquered in 1692, although Spanish rule was notably less severe from then on. Harsh





forced labor all but ceased, and the Indians reached an understanding with the Church that enabled them to continue practicing their traditional religion.

Sandia Pueblo featured multistoried apartment-style dwellings constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with beams across the roof that were covered with poles, brush, and plaster. Floors were of wood plank or packed earth. The roof of one level served as the floor of another. The levels were interconnected by ladders. As an aid to defense, the traditional design included no doors or windows; entry was through the roof. Pithouses, or kivas, served as ceremonial chambers and clubhouses. The village plaza, around which all dwellings were clustered, is the spiritual center of the village where all the balanced forces of the world come together.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.

## Sand Papago, or Hia C-ed O'odham

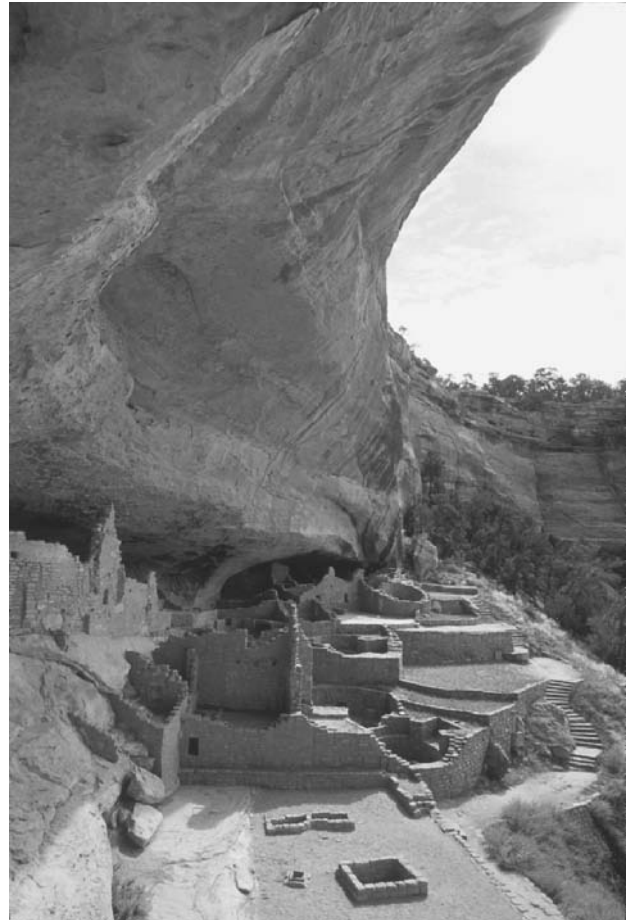
*See* Tohono O'odham.

## San Felipe Pueblo

The Spanish assigned the patron saint San Felipe Apóstol to this pueblo in 1598. The word “pueblo” comes from the Spanish for “village.” It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zunis, Hopis, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. The Native name for this pueblo is Katishtya. The San Felipe people spoke a dialect of Keresan.

The San Felipe Pueblo is located at the foot of Santa Ana Mesa on the west bank of the Rio Grande, six miles north of its junction with the Jemez River (twenty-five miles north of Albuquerque). One or more other San Felipe pueblos may have existed in the area prior to the sixteenth century.

Keresans have been traced to an area around Chaco Canyon north to Mesa Verde. In the 1200s, the Keresans abandoned their traditional canyon homelands in response to climatic and social



*Ancient Puebloan ruins known as the Long House, the second-largest cliff dwelling at Mesa Verde in present-day Colorado. The area was later populated by the San Felipe Pueblo. (Corel)*

upheavals. A century or two of migrations ensued, followed in general by the slow reemergence of their culture in the historic pueblos. For a time the San Felipe people lived with the Cochitis at several locations, but the pueblos divided before the Spanish arrived.

Francisco Vasquez de Coronado may have visited the San Felipe Pueblo. In 1598, Juan de Oñate arrived in the area with settlers, founding the colony of New Mexico. Oñate carried on the process, already underway in nearby areas, of subjugating the local Indians, forcing them to pay taxes in crops, cotton, and work and opening the door for Catholic missionaries to attack their religion. The Spanish renamed the pueblos with saints' names and began a program of church construction. Oñate found two pueblos at San Felipe, on either side of the river. A church was built at the eastern village





around 1600. At the same time, the Spanish introduced new crops such as peaches, wheat, and peppers into the region. In 1620, a royal decree created civil offices at each pueblo; silver-headed canes, many of which remain in use today, symbolized the governor's authority.

The San Felipes took an active part in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt against the Spanish. For years, the Spaniards had routinely tortured Indians for practicing traditional religion. They also forced the Indians to labor for them, sold them into slavery, and let Spaniard-owned cattle overgraze Indian land, a situation that eventually led to drought, erosion, and famine. Popé of San Juan Pueblo and other Pueblo religious leaders planned the revolt, sending runners carrying cords of maguey fibers to mark the day of rebellion. On August 10, 1680, a virtually united stand on the part of the Pueblos drove the Spanish from the region. The Indians killed many Spaniards but refrained from mass slaughter, allowing them to leave Santa Fe for El Paso.

The San Felipe people abandoned their pueblo in 1681, when the Spanish attempted a reconquest. They fled to the top of Horn Mesa southwest of Cochiti, and the Spanish sacked San Felipe. The people agreed to return and accept baptism in 1692. At that time they lived on top of Santa Ana Mesa. Their friendship with the Spanish alienated them from other pueblos. After 1696, they descended from the mesa top to the site of the present pueblo.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.

## San Ildefonso Pueblo

"San Ildefonso" is the name of the Spanish mission established in 1617. The Tewa name for the Pueblo, *powhoge*, means "where the water runs through." The word "pueblo" comes from the Spanish for "village." It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multi-story, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zuni, Hopi, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. Located roughly twenty-two miles northwest of Santa Fe, San Ildefonso shares a common boundary with Santa Clara

Pueblo. The San Ildefonso people spoke a dialect of Tewa, a Kiowa-Tanoan language.

The San Ildefonso Pueblo originally featured two- and three-story apartment-style dwellings constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with pine beams across the roof that were covered with poles, brush, and plaster. Floors were of wood plank or packed earth. The roof of one level served as the floor of another. The levels were interconnected by ladders. As an aid to defense, the traditional design included no doors or windows; entry was through the roof. Three pithouses, or kivas, two rectangular and one round, served as ceremonial chambers and clubhouses. The village plaza, around which the church and all dwellings were clustered, was the spiritual center of the village, a place where all the balanced forces of the world came together. The multilevel dwelling was replaced in historic times at San Ildefonso by one- and two-story adobe houses.

San Ildefonso played a leading role in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt against the Spanish. For years, the Spaniards had routinely tortured Indians for practicing traditional religion. They also forced the Indians to labor for them, sold them into slavery, and let Spaniard-owned cattle overgraze Indian land, a situation that eventually led to drought, erosion, and famine. Popé of San Juan Pueblo, as well as a San Ildefonso official named Francisco and other Pueblo leaders, planned the revolt, sending runners carrying cords of maguey fibers to mark the day of rebellion. On August 10, 1680, a virtually united stand on the part of the Pueblos drove the Spanish from the region. The Indians killed many Spaniards but refrained from mass slaughter, allowing them to leave Santa Fe for El Paso.

The San Ildefonso Pueblo was also a leader in the resistance to the Spanish reconquest under Diego de Vargas. The people of San Ildefonso and members of other pueblos moved to the top of Black Mesa and held out there until 1694, two years longer than most other pueblos. In 1696, the San Ildefonsos staged another uprising, killing two priests; this was the last of Pueblo armed resistance. Although Pueblo unity did not last and Santa Fe was officially reconquered in 1692, Spanish rule was notably less severe from then on. Harsh forced labor all but ceased, and the Indians reached an understanding with the Church that enabled them to continue practicing their traditional religion.

After the Pueblo revolt, and contrary to tradition, the San Ildefonsos relocated to the north. In





1923, when mortality rates rose and prosperity fell, the cacique led a small group of people back to the original southern village. By this time, however, a flu epidemic had reduced part of the tribe, the winter people, to two families, so the other division (the summer people) divided and absorbed what was left of the winter people. This situation gave rise to intense factionalism that greatly affected the pueblo. The traditional summer-winter division was virtually replaced by an ersatz north-south split. Each group, organized around a plaza, became autonomous but incomplete. By the late 1930s, some offices and societies had been discontinued, and some ritual had been forgotten. Secular authority remained in the hands of the north side for decades, and the situation turned violent in the 1930s when kivas were raided and burned.

At San Ildefonso, in contrast with most other pueblos, seasons were traditionally delineated not so much by the solstice as by the actual change in seasons. Formerly a summer and a winter cacique, appointed for life, oversaw the pueblo. Society was divided into two groups, summer (associated with the Squash kiva) and winter (associated with the Turquoise kiva); membership in a group was patrilineal. These groups were further divided into clans. A number of secret societies also existed. For instance, the warrior society was concerned with hunting, war, crops, fertility, and curing. Each society had its own dances and ritual paraphernalia.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pottery; Pueblo Revolt.

## San Juan Pueblo

The Tewa name for San Juan Pueblo is *Ohke*, the meaning of which is unknown. The word “pueblo” comes from the Spanish for “village.” It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zunis, Hopis, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. A sacred metaphorical phrase meaning “village of the dew-bedecked corn structure” also refers to the San Juan Pueblo, which is located about twenty-five miles north of Santa Fe, on the east bank of the Rio Grande. The land includes river bottomlands

and mountains. The people of the San Juan Pueblo spoke a dialect of Tewa.

When the Spanish arrived in the 1540s, the San Juan people were living at the present pueblo and at a more westerly pueblo. The appearance of Gaspar Castaño de Sosa in 1591 marked the first contact between the San Juans and non-Natives. In 1598, Juan de Oñate arrived in the area with settlers, founding the colony of New Mexico. Oñate carried on the process, already underway in nearby areas, of subjugating the local Indians, forcing them to pay taxes in crops, cotton, and work and opening the door for Catholic missionaries to attack their religion. The Spanish renamed the pueblo San Juan Bautista; it was also known as San Juan de los Caballeros. At the same time, they introduced such new crops as peaches, wheat, and peppers into the region. In 1620, a royal decree created civil offices at each pueblo; silver-headed canes, many of which remain in use today, symbolized the governor’s authority.

Trade along the Santa Fe Trail began in 1821. The trader Samuel Eldodt opened a general store at San Juan in 1863. Until it burned down in 1973, it was the oldest continuously operated store in New Mexico and furthered San Juan’s reputation as a trade center. By the 1880s and the arrival of railroads, the Pueblos were dependent on many American-made goods, and the Native manufacture of weaving and pottery declined and nearly died out.

At San Juan, a summer and a winter cacique, appointed for life, oversaw the pueblo. Society was divided into two groups, summer (associated with the Squash kiva) and winter (associated with the Turquoise kiva); membership in a group was patrilineal. These groups were further divided into more than thirty clans. A number of secret societies also existed. For instance, the warrior society was concerned with hunting, war, crops, fertility, and curing. Each society had its own dances and ritual paraphernalia. Numerous life cycle rites, as well as songs, crafts, and communal activities such as maintenance of irrigation canals and performing dances, also ensured that one spent one’s life “becoming” a Tewa.

People of San Juan further classified themselves into three categories: ordinary earth people, youths, and made people (priests of eight separate priest-hoods, half of which admit women as full members). Similarly, their physical world was divided into three corresponding categories: Village, farmlands, and other nearby lowlands, accessible to all





and particularly the woman's domain, were delineated by four shrines to ancestors. Hills, mesas, and washes, defined by four sacred mesas and in the spiritual charge of the "youths," were a mediating environment in spatial, social, sexual, spiritual, and even subsistence terms. Mountains, a male realm of hunting and religious pilgrimages, were in the charge of the made people.

San Juan Pueblo originally featured multistory apartment-style dwellings constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with pine beams across the roof that were covered with poles, brush, and plaster. Floors were of wood plank or packed earth. The roof of one level served as the floor of another. The levels were interconnected by ladders. As an aid to defense, the traditional design included no doors or windows; entry was through the roof. Pithouses, or kivas, served as ceremonial chambers and club-houses. The village plaza, around which the church and all dwellings were clustered, was the spiritual center of the village, a place where all the balanced forces of the world came together.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.

## Santa Ana Pueblo

The Santa Ana people call their Old Pueblo *Tamaya*. The word "pueblo" comes from the Spanish for "village." It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zuni, Hopi, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. The people spoke a dialect of Keresan.

The Old Pueblo (Tamaya) is located twenty-seven miles northwest of Albuquerque, on the north bank of the Jemez River eight miles northwest of its junction with the Rio Grande. This fairly isolated location traditionally kept residents from much contact with non-Indians. The pueblo was all but abandoned in historic times because of low-quality arable land. The people then bought land and moved to a location (Los Ranchitos) about ten miles to the southeast and just north of Bernalillo.

Keresans have been traced to an area around Chaco Canyon north to Mesa Verde. In the 1200s, the Keresans abandoned their traditional canyon home-

lands in response to climatic and social upheavals. A century or two of migrations ensued, followed in general by the slow reemergence of their culture in the historic pueblos. Old Santa Ana was probably established in the late sixteenth century.

Francisco Vasquez de Coronado may have visited Santa Ana Pueblo. In 1598, Juan de Oñate arrived in the area with settlers, founding the colony of New Mexico. Oñate carried on the process, already underway in nearby areas, of subjugating the local Indians, forcing them to pay taxes in crops, cotton, and work and opening the door for Catholic missionaries to attack their religion. The Spanish renamed the pueblos with saints' names and began a program of church construction. At the same time, they introduced such new crops as peaches, wheat, and peppers into the region. In 1620, a royal decree created civil offices at each pueblo; silver-headed canes, many of which remain in use today, symbolized the governor's authority.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.

## Santa Clara Pueblo

The Tewa name for the Santa Clara Pueblo is *Capo*, variously translated. The word "pueblo" comes from the Spanish for "village." It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zuni, Hopi, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. The Santa Clara Pueblo is located on the west bank of the Rio Grande, about twenty-five miles north of Santa Fe. The people spoke a dialect of Tewa.

The Santa Clara Pueblo experienced a major political schism in the 1890s. The winter division, the more "progressive" for much of the nineteenth century, had resisted the rigid dictates of pueblo life and advocated a separation of religious from secular life. In 1894, the summer division and some winter people applied for and received recognition from the Indian agency in Santa Fe as the legitimate governing authority at the Pueblo. For the next thirty years, the summer division elected all secular officials except the lieutenant governor and tried to enforce the traditionally rigid sacred-secular con-





nection. The winter group resisted and openly defied them.

In the 1930s, each division split along progressive and conservative lines; now there were four factions, each allied with a like-minded group. Their government in shambles, the Pueblos requested arbitration by the Indian Service in Santa Fe, with the result that they incorporated under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) and turned to a constitution and an elected government. Thus religious and secular affairs were finally split, and participation in ceremonies was made voluntary.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pottery; Pueblo Revolt.

## Santo Domingo Pueblo

The Santo Domingo people call their pueblo *Kiuw*. The word “pueblo” comes from the Spanish for “village.” It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zunis, Hopis, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos.

The Santo Domingo Pueblo is situated on the east bank of the Rio Grande, thirty to thirty-five miles southwest of Santa Fe, near the Camino Real and modern highways. The people spoke a Keresan dialect.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.

## Taos Pueblo

The Taos Pueblo is also known as San Geronimo de Taos, and the word “Taos” comes from a Tiwa word meaning “in the village.” The word “pueblo” comes from the Spanish for “village.” It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zunis, Hopis, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. The Taos name for their Pueblo is *Tecuse* or *Ilaphai*, “at the mouth of Red Willow Canyon.” The north-

ernmost, highest (with Picuris, at about seven thousand feet), and one of the most isolated of the eastern pueblos, Taos is seventy miles north of Santa Fe. Taos Indians spoke Northern Tiwa, a Kiowa-Tanoan language.

Francisco Vasquez de Coronado visited Taos in 1540. In 1598, Juan de Oñate arrived in the area with settlers, founding the colony of New Mexico. Oñate carried on the process, already underway in nearby areas, of subjugating the local Indians, forcing them to pay taxes in crops, cotton, and work and opening the door for Catholic missionaries to attack their religion. The Spanish renamed the pueblos with saints’ names and began a program of church construction, establishing the mission of San Geronimo at Taos in the early seventeenth century. At the same time, the Spanish introduced such new crops as peaches, wheat, and peppers into the region. In 1620, a royal decree created civil offices at each pueblo; silver-headed canes, many of which remain in use today, symbolized the governor’s authority.

Taos played a leading role in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. For years, the Spaniards had routinely tortured Indians for practicing traditional religion. They also forced the Indians to labor for them, sold them into slavery, and let Spaniard-owned cattle overgraze Indian land, a situation that eventually led to drought, erosion, and famine. Popé of San Juan Pueblo and other Pueblo religious leaders planned the great revolt at Taos, sending runners carrying cords of maguey fibers to mark the day of rebellion. On August 10, 1680, a virtually united stand on the part of the Pueblos drove the Spanish from the region. The Indians killed many Spaniards but refrained from mass slaughter, allowing most of them to leave Santa Fe for El Paso.

Santa Fe was officially reconquered in 1692, after which the Taos fled to the mountains and to their Plains friends, the Kiowas. The Spanish sacked Taos Pueblo in 1693, after which the Indians returned and rebuilt it. Another short-lived rebellion occurred in 1696. Although Pueblo unity did not last, Spanish rule was notably less severe from then on. Harsh forced labor all but ceased, and the Indians reached an understanding with the Church that enabled them to continue practicing their traditional religion. By the 1700s, excluding Hopi and Zuni, only the Taos, Picuris, Isleta, and Acoma Pueblos had not changed locations since the arrival of the Spanish.

In 1906, the U.S. government included Taos’s holiest site, the Blue Lake region in the Sangre de





*About 150 Native Americans still live in the Taos Pueblo in practically the same buildings and under the same conditions as in the sixteenth century under Spanish rule. The mound at left is an oven. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

Cristo Mountains, as part of a national forest. Under the leadership of longtime governor Severino Martinez and others, the tribe fought to get it back. In 1965 they received title to the land and were offered a cash payment, but they held out for the land. In 1970 the government returned Blue Lake, along with 48,000 surrounding acres. Since the late nineteenth century, but especially after the 1960s, the Pueblos have had to cope with onslaughts by (mostly white) anthropologists and seekers of Indian spirituality. The region is also known for its major art colonies at Taos and Santa Fe.

In traditional Pueblo culture, religion and life are inseparable. To be in harmony with all of nature is the Pueblo ideal and way of life. The sun is seen as the representative of the Creator. Sacred mountains in each direction, as well as mountain lakes and

other natural places, plus the sun above and the earth below, define and balance the Taos Pueblo world. Many Pueblo religious ceremonies revolve around the weather and are devoted to ensuring adequate rainfall. To this end, Pueblo Indians evoke the power of katsinas, sacred beings who live in mountains and other holy places, in ritual and masked dance.

In addition to the natural boundaries, Pueblo Indians have created a society that defines their world by providing balanced, reciprocal relationships within which people connect and harmonize with each other, the natural world, and time itself. Unlike the situation in most Pueblos, the heads of the kiva societies, rather than the cacique, were the most important religious leaders. In fact, the cacique had both religious and secular duties.





Seven kiva or ceremonial societies were active at Taos. Each had special functions and separate religious knowledge. Feathers of birds such as eagles, hawks, and ducks, as well as wildflowers, were important ceremonially. Traditionally, all preteen boys underwent religious training, and a select few were chosen for an eighteen-month initiation, culminating in a pilgrimage to Blue Lake, into one of the kiva societies. Only initiated men could move from “boy” to “elder” status and hold secular office.

Much ceremony is also based on medicine societies, and shamans who derive powers from animal spirits use their supernatural powers for curing, weather control, and ensuring the general welfare. Corn Dances are held in the summer and animal dances in the winter. Most ceremonies at Taos are still kept secret from outsiders. Although most Taos Indians consider themselves Catholics, their form of Catholicism coexists with their traditional religion. The Native American Church was introduced at Taos in 1907. Although controversial, it remains active.

Taos was formerly walled, as a defense against the Comanche raids of the 1700s. The pueblo features two clusters of apartment-style buildings, as high as six stories, on either side of Taos Creek. The buildings are constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with beams across a roof covered with poles, brush, and plaster. Floors are of wood plank or packed earth. The roof of one level serves as the floor of another. The levels are interconnected by ladders. As an aid to defense, the traditional design included no doors or windows; entry was through the roof. A number of adobe houses were also scattered around the pueblo. Seven pithouses, or kivas, serve as ceremonial chambers and clubhouses. The village plaza, around which all dwellings are clustered, is the spiritual center of the village where all the balanced forces of world come together. A racetrack is part of the village, built to accommodate ceremonial footraces.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Blue Lake, New Mexico; Pueblo Revolt.

## Tesuque Pueblo

“Tesuque” is a Hispanicization of the Tewa word *tecuge*, which means “structure at a narrow place” or “dry, spotted place.” The word “pueblo” comes from the Spanish for “village.” It refers both to a

certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zunis, Hopis, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. The Tesuque Pueblo is located nine miles north of Santa Fe, on the Tesuque River. Tesuque Indians spoke Tewa, a member of the Kiowa-Tanoan language family.

Especially after 1821, the Pueblos underwent a steady acculturation. Toward the late nineteenth century, the United States reintroduced religious repression. The government and Protestant missionaries branded Indian religious practices as obscene and immoral, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs forcibly removed Indian children to culture-killing boarding schools. As part of the effort to retain their traditions, Indians more deeply embraced customs once seen as alien, such as Catholicism. By the 1880s, railroads had ended the traditional isolation of most pueblos. Instead of treaties, the United States recognized old Spanish land grants of pueblo land. Ironically, this put them outside official treaty rights and left them particularly open to exploitation by squatters and thieves.

Tesuque ran out of water in the early twentieth century as a result of diversions by recently arrived Anglo settlers. A series of dams and basins restored much of their water by 1935. Partly because of lobbying from the All Indian Pueblo Council, Congress confirmed Pueblo title to their lands in 1924 by passing the Pueblo Lands Act. The United States also acknowledged its trust responsibilities in a series of legal decisions and other acts of Congress. In the late 1950s, the Tesuque Pueblo received no tribal income other than the interest from funds on deposit with the government. Since the late nineteenth century, but especially after the 1960s, the Pueblos have had to cope with onslaughts by (mostly white) anthropologists and seekers of Indian spirituality. The region is also known for its significant art colonies at Taos and Santa Fe.

At Tesuque, a summer and a winter cacique, appointed for life, oversaw the pueblo. Society was divided into two patrilineal groups, summer (associated with the Squash kiva) and winter (associated with the Turquoise kiva), which united in times of crisis and for the welfare of the Pueblo. These groups were further divided into relatively weak and ill defined clans. A number of secret societies also existed. For instance, the warrior society was





concerned with hunting, war, crops, fertility, and curing. Each society had its own dances and ritual paraphernalia. Numerous life cycle rites, as well as songs, crafts, communal activities such as maintenance of irrigation canals, prayer retreats, and performing dances, also ensured that one spent one's life "becoming" a Tewa.

The Tesuque Pueblo originally featured apartment-style dwellings of up to five stories constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with pine beams across the roof that were covered with poles, brush, and plaster. Floors were of wood plank or packed earth. The roof of one level served as the floor of another. The levels were interconnected by ladders. As an aid to defense, the traditional design included no doors or windows; entry was through the roof. Pithouses, or kivas, served as ceremonial chambers and clubhouses. The village plaza, around which the church and all dwellings were clustered, was the spiritual center of the village, a place where all the balanced forces of the world came together.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pottery; Pueblo Revolt.

## Tigua

The Tigua live on Ysleta del Sur Pueblo ("Isleta of the South"), a reference to the ancestral Isleta Pueblo in New Mexico. The Pueblo was formerly known as Tigua ('T wä) Reservation. The word "pueblo" comes from the Spanish for "village." It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multistory, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Ysleta del Sur Pueblo is located within the southern boundary of El Paso, Texas. The Native language of the Tigua people is Southern Tiwa.

The Ysleta del Sur Pueblo was founded in 1682 by Pueblo refugees from the rebellion of 1680. Its original inhabitants included Indians from Isleta Pueblo as well as Piro, Manso, Apache, Suma, and Tompiro Indians, none of whom joined the revolt. These Indians retreated south with the fleeing Spaniards. They built a church at Tigua, dedicated to Saint Anthony, in 1682. Following the 1692 Spanish reconquest, in which these Indians participated, Governor Diego de Vargas planned to resettle them in their New Mexico homelands, but most preferred to remain. The Piros eventually became absorbed

into the Tigua Pueblo or into the local Spanish-American population. At some point, the Ysleta Indians received a land grant from the king of Spain.

For the next two centuries, the Tigua people practiced farming on irrigated fields. Tiguas scouted for El Paso settlements against Comanche and Apache raiders, and they also scouted for the Texas Rangers and the U.S. cavalry during the Indian campaigns. After 1848, however, Tiguas were subject to "legal" and extralegal abuses from rapacious Anglos, and much of their land was lost. When President Abraham Lincoln acknowledged the New Mexican Pueblo land grants with a second set of silver-headed canes, Tigua, standing in the Confederacy, was ignored. In any case, since Texas retained its public lands, the U.S. government was unable to create a reservation for the Tiguas.

In the late nineteenth century and into the 1920s the tribe virtually faded away, mixing with the local populace and living in extreme poverty. In 1967, the state of Texas recognized the Ysleta Indian community; federal recognition followed the next year. The receipt of federal money and recognition revitalized the tribe and provided the means by which it was able to reclaim its identity.

Tiguas practice Catholicism, with some Native elements. The pueblo's patron saint is Anthony, who was the patron of Isleta Pueblo before the 1680 revolt. A small core of people practice a more traditional religion, featuring a katsina-like entity known as the *awelo*, or "grandfather," who oversees all behavior. The tribe also possesses buffalo *awelo* masks and an ancient ceremonial drum.

The Tigua tribal government is Spanish-style civil. There is a cacique, a *cacique teniente* (lieutenant cacique, or governor), an *alguacil* (or sergeant at arms), a *capitán de guerra* (war captain), and four assistant captains. Except for the first and the last, all are elected annually. The Ysleta del Sur Pueblo also possesses the old Spanish canes, symbols of political authority, that were carried by the original settlers.

Tribal ceremonial items are stored in a *tusla*, generally the home of a tribal officer, where celebrations are often held. There is a high rate of intermarriage with outsiders, particularly with Mexicans and other Indians. The Tiguas enjoy a close relationship with the Isleta Pueblo, New Mexico, 250 miles away. They are also associated with the Tortugas community of Las Cruces, New Mexico, a Tigua community founded in the late nineteenth century and composed of Tigua, Piro, and Manso Indians. The Tiguas also have relatives in Mexico, at the former Piro





Pueblo of Senecú, near Juarez. There may have been a clan system in earlier days.

*See also* Agriculture; Pueblo Revolt.

## Tohono O'odham

The Tohono O'odhams are also known as Papago or Desert People. The name "Papago" is derived from the Pima word *papahvio-otam*, meaning "bean people." They are also known as Two Villagers, owing to their traditional migration patterns. They, along with the Pimas (Akimel O'odhams, or River People, also known as One Villagers because of their relatively settled lives), the Sand Papagos (Hia-ced O'odhams, also known as No Villagers, because of their more or less constant migrations in search of food), and the Ak-Chin ("mouth of the arroyo") O'odhams, constitute the O'odham Indians.

The Tohono O'odhams lived originally in the Sonoran Desert near the Gulf of California. (The Sand Papagos lived in the western and most arid parts of the Sonoran Desert.) Today they live in four reservations in southern Arizona.

As many as 50,000 Tohono O'odhams probably lived in the region in 1500, although their numbers had shrunk to about 3,000 by 1700. The Native language of the Tohono O'odhams is Piman, a Uto-Aztec language.

The O'odhams are probably descended from the ancient Hohokam Indians. Unlike the Hohokams or the Pimas, the Tohono O'odhams were seminomadic. They generally spent summers in their "field villages" in the desert, usually at the mouth of an arroyo, where flash floods provided needed water. Winters were spent in "well villages," by mountain springs. The Tohono O'odhams worshiped Earth Maker (Tcuwut Makai) and Elder Brother (I'itoy, or Se'ehe), the heroes of their creation story, whose sacred home is Baboquivari Peak in southern Arizona. Ceremonies encouraged these spirits to bring the rain that made food possible. The people also made annual pilgrimages to salt flats near the Gulf of California, home of the rain spirits, to pray to them.

Their most sacred ceremony was *Nawait*, or the new year's rain ceremony, which they celebrated with saguaro wine. Other important ceremonial occasions included puberty (especially for girls), funerals, the summer cactus wine feast, the "naming" (to honor and entertain other groups), purifica-

tion following childbirth, sickness, the corn harvest, the deer hunt, the early winter harvest, purification for an eagle killing, warfare, and the annual salt expeditions.

Shamans, both men and older women, derived curing power from dreams. Although many Papagos became Catholic in the eighteenth century, having clustered around Spanish presidios and missions to escape the Apaches, theirs was a Catholicism heavily mixed with traditional beliefs.

The Tohono O'odhams were organized into autonomous villages. Although each village had a chief (there was no tribal chief), decisions were made by consensus. Each village also had shamans, a headman who set the agenda for meetings and mediated conflict, and an all-male council. They also recognized a ceremonial leader, akin to the headman, called Keeper of the Smoke. Other officials included a village crier, war leader, hunt leader, game leader, and song leader.

A universal O'odham concept of the way of life (*Himdag*) centers on family, community, generosity, and modesty. The Papagos made annual visits to relatives on the Gila River or in the Sonora River Valley. In times of famine, families often moved to Pima villages along the Gila River. Every four years the Papagos and Pimas together celebrated Viikita, a holiday dedicated to ensuring their continued fortune, with dancers and clowns dressed in masks and costumes.

Each Tohono O'odham village was divided into two clans: Buzzard and Coyote. Their year began when the cactus fruit ripened. Gifts and wagering were major forms of exchange. Games and races also held cultural importance. With the exception of warriors, who were cremated, the dead were dressed in their best clothing and buried with their personal property in caves, crevices, or stone houses.

Like those of the Pimas, everyday Papago houses were circular and constructed of saguaro and ocotillo ribs and mesquite covered with mud and brush. Ceremonial houses were similar, but larger. Wall-less ramadas provided shelter for most outdoor activities in good weather. Sand Papagos used small rings of stone as temporary windbreaks.

The key to survival in the desert was diversification. The goal of the Papagos was security rather than surpluses. Men grew corn, beans, and squash. Later the Spanish introduced cowpeas, melons, and wheat. Winter wheat especially provided an edge against starvation. The people also hunted, primarily in the winter. Wild foods such as mescal,





mesquite beans, ironwood and paloverde seeds, cactus fruits, amaranth and other greens, wild chilies, acorns, and sand root provided about three-quarters of their diet. Saguaro wine was used on ceremonial occasions. During hard times the Papagos “hired out” to Pima Indians, exchanging labor for food. The Sand Papagos ate shellfish from the Gulf of California, reptiles, insects, and small mammals. A staple was the parasitic plant sand root.

The Desert People baked in pit ovens. They used long poles called *kuibits* to knock down saguaro fruit. The use of calendar sticks, with carved dots and circles to record important ceremonies, began in the early 1830s. Notches referred to secular events, such as earthquakes or Apache attacks. Other equipment included carrying nets, frame backpacks, and cradle boards. In characteristic Ak-Chin farming, men built dams to channel water runoff into a major arroyo. When the flash floods arrived, they would water the fields by erecting brush spreader dams across the arroyo. After contact with the Spanish, the Desert People adopted picks, shovels, and horse- and oxen-drawn plows and wagons.

Trade occurred mostly in the fall and winter. The Tohono O’odhams traded meat, baskets, pottery, salt, shells, mineral pigments, and macaws for corn and, later, wheat from Pimas and Quechans. The Sand Papagos also traded with Yuman peoples on the Colorado River.

The Tohono O’odhams may have first met non-Natives in the 1500s. They experienced extensive contact with the Spanish in late 1600s when Father Eusebio Francisco Kino established numerous Catholic missions and introduced cattle, horses, and wheat (1684). The Spanish also established a series of presidios against the growing Apache threat. Although too isolated to have had to endure harsh forced labor and agricultural taxes as did the Pimas, some Tohono O’odhams, such as Luis Oacpicagigua and others, participated in the Pima Revolt of 1751.

Apaches constituted the major threat from the eighteenth century through the midnineteenth century. During this time, the Sand Papagos died off or became assimilated with the Spanish or surrounding tribes. From 1840 to 1843, the Papagos fought and lost a war against Mexico in an attempt to stop the usurpation of their lands. With the Gadsden Purchase (1853), the Tohono O’odhams lost the part of their territory that remained in Mexico, although they tended to ignore the international border for many years. Despite tighter border restrictions

today, Tohono O’odham Indians living in Sonora and the United States remain in contact.

In the 1860s, the Papagos fought alongside the Pimas, the Pee-Posh, and U.S. troops against the Apaches. Still, Anglos appropriated their water holes and grazing land, resulting in conflict and some violence. San Xavier Reservation was founded in 1874, with Gila Bend Reservation following in 1882. The Papago Reservation was established in 1916 and 1917, albeit without most of the Tohono O’odhams’ best lands.

The railroad came to Tucson in the 1880s, bringing an increase of cattle ranchers and miners into O’odham territory. The cattle lost by these people began important O’odham herds. By the end of the century, countless Papago (and other Indian) girls were working as domestics for whites through Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) programs at the Phoenix Indian School. About this time, and concurrent with the rise of many Christian schools, the O’odham culture declined markedly.

A field camp at Vecol Wash became the permanent settlement of the Ak-Chin O’odhams in the 1870s; Pimas and Maricopas lived there too. In the early wage economy, O’odham potters sold and traded watercooling ollas; men cut firewood; basket-makers sold baskets. Cotton picking became the most important economic activity through the 1950s. In the 1970s, a severe drought killed many cattle, reducing the Papagos to near starvation.

*See also* Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Trade; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Tortugas

*See* Tigua.

## Walapai

*See* Hualapai.

## Yaqui

“Yaqui” is a name established by Jesuit missionaries in the early seventeenth century. It was taken from the name of a nearby river. The traditional Yaqui name for themselves is *Yoeme*. The Yaquis originated





in the northwestern Mexican state of Sonora. They have lived in southern and southwest Arizona from the late nineteenth century.

The Yaqui population stood at perhaps 30,000 at contact (1533), the largest Native tribal population in northwest New Spain. Roughly 6,000 now live in U.S. villages out of a total U.S. tribal enrollment of almost 10,000. About 25,000 Yaquis live in Sonora, Mexico. Yaquis speak a dialect of Cahita, a member of the Uto-Aztecan language family.

The aboriginal land of the Yaquis consisted of roughly 6,000 square miles in Sonora, Mexico, approximately between the Rio Mátapa and the Arroyo de Cocoraqui. The Yaquis believe their boundaries were made sacred by singing angels (*bat-naataka*) who traversed them in mythological times. Although the Sonora region is primarily a desert, Yaqui lands in the river basin were quite fertile as a result of the annual flood cycles.

The Yaqui Indians have been practicing a heavily Christian-influenced religion for nearly 400 years. They recognize a two-part universe: One is town and church, whose dwellers are mortal; the other is the Huya Aniya, spirit world and source of spiritual power, whose dwellers are immortal. The two worlds are integrated ritually. Every Christian ceremony requires the participation of ceremonialists, such as Pascola and Deer Dancers, whose power derives from the Huya Aniya.

Other important religious elements include the honoring of and concern for ancestors, the sharing of accumulated wealth for help in curing (healing), maintaining and distributing the benevolent power of Our Mother (the supernatural), honoring the patron saints of the eight towns, and affirming the sacred relationships between the Yaquis and their traditional territory.

In addition to a number of feast days, the most important and elaborate ceremony of the year is the *waehma*, or the reenactment during Holy Week of Christ's (the great curer) final days. A central theme is the accumulation of evil in the town and the destruction of the evil during a ceremonial battle on Holy Saturday, through the ritual use of flowers, followed by a great celebration.

The largest political unit was the town. Authority consisted of five groups: church, civil governors, military, "custom authorities" (*kohtumbre*), and fiesta makers (*pahkome*). Each had its own clearly defined jurisdiction, but they worked together on matters of the public good. Decision making was by consensus in town meetings, except in time of military emer-

gency, and even then the military leader's power in nonmilitary affairs was highly circumscribed. A constant process of interaction and sharing promoted continuity among the towns.

Traditional Yaqui households included any number of nuclear families related in a variety of ways. Yaqui elders were respected as the tribal spokespeople and maintained schools for young men. The godparent system, introduced by the Jesuits, has evolved into a highly complex and important institution.

Prior to 1617 the Yaquis lived in roughly eighty rancherías, most containing fewer than 250 people, consisting of clusters of dome-shaped, cane mat-covered adobe houses with flat or gently sloping roofs. Consolidation under the Jesuits of the scattered rancherías into eight towns, each with between 2,000 and 4,000 people, occurred by the mid-1600s. Each town was built around an adobe-walled church, with new civil, military, and ceremonial organizations grouped around the church and central plaza. Houses built near churches always included ramadas as well as walled rooms, surrounded by a cane fence. After 1887, the Mexicans succeeded in imposing the grid plan of settlement on Yaqui towns.

Cultivated crops such as corn, squash, beans, and amaranth were supplemented by abundant wild foods such as mesquite beans, cactus fruits, succulent roots, grass seeds, wild game (including deer and rabbits), and many kinds of shellfish and large saltwater fish from the Gulf of California. By the late seventeenth century, the Jesuits had introduced wheat, pomegranates, peaches, figs, and other crops as well as cattle (including oxen for plowing) and horses.

Rudimentary irrigation ditches were improved by the Jesuits, who also introduced the plow to the region. The Yaquis traditionally fashioned cane into a great number of articles, including mats for roof and wall materials, household compound fences, sleeping mats, cutting instruments, spoons, and shelves as well as numerous ceremonial items.

A party of Spaniards first encountered the Yaquis in 1533 but were prevented by force from trespassing on Yaqui territory. In 1609, after defeating the Spanish for the third time, the Yaquis arrived at an accommodation with them and accepted Jesuit missionaries in 1617. Over the next seven years almost all Yaquis converted to Catholicism.

The next 150 years were a period of creative cultural and economic growth for the Yaquis.





Transformations in agriculture and technology led to increasing agricultural surpluses and economic diversification (mining and sheep herding for the Spanish wool trade). In 1740, the Yaquis staged a major revolt as a result of growing tensions over land incursions, Spanish attempts to secularize and control the missions, and missionary abuses. The Indians' defeat strengthened both Spanish colonial power and the Jesuit missions, until the latter were expelled from the New World in 1767.

The 1800s were a time of semiautonomy, with the gradual loss of land and continual resistance against the Mexicans. Juan Ignacio Jusacamea, also known as Juan de la Cruz Banderas or Juan Banderas, emerged as the uncontested leader of the Yaquis and their allies in the early Mexican rebellions until his capture and execution in 1833. Further periodic revolts culminated in the so-called Cajeme era (1875–1885), a period of Yaqui cultural and economic renewal during which Yaqui society made a final defensive stand against Mexico under José María Leyva, called Cajeme.

The defeat of Cajeme in 1885 was followed by military occupation, repression, and mass deportation under the regime of Porfirio Díaz, although Yaqui bands continued guerrilla resistance in the Bacatete Mountains into the twentieth century. Most Yaquis not exiled to the Yucatan dispersed throughout rural Sonora, assisting the guerrillas and working in the mines, on the railroads, and on haciendas. Many also headed north to the United States to begin new Yaqui communities there.

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 offered the Yaquis a chance to regroup and reestablish their identity, with the formation of their own revolutionary army. Following the wars, Yaquis began a gradual return to their traditional lands and a reconstruction of their culture. For Yaquis living in Mexico, the last half of the twentieth century has been marked by the integration, albeit at the lowest levels, into that country's economy. In 1964, the U.S. Congress gave 202 acres of land to the Pascua Yaqui Association. This grant became the basis of New Pascua, which became officially recognized in 1978.

*See also* Agriculture; Banderas, Juan de la Cruz.

## Yavapai

"Yavapai" is from the Mojave *Enyaéva Pai*, "People of the Sun." The Yavapais are sometimes confused with

the Apaches, as a result of their long association together, and they are occasionally (and erroneously) referred to as Mojave Apaches or Yuma Apaches. Yavapais spoke a dialect (similar to Pai) of Upland Yuman, a Hokan-Siouan language (though culturally and historically the Yavapais were more closely related to the Tonto Apaches).

Traditionally, the Yavapais controlled roughly 10 million acres in present-day west central Arizona. This transitional area between the Colorado Plateau and the lower deserts provided them with a salubrious mixture of desert, mountain, and plateau plants and animals. Today, Yavapai Indians live on the Fort McDowell, the Camp Verde, and the Yavapai Reservations in Arizona.

The nomadic Yavapais were probably descended from the ancient Hakataya peoples. Traditionally they consisted of four major divisions: the Kewevkapayas (southeastern), the Wipukpayas (northeastern), the Tolkepayes (western), and the Yavepes (central). Each was further divided into local bands.

Contact between the Spanish and the Yavapais first occurred during 1582. After Father Francisco Garces lived with them in 1776, contact became more frequent. Nevertheless the Yavapais lived traditionally until the 1850s, largely because their country was too rough for the Spaniards, Mexicans, or Americans. Some bands, especially the Kewevkapayas, raided with the Apaches. After the Mexican cession, more non-Indian travelers and miners frequented the region, although the Yavapais tried to avoid conflict, owing primarily to their poor weaponry.

Gold was discovered in 1863. Shortly thereafter the frontier arrived and brought the permanent disruption of Yavapai traditional life. Hungry and under continuous attack, the Yavapais fought back. In 1872–1873, General George Crook's bloody Tonto Basin campaign against the Tonto Apaches and Yavapais (won with a heavy reliance on Pai scouts) ended with a massacre of Yavapais. Forced onto the Camp Verde Reservation after disease had killed an additional one-third of their number, the Yavapais and Tonto Apaches dug a five-mile irrigation ditch using discarded army tools and brought in a good harvest. For this they were forcibly relocated (again) in 1875 and settled with the Apaches on the San Carlos Reservation, 180 miles to the east. Many died or were killed on the March of Tears (within twenty-five years, their population fell from 1,500 to 200).

At San Carlos the Yavapais again tried farming. They also scouted for the Army against the Chiric-





ahua Apaches and acquired cattle. However, flooding ruined their ditches, miners and ranchers took their land, and they still wanted to go home. By 1900, most Yavapais had left San Carlos. Some returned to the Verde Valley and some to Forts McDowell and Whipple. In 1903, Fort McDowell became a reservation, inhabited mostly by the Kewevkopaya band. The Camp Verde (Weepukapa) Reservation was established in 1910, with outlying communities such as Middle Verde, Clarkdale, and Rimrock added during the following sixty years. Fort Whipple became a reservation (Yavapai–Prescott) in 1935. The western Yavapais (Tolkepayes) received no reservation and have nearly disappeared.

The Verde River ran through Fort McDowell. The Yavapais tried farming once again, but they were soon involved in a struggle for water rights. Instead of providing funds to improve irrigation and guard against floods, the government wanted to remove the Yavapais to the Salt River Pima Reservation. Largely owing to the efforts of Carlos Montezuma they were able to remain, but they secured little money or water. During this period cattle grazing and wage work, both on and off the reservation, became important sources of income. From the 1950s through the 1980s, the Yavapais also fought off a dam (Orme) that would have flooded most of the Fort McDowell Reservation, refusing \$33 million in compensation. Finally, in 1990, the Yavapais won the passage of a law granting them sufficient water rights from the Verde River as well as \$25 million in compensatory funds.

The Yavapais and Apaches leaving San Carlos settled at Camp Verde around the turn of the century. Camp Verde is more Apache than Yavapai in character. Unable to make a living on the inadequate reservation lands, most people worked in the nearby copper industry until the 1930s and 1940s.

In 1935 a separate reservation, primarily inhabited by the Yavepe band, was created north of Prescott. Rather than organize under the Indian Reorganization Act, this group maintained the traditional governing structure until 1988. Their land base is surrounded by the city of Prescott.

As in other Yuman groups, the veneration of the sun, dream omens, and shamanism were key aspects of Yavapai religion. Knowledge of all kinds was acquired by each person through dreaming. Shamans conducted healing rituals by singing, smoking tobacco, and sucking out bad blood. Some Yavapai rituals included the use of sandpaintings. Singing, dancing, and eagle feathers were part of

every ritual, as were certain plants and musical instruments such as rattles, drums, and flutes. “Little people” or spirits living in the mountains were thought to help people. The Yavapai place of emergence was considered to be at Montezuma Well, near Sedona.

The closest the Yavapais came to centralized authority was each local group’s “civic leader.” This person would orate each morning on proper ideas and behavior. Leadership was based on personal merit (wisdom, personality, and ability in war).

The Yavapais were a nomadic people who followed the ripening of wild foods. Bands camped in groups of up to ten families; winter gatherings were even larger. Elders or group leaders orated each morning from the roof of a hut, instructing people on the proper way to live. Social dances were held on occasion. Until the early 1900s the dead were customarily cremated (the house and possessions were also burned). Polygyny was rare, as was divorce. The Yavapai practiced formal puberty rites for women and men.

Yavapai people lived in caves or dome-shaped huts, framed with poles and covered with brush, thatch, or mud. Other structures included ramadas and sweat lodges.

Mescal was a staple, along with other wild plants such as cactus fruit, mesquite beans, greens, acorns, piñon nuts, walnuts, seeds, and berries. Women gathered wild foods. Game included deer, quail, fox, antelope, and rabbit; people also ate lizards, caterpillars, yellowjacket nests, and turkeys. Small amounts of corn, beans, and squash were grown or traded, mostly by the western band.

The Yavapais painted their bodies. Ornaments included necklaces, bracelets, and ear and nose rings (especially warriors). Bangs were worn to the eyebrows. Men wore hide breechclouts, leggings, and moccasins, and blankets or skin ponchos in winter (also boots and mittens). Women wore two buckskins draped over a belt and a buckskin top and moccasins (of buckskin or possibly yucca fiber). Some women tattooed their faces. Men dressed the skins for clothing.

Each local group decided for itself whether or nor to join a war. The Yavapais’ traditional enemies included the Pais, Pimas, Pee-Posh, and O’odhams. Their allies included the Quechans, Mojaves, and Apaches. Unlike the Apaches, the Yavapais used few guns; instead, they mostly made do with hunting tools to fight the U.S. Army. Other weapons included clubs, hide shields, mulberry bows, and





cane arrows with obsidian points. Although they were inclined toward war, they proved to be more flexible than the Apaches regarding change, adaptation, and coexistence.

*See also* Agriculture; Indian Reorganization Act; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Relocation.

## Yuma

*See* Quechan.

## Zia Pueblo

"Zia" comes from the Spanish spelling of its Keresan name. The word "pueblo" comes from the Spanish for "village." It refers both to a certain style of Southwest Indian architecture, characterized by multi-story, apartment-like buildings made of adobe (pueblo), and to the people themselves (Pueblo). Rio Grande Pueblos are known as eastern Pueblos; Zunis, Hopis, and sometimes Acomas and Lagunas are known as western Pueblos. The Zia Pueblo is located on the Jemez River, thirty miles north of Albuquerque, New Mexico. Several thousand people may have lived on the pueblo during 1540, although fewer than 300 remained in 1690 and fewer than 100 in 1890. The Zia Indians spoke a dialect of Keresan.

The Zians participated in the 1680 Pueblo Revolt against the Spanish. They suffered a bloody military defeat by Spanish forces in 1687: Six hundred were killed, and many were held captive for ten years. In 1689 the Zians received a royal land grant from Spain. In 1692 they accepted mass baptism and collaborated with the Spanish in their campaigns against other pueblos throughout the rest of the decade.

In the sixteenth century, the Zia Pueblo featured two- to three-story, apartment-style dwellings arranged around eight plazas. The buildings were constructed of adobe (earth-and-straw) bricks, with beams across the roof that were covered with poles, brush, and plaster. Floors were of wood plank or packed earth. The roof of one level served as the floor of another. The levels were interconnected by ladders. As an aid to defense, the traditional design included no doors or windows; entry was through the roof. Two pithouses, or kivas, served as ceremo-

nial chambers and clubhouses. The village plaza, around which all dwellings were clustered, was the spiritual center of the village where all the balanced forces of the world came together.

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Pueblo Revolt.

## Zuni

"Zuni," from the Spanish, is the name of both a people and a pueblo. The Zuni Pueblo's original name was *Ashiwi*, which might have meant "the flesh." The Zuni consisted of six pueblos along the north bank of the upper Zuni River, in western New Mexico, at least 800 years ago. It is presently in the same location. Perhaps as many as 20,000 lived there in 1500. Zuni is a language unlike that spoken at other pueblos. Scientists speculate as to a possible link to the Penutian language family.

Zunis and their ancestors, the Mogollon and the Ancestral Puebloans, and perhaps Mexican Indians as well, have lived in the Southwest for well over 2,000 years. By the eleventh century, the "village of the great kiva," near Zuni, had been built. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a large number of villages existed in the Zuni Valley. By 1650 the number of Zuni villages had shrunk to six.

Zuni was probably the first Native North American village visited by Spaniards, who had heard tales of great wealth in the Kingdom of Cibola. In 1539, Estavínico, a black man in the advance guard of Fray Marcos de Niza's party, visited Zuni. He was killed as a spy, and his group quickly retreated. The following year, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado visited the pueblos, ranging all the way to present-day Kansas in search of the mythical Cibola. The Zunis resisted his demands and fled to a nearby mesa top. Other Spanish came in Coronado's wake. The first mission was established at Hawikuh in 1629. In 1632, the Zunis attacked and killed a number of missionaries, but the Spanish built a new mission, Halona, in 1643.

The Zuni participated in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. Their main grievances were being forced to supply the Spanish with corn, women, and labor and being punished harshly for practicing their religion. At that time the Zunis lived in three of the original six pueblos. They fled to escape the Spanish, and in 1693 returned to the village at Halona on the Zuni River. A new church was built there, but shortly





abandoned, the Zunis preferring their own religion to Christianity. The ancient site of Halona is now modern Zuni.

Left on their own by the Spanish, the Zuni Pueblo was open to raids from Apaches, Navajos, and Plains tribes. As of 1850, it was still self-sufficient, although, because it was on important trade routes, it was increasingly raided by both Indians and Anglos. The U.S. government officially recognized a Zuni Reservation in 1877, although one far too small to support traditional agriculture. Three outlying summer villages established in the early nineteenth century became permanent in the 1880s, and a fourth such village was established in 1912 or 1914. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the Zuni economy shifted from agriculture to sheep and cattle herding. With the decline of warfare, their Bow society turned to warfare against supposed Zuni witches. The Bureau of Indian Affairs soon called in troops to suppress witchcraft trials, destroying the power of the Bow priests and the entire traditional government.

The opposition of tribal members as well as the failure of the government's Black Rock Reservation and Dam combined to block the implementation of the allotment process at Zuni. Erosion of arable land has been a considerable problem, especially since the debacle of counterproductive, government-mandated canal irrigation projects in the early twentieth century. By the 1930s, the government was promoting livestock as an alternative to agriculture. After World War II, the continuing shift in political power from priests to politicians led to the growth of political parties and the increased importance of the tribal council.

Religion, including membership in religious and ceremonial organizations, was at the core of Zuni existence. The sun priest was highly revered: In charge of solstice ceremonies as well as the calendar, he was held responsible for the community's welfare. The Zunis recognized six points of orientation, which corresponded to the cardinal directions as well as mythological events. Each had its own color, position, kiva group, medicine societies and priest-hoods, and ceremonies. Kivas were rectangular and aboveground.

Katsinas, or benevolent guardian spirits, played a key part in Zuni religion. Katsinas represented the rain gods as well as Zuni ancestors. All boys between the ages of eleven and fourteen underwent initiation into the Katsina Society. At death, one was said to join the katsinas, especially if one was closely



*A group of six Zuni men pose for a photograph in 1879. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

associated with the cult. Both men and women could join the curing cult of the beast gods. Its focus was on animals of prey who lived in the east.

The Zuni new year began at the winter solstice. A twenty-day period during this time was known as *Itiwana*, or cleansing and preparing the village for the new year. Winter dances took place from February through April. Summer dances began at the solstice and lasted into September, concluding with the fertility ritual called *Olowishkia*. In late November or early December the Zunis celebrated *Shalako*, a reenactment by katsina priests of the creation and migration of the Zuni people. The people built six to eight *Shalako* houses and attended the *Shalako* katsinas—giant-sized messengers of the rain gods. This festival was accompanied by spectacular dancing and closed the Zuni year. *Molawai*, or the ritual dramatization of the loss and recovery of corn maidens, immediately followed *Shalako*.

Ruled by heads of various priesthoods and societies, the Zuni pueblo was a theocracy. Bow priests enforced the rules from at least the seventeenth





century on. A tribal council played a minor role in the nineteenth century but a more powerful one in the twentieth century. The Zunis accepted the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) and an elected tribal council in 1934 (they ratified a constitution in 1970).

During the eighteenth century, a parallel, secular government developed at Zuni to handle mundane problems. Based on the Spanish model, it was appointed by and responsible to the religious leaders. Offices included a governor, two lieutenant governors, a sheriff, and *fiscales* (church assistants). These officers acted as liaisons between the pueblo and the outside world and kept order within the pueblo. Metal-topped canes with a Spanish cross served as symbols of authority. Through the years, these were augmented by more Spanish canes, Mexican canes, and then canes given by President Lincoln to reward the pueblo for its neutrality in the Civil War.

Zunis were divided into two groups: people of the north (also characterized as winter or rain) and people of the south (also characterized as summer or sun). Matrilineal clans affected ceremonial roles and certain behaviors. In general, however, ritual activity went through the father's family, and economic activity went through the mother's. There were also a number of secret cults and societies, some highly complex, each responsible for certain ceremonies. Zunis traditionally cremated their dead. In modern

times the dead are buried, with their possessions burned or buried after four days, following a ceremony that includes prayer sticks and cornmeal. With the exception of certain clan and family taboos, marriage was a matter between the two people involved and was traditionally preceded by a trial period of cohabitation. Divorce was simple and easy.

Like other Pueblo Indians, Zunis lived in multistoried houses (*pueblos*). Men built the structures of stone and plaster, not the adobe bricks used in the pueblos to the east. Ladders led to the upper stories. Floors were of packed adobe and roofs of willow boughs, brush, and packed earth. Women kept the outsides whitewashed. Tiny windows and outside beehive ovens were introduced in the sixteenth century.

Farming was the chief Zuni mode of subsistence. Men grew at least six varieties of corn plus beans, squash, and cotton. The Spanish introduced crops such as wheat, chilies, oats, and peaches. Zunis used dams and sage windbreaks for irrigation. Corn was dried, ground into flour or meal, and served as mush or baked into breads. Food was also obtained by hunting (deer, antelope, and rabbits), fishing, and gathering wild plants (women were the gatherers, and they also kept small garden plots).

*See also* Agriculture; All Indian Pueblo Council; Katsinas; Pueblo Revolt.



# *Native Americans of California*



## **Achumawi**

“Achumawi” means “River People,” who are also known, occasionally with the Atsugewis, as Pit River Indians, from their practice of hunting deer by means of pitfalls. These people were organized into eleven bands and shared several cultural characteristics of Indians of the Great Basin. With the Atsugewis, their language made up the Palaihnihan branch of the Hokan language family.

The Achumawis traditionally lived in the north-eastern part of the region, from Mount Shasta and Lassen Peak to the Warner Range. This area of tremendous ecological diversity yielded a huge variety of foods, medicines, and raw materials. In the 1990s, Pit River Indians live on their own or shared reservations and rancherias, plus Pit River trust lands, in Modoc, Shasta, Mendocino, Lassen, and Lake Counties in California.

The Achumawi people were composed of about nine tribes. Though autonomous, each was connected by language, culture, and intermarriage. Chiefs were chosen on the basis of popularity, ability, and possession of supernatural powers.

At puberty, boys usually went to mountain retreats in search of a spirit vision that would bestow supernatural powers. They also had their noses pierced. On the occasion of their first menstrual period, girls sang, danced, and feasted with the community all night for ten days. This activity was repeated for nine days on the second month, eight on the third, and so on until the tenth month, when they were considered women.

Corpses were cremated and all their former

possessions burned. Mourners cut their hair, darkened their faces with pitch, and refrained from speaking the name of the dead. The soul was said to head for the western mountains. When a chief died, two or three less-liked members of the tribe were sometimes killed to provide the chief with traveling companions.

When within earshot, people were generally addressed by their kin terms, not by their names. Gifts exchanged at marriage were regarded as a price for both spouses. If a married person died, the surviving spouse could still be obligated to marry another suitable person in that family. As with many North American Indians, the Achumawis played the hand game, as well as engaging in shinny (a variation of hockey), wrestling, and footraces.

Conical three-season houses were made of tule mats over a light pole framework. Wood frame winter houses were built partly underground and covered with grass, bark, or tule and a layer of earth. Both were entered by means of a ladder through the smoke hole.

The environmentally diverse Achumawi territory, which ranged from mountains to lowland swamps, contained a great variety of foods. The Achumawis regularly burned the fir and pine uplands, meadows, and grasslands to augment this richness. The fires stimulated the growth of seed and berry plants, made insects available for collecting, and drove game into accessible areas.

Food staples included fish, such as salmon, trout, bass, pike, and catfish; crawfish; and mussels. Waterfowl were caught with nets, and the people ate the eggs as well. Other important foods included





acorns, tule sprouts, various seeds, berries, roots and bulbs, and insects and their larvae. Game included deer, antelope, bear, beaver, badger, coyote, and a variety of small mammals.

Bow wood was either juniper or yew. Most points and blades were made from obsidian. Other building materials included bone and stone, including antler. Baskets were made for a number of purposes, including fish traps. The Achumawis made five kinds of tule or milkweed nets. Tule was used for many other products, including mats, twine, shoes, and rafts. Fire drills were made of juniper. Sometimes the people used a cedar rope as a slow-burning match. They also made juniper snowshoes.

Clothing included shirts, skirts, belts, caps, capes, robes, leggings, moccasins, and dresses. Clothing was made primarily of deer, badger, coyote, and antelope skin and shredded juniper bark. Colored minerals were used to decorate both objects and people.

The slave-raiding Modocs were a traditional enemy of the Achumawis. Instead of retaliating in kind, they usually hid out until the raiders went away. Weapons included elk hide armor and shields and arrows poisoned with rattlesnake venom.

Trappers entering Achumawi territory in 1828 made little impact. However, the flood of non-Natives after the gold rush provoked Achumawi resistance, which was brutally repressed by state and private militias as well as extralegal vigilantes. By the end of the century, several hundred Achumawis had been forced onto the Round Valley Reservation. Some remained in their traditional lands, however. Their acquisition of individual allotments after 1897 helped them to retain their band ties and some subsistence activities.

Most of these allotments were lost in the early twentieth century to Pacific Gas and Electric. Major health problems plagued the Achumawi Indians in the 1920s. Seven small rancherias were created between 1915 and 1938. In 1938, some Achumawi families settled on the 9,000-acre XL Ranch. As late as the 1950s, the Achumawis still retained much of their ancient knowledge and carried on a form of their aboriginal existence. It was mostly younger people who began a new activism in the 1960s, focused on the issues of sovereignty and land usurpation. The Pit River Tribe received federal recognition in 1976.

*See also* Demographics, Historical; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights.

## Barbariño

*See* Chumash.

## Cahto

"Cahto" is northern Pomo for "lake," referring to an important Cahto village site. The Cahtos called themselves *Djilbi*, the word in their language for that same lake and village. The Cahtos are sometimes referred to as Kaipomo Indians. The Cahtos' homeland is in northwest California, south of Rattlesnake Creek, north of the North Fork of the Ten Mile River, and between the South Fork of the Eel River and just west of the Eel River (more or less the Long and Cahto Valleys). Today, most Cahtos live in Mendocino County. Cahto was an Athapaskan language.

Like other Indian people who were overwhelmed by the sheer numbers and brutality of non-Native Californians in the 1850s, the Cahtos fought back for a brief period before being defeated. Their population declined by some 95 percent during the nineteenth century. The town of Cahto was founded in 1856, the same year reservations were created at Round Valley and Fort Bragg in Mendocino County. The town of Laytonville was established in 1880.

Cahtos prayed frequently, in part to two original beings: Nagaicho, or Great Traveler, and Tcenés, or Thunder. They also followed the Kuksu cult, which involved the acquisition of spiritual power through direct contact with supernatural beings. Tribal and intertribal ceremonies were held in winter (such as the Acorn Dance) and summer. A host who had enough food to share invited his neighbors. Then there was dancing for a week, the creation story was told, and the headman made speeches.

The Cahtos lived in approximately fifty villages. Although most were completely autonomous, six in Long Valley were united to the extent that they called themselves Grass Tribe. Each village was led by a headman or two. His authority was mainly advisory, and he was generally succeeded by his son.

Marriage was generally a matter between the couple involved, although girls were generally prepubescent when married. The Cahtos practiced polygyny as well as the taboo that prevented a man from addressing his mother-in-law directly. Divorce was easily obtained for nearly any reason. Unlike many California Indians, pregnant Cahto women





observed no food taboos. Deformed children and twins were killed at birth.

The six-day girls' puberty ceremony included dietary taboos and then a quiet life for five subsequent months. Boys, at puberty, remained in the dance house all winter to receive admonitions regarding proper behavior; "ghosts" also sang and danced for this purpose. Corpses were buried with their valuables or cremated if away from home. Both men and women mourners cut their hair, and women put pitch on their bodies.

Adult games included shinny, the grass game, stone throwing, and races. Children's games included camping, skipping rope, and playing with acorn tops. Women enjoyed singing in chorus around an evening fire. The Cahtos danced solely for pleasure as well as for ceremonial reasons. Pets included birds, coyotes, and rabbits.

The Cahtos knew three types of shamans: sucking doctors, bear doctors, and singing and dancing doctors. Bear doctors were said to be strong enough to kill enemies of the Cahtos. Various ceremonies, including magic, were practiced before all important events, such as hunting, war, birth, and funerals. Men owned hunting and war items; women owned their clothing, baskets, and cooking rocks. Men generally hunted and fished. Women gathered all foods except acorns; gathering acorns was a communal activity.

Living houses, which were privately owned by up to three families, were built over two-foot-deep pits. Slabs, bark, or earth covered wood rafters, which in turn rested on four poles. Most houses were rebuilt after two years as a vermin-control measure. Larger villages contained similarly built but larger dance houses.

Acorns, salmon, and deer served as food staples. Other important foods included other fish; bear; mink, raccoon, and other small game; birds; and some insects. Meat was generally broiled over coals or on a spit. The Cahtos also ate a variety of seeds, tubers, and berries. They also used domesticated dogs to help them hunt.

Stone, bone, and shell were the primary tool materials. Baskets were usually twined but sometimes coiled. Hunting tools included traps, snares, bows, arrows, slings, nets, and harpoons. Fish were sometimes poisoned. Musical instruments included whistles, rattles, a foot drum, a musical bow, and a six-hole elderberry flute.

The Cahtos were particularly friendly with the northern Pomos. Some Cahtos even spoke Pomo in

addition to their own language. In addition to regular trade with the northern Pomos, the Cahtos gathered shellfish and seaweed in Coast Yuki territory. They also supplied these people with hazelwood bows in exchange for items such as salt, mussels, seaweed, abalone, sea fish, clamshells, and dried kelp. They traded arrows, baskets, and clothing to the Wailakis in exchange for dentalia. They also supplied clam disk beads to the Lassiks and received salt from the northern Wintuns, as well as dogs from an unknown location to the north.

Men and women dressed in a similar fashion. They both wore tanned deerhide aprons. They also wore long hair and used iris nets. Both wore bracelets, nose and ear ornaments, and occasionally tattoos.

The Cahtos seldom engaged in large-scale warfare. There were, however, frequent conflicts with the Sinkyones, Yukis, northern Pomos, Wailakis, and Huchnoms, generally over murder or trespass. When fighting occurred, close fighting was avoided whenever possible. War dances were held before each battle. Weapons included the bow and arrow, deer hide sling, and spear. All casualties were indemnified following the fighting.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Cahuilla

"Cahuilla" is perhaps derived from the Spanish *kawiya*, or "master." The Cahuillas refer to themselves as *Iviatim*, or "speakers" of their Native language. In the eighteenth century, the Cahuillas lived generally southwest of the Bernardino Mountains, ranging over a territory including several distinct environmental zones, from mountain ranges to canyons to desert (11,000 feet to 273 feet). Today they live on ten reservations in Southern California. Cahuilla was a language from the Cupan subgroup of the Takic division of the Uto-Aztecan language family.

The Cahuilla population may have numbered as many as 10,000 in the seventeenth century, with roughly 5,000 remaining by the late eighteenth century. In 1990, the total Indian population of all reservations on which Cahuillas lived, including those they shared with other peoples, was 1,276.





Religiously, the Cahuillas recognized a supreme power, neither good nor bad, but unpredictable. According to their worldview, the entire universe and everything in it were interconnected. Cahuillas performed a large number of rituals. The most significant ones were an annual mourning ceremony, the eagle ceremony (honoring a dead chief or shaman), rite of passage rituals, and food-related rituals. Song cycles were a key part of Cahuilla ritual. They sought to reaffirm the people's place in the universe and their connections with the past and with all things. Ceremonial implements included rattles, headdresses, wands, eagle-feathered skirts, and especially the *máyswut*, a ceremonial bundle.

The Cahuillas lived in about fifty villages aboriginally. The political unit was the clan, or a group of between three and ten lineages. Each clan had a leader, usually hereditary, called the *nét*. This person had religious, economic, and diplomatic as well as political responsibilities. The *nét* also had an assistant.

Háwayniks knew and sang the ceremonial songs, including the long song cycles. Shamans (always male) had much power, including curing, through the control of supernatural power. They also controlled the weather; guarded against evil spirits; and, with the *néts*, exercised political authority. Strong as it was, however, the shaman's authority was maintained only by regular public displays of power.

The Cahuillas recognized two societal divisions, Wildcat and Coyote, each composed of a number of patrilineal clans. Female doctors complemented male shamans as curers; their methods included the use of medicinal plants and other knowledge. When a person died, the spirit was believed to travel to the land of the dead; from there, it could still be involved in the lives of the living. Old age was venerated, largely because old people taught the traditional ways and values, which were themselves venerated.

Reciprocity and sharing were two defining values. The Cahuillas frowned upon hasty behavior; conversely, it was appropriate to do things slowly, deliberately, and cautiously. They enjoyed regular interaction, including intermarriage, with other Indian groups such as the Gabrieleños and Serranos.

Although each extended family had a village site and resource area, land away from the village could be owned by anyone. Mens' games were based on endurance and the ability to withstand physical punishment. Women's games included

footraces, juggling, cat's cradle, top spinning, and balancing objects. People often bet on games.

Cahuilla songs contained tribal history and cosmology, and they accompanied all activities. Singing was common. Bathing and cleanliness in general were important. Spouses were selected by parents from the opposite division. Divorce was difficult to obtain. Everyone observed specific rules of deference and behavior toward other people.

Six varieties of acorns constituted a key food source. Other gathered food included pine nuts, mesquite and screwbeans, and a huge variety of cactus, seeds, berries, roots, and greens. Other plants were used in construction and for medicinal purposes. Rabbit, deer, antelope, rodents, mountain sheep, reptiles, and fowl were all hunted, and fish were taken. Meat was roasted, boiled, or sun-dried in strips, with the bones then cracked for marrow or ground and mixed with other foods. Blood was drunk fresh or cooked and stored. Some Cahuilla bands practiced agriculture, although this was a less important activity.

The Cocopah–Maricopa Trail, a major trade route, bisected Cahuilla territory. Two other trade routes, the Santa Fe and the Yuman, passed close by. Cahuillas traded mostly with the Mojaves, Halchidomas, Ipais, Tipais, Luiseños, Serranos, and Gabrieleños. The Cahuillas traded food products, furs, hides, obsidian, and salt for shell beads, minerals such as turquoise and tourmaline, Joshua tree blossoms, axes, and other crafts. Rituals and songs were also exchanged.

Women wore basket hats as well as skirts of mescal bark, tule, or skins. Men wore breechclouts of the same material when they wore anything at all. Both men and women wore sandals of mescal fibers soaked in mud and tied with mescal fibers or buckskin. Babies wore mesquite-bark diapers. Blankets or woven rabbit skin robes were used for warmth.

New diseases and elements of Spanish culture probably preceded the physical arrival of the Spanish, which occurred when the Juan Bautista de Anza expedition arrived in 1774. The Cahuillas were at first hostile to the Spanish. Since most routes to the Pacific at that time were by sea, the two groups had little ongoing contact, except that a few Cahuillas were baptized at nearby missions.

By the early nineteenth century, some Cahuillas worked seasonally on Spanish cattle ranches, and aspects of Spanish culture such as cattle, wage labor, clothing, and language had significantly changed the traditional Cahuilla lifestyle. The latter maintained





their autonomy until the severe smallpox epidemic of 1863. After 1877, they moved slowly onto reservations. Although initially self-supporting, they grew increasingly dependent on the Americans.

After 1891 the federal government took a much more active role in their lives. Government schools trained Cahuillas to perform menial tasks; influential Protestant missionaries suppressed Native religion and culture; allotment under the Dawes Act (1886) destroyed their agricultural capabilities; and Indian Service personnel controlled their political activities, under protest. From roughly 1891 through the 1930s, Cahuillas farmed, raised cattle, worked for wages, sold peat and asbestos, and leased their lands for income. The lack of water was a chronic obstacle to economic activities. Their tourist industry, especially that of the Agua Caliente Band, also dates from the 1920s.

Following World War II, partial termination and the severe curtailment of government services forced the Cahuillas to take a much more active role in their welfare. Renewed federal programs in the 1960s, in combination with a vitalized tribal political structure, led to a general increase in the quality of life for most Cahuillas.

*See also* Disease, Historic and Contemporary;  
Gambling; Reservation Economic and Social  
Conditions.

## Chilula

*See* Hupa.

## Chukchansi

*See* Yokuts.

## Chumash

"Chumash," a label chosen by an Anglo anthropologist, comes from the word used by the Coastal Chumash for either the Santa Cruz (*Mi-tcú-mac*) Indians or the Santa Rosa (*Tcú-mac*) Indians. Each Chumash regional group—Barbareños, Ynezeños, and Ventureños (eastern coastal); Obispeños and Purisimeños; Island Chumash; and Interior Chumash—has its own self-designation. The Chumash are sometimes referred to as the Santa

Barbara Indians. At least six separate groups spoke related Hokan languages: Barbareños, Ventureños, Ynezeños, Purisimeños, Obispeños, and the Island language.

Traditionally, the Chumash lived along the Pacific Coast from San Luis Obispo to Malibu Canyon and inland as far as the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley. There were also Chumash Indians on the Santa Barbara Channel islands of San Miguel, Santa Rosa, Santa Cruz, and Anacapa. Today, the Santa Ynez band lives at and near Santa Ynez, California. The Chumash population was between roughly 10,000 and 18,000 in the late eighteenth century. In 1990, 213 Indians lived on the Santa Ynez Reservation.

The Chumash were organized by village rather than by tribe. Villages were led by chiefs; their limited authority was based on heredity and wealth. Coast villages maintained patrilineal descent groups. Each contained three or four captains, one of whom was head chief. Women could inherit the position of head chief. A chief's formal power was limited to leading in war, presiding at ceremonies, and granting hunting permissions.

After a mourning ceremony, the dead were buried face down (face up on the islands), head to the west, and in a flexed position. Graves were marked with rows of wood or stone. Some babies may have been killed at birth. Also, babies' noses were flattened after birth. At the onset of puberty, girls were subject to dietary restrictions, and boys were given a strong liquor to induce visions. Brides were purchased with gifts. Adultery was taboo, and only a few highly placed men could have more than one wife.

Many people smoked tobacco. Coastal people were generally gentle and slow to anger. Punishment was rare. Transvestitism was common and even esteemed. On the coast, people had more time for games, singing, and dancing.

The Chumash lived in rancheria-style villages. Their houses, some of which were as large as fifty feet in diameter, were domed. They were built on poles bent inward and covered with grass. A hole in the roof let light in and smoke out. Houses in the interior were generally smaller. Reed mats covered frame beds. Reeds were also used for floor coverings, partitions, and mattresses. Other structures included storehouses, sweat houses, and ceremonial ramadas.

Live oak acorns were a staple, although fish, shellfish, and marine mammals were more





important for coastal and island Chumash. The people also hunted game such as mule deer, coyote, and fox and gathered pine nuts, cherries, and a variety of roots, bulbs, seeds, and berries.

The Chumash hunted with bow (sinew-backed) and arrow, snares, and deadfalls. They fished with seines, dip nets, and hook and line, killing larger fish and sea mammals with harpoons. They carved wood plates, bowls, and boxes; they wove water baskets and sealed them from the inside with asphaltum. Coastal residents fashioned stools of whale vertebrae.

Other cooking items and tools were made of stone, especially steatite. Musical instruments included elder wood or bone flutes, whistles, and rattles. The Chumash had no drums. For water transportation they used a *tomol*, or planked canoe. Abalone shell was used for inlay work. In general, material culture was less developed away from the coast.

Trade was active with nearby tribes. The mainland Chumash provided steatite, asphaltum, fish, wooden vessels, beads, and shells, in exchange for black pigment, antelope and elk skins, piñon nuts, obsidian, salt, beads, seeds, and herbs.

Chumash fine arts included baskets, sea animals carved in wood and soapstone, and, from roughly 1000 to 1800, ceremonial rock paintings. The latter were generally abstract but also contained highly stylized life forms. The circle was a basic theme. Rock paintings were especially well developed in mountainous regions, although the arts were generally less so away from the coast.

The Chumash are the only Native North Americans who built boats out of planks. They split cedar logs with antler or whalebone wedges and smoothed the lumber with shell and stone tools. Planks were lashed together with sinew or plant fibers and then caulked with asphaltum. The resulting boats had twelve- to thirty-foot double-bowed hulls and were moved with double-bladed paddles. They carried a crew of four and were quite oceanworthy; they traveled at least as far as San Nicholas Island, sixty-five miles offshore.

Most Chumash men wore few or no clothes. Women wore knee-length buckskin skirts ornamented with snail and abalone shell. All wore additional buckskin clothing, blankets, or robes against the cold weather. Men and women tied their long hair with strings interwoven with the hair. They pierced their noses and ears, painted their bodies, and wore shell, bone, and stone necklaces.

Reasons for war included trespass, breach of etiquette, avenging witchcraft, or defense (interior Indian peoples occasionally attacked the coastal Chumash). Rules of engagement were highly formalized. In general, however, the Chumash seldom engaged in actual warfare. The 1824 revolt against the Mexicans stands out as the major historical conflict.

The coastal Chumash were living in their traditional territory by roughly 1000. In 1542, contact was established between the Chumash and the Spanish explorers Juan Cabrillo and Bartolome Ferello. Relations were amiable, and, although the Spanish soon began using the Santa Barbara Channel as a stopover for their trans-Pacific voyages, early impact on the Chumash was minimal.

In 1772 the Franciscans built the San Luis Obispo mission. Other missions followed soon thereafter. The Chumash entered the mission period willingly, and many became completely missionized (turned into farmers, artisans, and Christians). However, for most Indians, missions were places of slave labor. Smallpox and syphilis were major killers, but even the common cold often turned into a deadly disease. Refusing either to give up their traditional ways or to be mistreated by the Spanish missionaries, some Chumash escaped into the hills either before or during the mission period. In 1824, Indians staged a major rebellion at several missions. Many sought sanctuary with the Yokut Indians or at other interior communities. Although many ultimately returned to the missions, many others did not.

Mexico seized control of the missions in 1834. Indians either fled into the interior, attempted farming for themselves and were driven off the land, or were enslaved by the new administrators. Alcoholism soon became a large problem among the Chumash. Many found highly exploitative work on large Mexican ranches. After 1849 most Chumash land was lost due to theft by Americans and a declining population, mainly as a result of the effects of violence and disease. The remaining Chumash began to lose their cohesive identity. In 1855, a small piece of land (120 acres) was set aside for just over 100 remaining Chumash Indians near Santa Ynez mission. This land ultimately became the only Chumash reservation, although Chumash individuals and families also continued to live throughout their former territory in southern California.

Chumash cemeteries along Santa Barbara Channel were looted extensively in the 1870s and 1880s.





By 1900, disease combined with intermarriage had rendered the Chumash culture virtually extinct.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Pipes, Sacred; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Costanoan

"Costanoan" is from the Spanish for "coast people." The term denotes a language family as opposed to a unified political entity such as a tribe. Costanoans are sometimes referred to as Ohlone, the name of one tribelet. The Costanoans traditionally lived around and south of San Francisco and Monterey Bays and to the east near the central valleys. Today many live in the same area and in Indian Canyon in San Benito County. The Costanoan population was roughly 10,000 in the mideighteenth century and about 200 in the late 1970s. There were probably thousands of Costanoan descendents in the mid-1990s. Costanoan, a group of about eight languages, belongs to the Penutian language family.

The sun was just one of many Costanoan deities that received offerings such as tobacco smoke, as well as seeds, tobacco, shell beads, and feathers. Shamans interpreted their dreams in religious terms, which were often used as a guide for future actions. Shamans also controlled weather and cured disease by sucking out offending disease objects and through the use of herbs. They could also bestow luck in economic pursuits. Much of their power depended on the performance of dances and ceremonies, including the Medicine Man's Dance, Devil's Dance, Coyote Dance, Dove Dance, and Puberty Dance.

Roughly fifty small tribes, each headed by a chief and a council of elders, spoke Costanoan languages. Each tribelet averaged about 200 people. The larger ones, of up to 500 people, had more than one permanent village.

Although men were usually chiefs, women occasionally held the office in the absence of male heirs. The position of chief was hereditary, but subject to village approval. Responsibilities included directing ceremonial, economic, and war activities; feeding visitors; providing for the poor; caring for captured grizzly bears and coyotes; and leading the council of elders. All power was advisory except in

time of war. An official speaker also had ceremonial and diplomatic duties.

Costanoans maintained a clan structure as well as a division into two main groups, Deer and Bear. Small gifts given from groom to bride constituted the marriage formalities. The new couple lived in the groom's father's house. Men might have more than one wife. The dead and their possessions were either buried or cremated; their souls were said to journey across the sea. Widows cut or singed their hair, covered their heads with ashes or asphalt, and battered themselves, sometimes seriously.

Music often accompanied religious and mythological ritual. Both sexes underwent puberty rituals: Girls were confined to their houses and observed food taboos; boys used jimsonweed (*datuna*) to seek visions. People played games such as a ball race, shinny (a variation of hockey), hoop-and-pole (in which an arrow was shot through a rolling hoop), dice, and the hand game (a traditional gambling game) and often bet on the results.

Most houses were conical in shape and built of tule, grass, or ferns around pole frames. Some Costanoan people substituted redwood slabs or bark. Sweat houses, used by men and women, were dug into the side of a stream. Large houses or brush enclosures served as dance sites.

Costanoans hunted deer using deer head disguises. They also hunted elk, antelope, bear, mountain lion, waterfowl, small mammals, and reptiles. They caught fish, especially salmon, steelhead, sturgeon, and lamprey in nets and traps. Fish were also speared by the light of a bonfire. Gathered foods included acorns, seeds, berries, nuts, insects, grapes, roots, greens, and honey. The people also ate shellfish as well as beached whales and sea lions.

Costanoans also practiced land management by controlled burning. This activity promoted the growth of seed-bearing plants, consumed dead plant material (a fire hazard), increased the grazing area for game, and facilitated acorn gathering.

Technological innovations among the Costanoans included the use of tule balsa canoes; twined baskets; musical instruments, including bird bone whistles, alder flutes, rattles, and a musical bow; earth ovens (for roasting meat, especially sea lion and whale); a variety of nets for catching rabbits, fish, and fowl; and cage-like traps to capture quail. Milkweed, hemp, or nettle fiber was used for cordage. Bedding was of tule mats and animal skins.

Men often wore no clothes; women wore tule or buckskin aprons. Rabbit skin, deerskin, duck feather,





or otter skin robes were worn in cold weather. Some men wore beards but most plucked facial hair with wooden tweezers or a pair of mussel shells or singed it with a hot coal. Both sexes painted and tattooed their bodies. Ornaments were worn in pierced ears and around the neck.

War was not uncommon among the Costanoan tribes, as well as between the Costanoans and the Esselens, Salinans, and Northern Valley Yokuts. Trespass often provoked hostilities, which began either by prearrangement or by surprise attack. Captives, except young women, were usually killed, their heads displayed on a pike in the village. Raiding parties burned enemy villages. The main weapon was the bow and arrow.

Costanoan ancestors reached the two bay areas in roughly 500. They first encountered non-Natives in the Sebastián Vizcaíno exploring expeditions of 1602. By the late eighteenth century, the Spanish had built seven missions in their territory and forced most Costanoans to join them.

In an effort to stem and reverse their cultural and physical extinction, the Costanoans in the late eighteenth century organized several incidents of armed resistance. Between 1770 and 1832, the Costanoan population fell by more than 80 percent as a result of disease, hardship, and general abuse. Their aboriginal existence disappeared during this time, as their culture and traditional practices were repressed and they mingled and mixed with other Indian peoples, including Esselens, Miwoks, and Yokuts, who were also brought by force to the missions.

After 1835, when Mexico secularized the missions, many Costanoans worked on ranches or tried to return to a hunting and gathering existence. Most, however, had become mixed with non-Natives and other Indians, establishing multiethnic Indian communities in the area. Costanoans were considered ethnologically extinct by the early twentieth century.

However, land claims cases in the 1920s and the 1960s resulted in small monetary payments and, as well, the recognition of Costanoan/Ohlone survival. Also in the 1960s, Costanoan descendants of Mission San José prevented the destruction of a burial ground that lay in the proposed path of a freeway. These people later organized as the Ohlone Indian tribe and now hold title to a cemetery in Fremont, California. A similar situation occurred in 1975, resulting in the establishment of the Pajaro Valley Ohlone Indian Council. In 1911 and again in 1988,

individuals received trust allotments that became the Costanoan refuge of Indian Canyon.

*See also* Basketry; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Pipes, Sacred; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Cupeño

"Cupeño" is from the Spanish term for "a person who comes from Kúpa." The Cupeños traditionally lived in a mountainous area at the headwaters of the San Luis Rey River and the San Jose de Valle Valley. Today most Cupeños live on the Pala Reservation in San Diego County. Cupeño belongs to the Cupan subgroup of the Takic family of Uto-Aztecan languages.

Death ceremonies were perhaps the Cupeños' most important. Corpses were burned almost immediately, possessions were burned several weeks or months later, and images of the dead were burned every year or two as part of an eight-day festival. Also, an annual eagle-killing ritual was held in honor of the dead.

Cupeños recognized two divisions, Coyote and Wildcat, and within them a number of patrilineal clans. Each clan owned productive food-gathering sites. Each had a leader, usually hereditary in the male line, as well as an assistant leader. Kúpa and Wilákalpa were the two permanent villages prior to 1902. Each was politically independent. Decisions concerning the entire village were made by consensus of the clan leaders.

Sometimes leaders also served as shamans. Shamans were powerful, feared, and respected. They cured, witched, and divined with supernatural powers acquired in trances and dreams. Parents arranged most marriages, with the boy's parents taking the lead in mate selection, gift giving, and feasting. Girls around age ten underwent a puberty ceremony. The male initiation ceremony occurred between ten and eighteen years of age and probably involved the use of toloache, a hallucinogenic root.

Family houses were conical in shape, built partly underground, and covered with reeds, brush, or bark. Earth sweat houses were also semisubterranean. People used ramadas for ceremonies and domestic chores. Other structures included acorn granaries, mens' sweat houses, and ceremonial lodges.





Acorns, small seeds, berries, cactus fruit, deer, quail, rabbits, and other small mammals constituted the basic Cupeño diet. The Cupeños used a variety of natural materials for their technological needs, including willow or mesquite wood (bows and arrows), grasses (cooking, storage, and carrying baskets), stone (mortars, pestles, manos and metates, arrow straighteners), wood (mortars), clay (pottery for cooking, storage, eating, and pipes), pine pitch (to seal storage bins for food preservation), and mescal (fibers for rope). Other technological innovations included hunting and carrying nets, snares and traps, baking ovens or pits, and musical instruments such as elder flutes, whistles, panpipes, and rattles.

The Cupeños were part of an elaborate southern California network that dealt in economic and ritual items and activities. The Cocopah–Maricopa Trail, a major trade route, as well as the Santa Fe and the Yuman Trails, passed close by. The people traded food products, furs, hides, obsidian, and salt for shell beads, minerals such as turquoise and tourmaline, Joshua tree blossoms, axes, and other crafts. Rituals and songs were also exchanged.

Women wore basket hats as well as skirts of mescal bark, tule, or skins. Men donned breechclouts of the same material when they wore anything at all. Both wore sandals of mescal fibers soaked in mud and tied with mescal fibers or buckskin. Babies wore mesquite-bark diapers. Blankets or woven rabbit skin robes were used for warmth.

Cupeño groups generally feuded over women, trespass, and sorcery. Murder also required retribution. Tactics included ambush or simply chasing away an enemy. Weapons included the bow and arrow (possibly with a poisoned tip), poniard, thrusting sticks, and war club. Forced to resist the missions and Mexican imperialism, the people became more aggressive during the early nineteenth century.

Specific Cupeño customs and identity were derived from neighboring Cahuillas, Luiseños, Ipais, and other groups in a process that began at least 800 years ago. Non-Natives entered the area in 1795. In the early nineteenth century, the Spanish took over Cupeño lands, building a chapel, a health spa, and a meeting place and grazing their cattle. During this period, Indians worked as virtual serfs for Spanish masters.

Juan Antonio Garra, a clan leader, attempted but failed around 1850 to organize a general revolt of all southern California Indians meant to drive out or kill all non-Natives. He was captured by Cahuilla

Indians and later shot by a paramilitary court. His village, Kúpa, was also burned. Between 1875 and 1877, the U.S. government created thirteen separate reservations for former “Mission Indians.” Around the turn of the century, despite widespread local and even national protest, the California Supreme Court ordered all 250 or so Cupeños to move from their homes at Warner’s Hot Springs to the Pala Reservation (Luiseño), awarding title to the former land to a man who was once governor of California. An influential group of non-Natives pressured the government in 1903 to purchase a 3,438-acre ranch for the Cupeños at Pala Valley, now known as New Pala. By 1973 fewer than 150 people claimed Cupeño descent.

*See also* Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Trade; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Diegueño

*See* Tipai-Ipai.

## Hupa

“Hupa” comes from the Yurok name for the Hoopa Valley. Their self-designation was *Natinook-wa*, “People of the Place Where the Trails Return.” The Hupas were culturally and linguistically related to three neighboring groups: the Chilulas, Whilkust, and the North Fork Hupas, who lived mainly to their east. The Hupa traditionally lived along the lower Trinity River, a main tributary of the Klamath, and especially in the Hoopa Valley. The Hoopa Valley Reservation is in this region today. Hupa is an Athapaskan language.

The Hupa celebrated annual World Renewal ceremonies during which shamans performed secret rites and dances such as the White Deerskin Dance and the Jumping Dance. This ceremony was held in specific locations for ten days in late summer or fall. It included a long narrative about Hupa history and the actions of the supernaturals. Wealthy families provided ceremonial regalia. The people also held other ceremonies for seasonal activities, such as the beginning of the salmon run. Two ceremonial divisions, northern and southern, came together in the ancient village of Takimildin, located in the heart of the Hoopa Valley.





*An Athapascan Hupa female shaman from northwestern California, poses for a portrait wearing shell headbands, necklace, and holding two baskets, ca. 1923. (Library of Congress)*

Curing shamans, whose methods included sucking out illness-causing objects, were almost always women. They charged high fees, which were payable in advance but refundable if the cure failed. People also used family-owned medicines for more minor ailments. Hupas also believed that male sorcerers could find many ways in which to harm a person. They recognized many spirits and supernatural beings but gave them little ritual attention. They did observe numerous daily rituals and taboos and recognized the obligation to maintain a healthy mind-set.

The Hupa recognized no formal political leadership. Instead, people were ranked according to their wealth. The family was a basic unit, but several patrilineally related households formed a larger grouping or a village. The ten to fifteen Hupa villages acted together informally and only for activities like holding religious ceremonies or building communal fish weirs.

According to Hupa tradition, all customs were formed in an earlier, mythological period of the peoples' existence. One notable custom concerned social status, which was defined by inheritable material possessions such as albino deerskins, large obsidian blades, and headdresses decorated with redheaded woodpecker scalps. Money, such as shell currency, was slightly different from material wealth and could be used to pay for items such as a dowry, a shaman's fee, or an indemnity to an injured party. Wealth could theoretically be obtained through hard work, but in practice property was difficult to accumulate and there was little movement through class lines. The legal code stated that every wrong had to be compensated for, usually with money but occasionally with blood. Family and individual wealth and power affected the terms of redress.

When a Hupa died, the body was wrapped in deerskin and buried. Clothing and utensils were placed on top of a plank-lined grave marked with a board. Close relatives cut their hair as a sign of mourning. After five days, souls departed for a dank, dark underworld (the souls of shamans and singers were fortunate to inhabit a pleasant heaven in the sky).

Hupas observed a number of life cycle prohibitions and taboos as well as magic and religious observances. Babies remained in the cradle until they walked and were not formally named at least until age five. Children knew only mild discipline. At age eight or so a boy joined his father in the sweat lodge. Pubescent girls were considered unclean and remained secluded, although girls from wealthier families might have a party to mark the occasion. Girls married at fifteen or sixteen; boys slightly later. A feast and an exchange of gifts marked the occasion. Only rich men could afford more than one wife. Sex was generally avoided for a number of reasons, except during the late summer and fall family camping trips. In case of divorce, which was fairly easy to obtain, the bride price was returned if the couple was childless.

Most men and women worked hard and steadily, although time was set aside for diversions. Men played the hand game; women bet on the mussel shell toss. Other diversions included athletic contests, storytelling, and smoking at bedtime for men. The voice was the most important musical instrument, followed by wooden clappers, bone whistles, and hoof rattles.

For most of the year, Hupas lived in cedar-planked single-family houses built around a square





hole. A stone-lined fire pit sat in the center of the house. Smoke escaped through a hole in the three-pitched roof. Earthen shelves next to the walls served as storage areas. Women and children slept in the family house; men slept in semisubterranean sweat houses, which they also used as clubhouses and workshops. People lived in roofless brush shelters during the autumn acorn-gathering expeditions.

Acorns and fish, especially salmon, were the staples. Women harvested and prepared the former, cooking it into mush or bread. Deer and elk were captured by stalking or driving them into a river and then pursuing them by canoe. Small game was also taken. Other fish included trout, sturgeon, and eel. Fish was sliced thin and smoke-dried for storage or broiled fresh. People also gathered a number of food plants, including berries, nuts, seeds, roots, and greens. They did not eat many birds, reptiles, amphibians (except turtles), insects, and larvae. Hupas rarely lacked for an adequate food supply.

The Hupas never fought together as a tribe. Even villages rarely united for war, which was generally a matter for individuals or families. Hupas kept their conflicts short, few and far between, with few casualties, except for a particularly harsh war with the Yokuts in the 1830s. Favored tactics included ambushes and surprise raids. Weapons included the bow and arrow, spears, stone knives, and rocks. Wooden or hide “armor” was sometimes worn for protection.

Little is known about Hupa pre-contact, although they are culturally related to the Yuroks and the Karuks to the north. They arrived in northern California in roughly 1000. Being fairly isolated, they had little contact with non-Natives until the midnineteenth century. There were few Spanish or Russian inroads or even American trappers. Even in 1849, the Hupas saw some miners but were spared the wholesale displacement experienced by other Natives.

After the 1849 gold rush, settlers flooded the region, but the Hupas held their ground. The construction of a fort in 1858 resulted primarily in some liaisons between soldiers and Hupa women. The government created the Hoopa Valley Reservation in 1864. Because of the relative lack of cataclysmic disruption and the location of a reservation in their traditional homeland, the Hupas were generally able to adjust slowly but steadily to their new situation. The period following World War II brought good jobs as lumberjacks and mill workers as well as the end of the traditional subsistence economy. In the 1970s and

1980s, the United States took control of tribal funds and resources for use at the government’s discretion.

*See also* Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Jamul Indians

*See* Tipai-Ipai.

## Juaneño

*See* Luiseño.

## Kamia

*See* Tipai-Ipai.

## Karuk

“Karuk” means “upstream,” as opposed to the word for their neighbors, “Yurok,” which means “downstream.” In the midnineteenth century, the Karuks lived on the middle course of the Klamath River in three main clusters of villages. Today, most Karuks live in Siskiyou County, California, and in southern Oregon. Karuk is a Hokan language.

The acorn harvest and the salmon run provided occasions for ceremony and celebration. Specific events included the World Renewal dances: the Jumping Dance, held in the spring (associated with the salmon run), and the Deerskin Dances, held in the fall (associated with the acorn harvest and the second salmon run). Both featured priestly rituals, displays of wealth, dancing, and singing.

No political organization or formal leadership existed in the three main clusters of villages, although wealthy men enjoyed a greater degree of influence. The Karuks regulated their community through shared values.

Culturally, the Karuks were very similar to the neighboring Yuroks and Hupas. In fact, they enjoyed especially close marriage and ceremonial ties with the Yurok. Their main values were industry, thrift, and the acquisition, mostly by hunting and gambling, of property such as dentalium shells, red woodpecker scalps, and large obsidian blades. These





forms of wealth were important in and of themselves, not just for their purchasing power.

Woman doctors cured by sucking out the cause of a disease with the help of a pain, an object, recoverable at will, that she kept in her body. Other kinds of doctors of both sexes cured by using medicinal plants. Corpses were buried in a family plot, along with shell money and valuables. Clothing and tools were hung on a fence around the grave. After five days, the soul was said to ascend to a place in the sky (the relative happiness of the afterlife was said to depend on the level of a person's wealth). A dead person's name remained taboo until or unless given to a child.

Crimes were recognized against individuals only (not against society). As such they could be atoned for by making material restitution. Refusal to pay could lead to death. The Karuks considered sex to be an enemy of wealth and did not often engage in it except during the fall gathering expeditions. Sex and children outside of marriage were acceptable in this scheme: "Legitimacy," like almost everything else, had a price. Marriage was basically a financial transaction, as was divorce. A couple lived with the man's parents.

The Karuks observed many daily magical practices and taboos. They also underwent extensive ritualistic preparations for the hunt, including sweating, bathing, scarification, bleeding, smoking their weapons with herbs, fasting, and sexual continence. Games included gambling with a marked stick, shinny, cat's cradle, archery, darts, and the women's dice game.

Dwelling structures (family houses and sweat houses) were made of planks, preferably cedar. Family houses were rectangular and semisubterranean, with an outside stone-paved porch and a stone-lined firepit inside. Doors were small and low. Males from about three years of age slept, sweat, gambled, and passed the time in sweat houses, which women, except for shaman initiates, could not enter.

The Karuk diet consisted mostly of salmon, deer (caught in snares or by hunters wearing deer head masks), and acorns (as soup, mush, and bread). The people also hunted bear, elk, and small game. Meat and fish were usually roasted, although salmon and venison could be dried and stored. The only cultivated crop was tobacco. The following were never eaten: dog, coyote, wolf, fox, wildcat, gopher, mole, bat, eagle, hawk, vulture, crow, raven, owl, meadowlark, blue jay, snake, lizard, frog, caterpillar, and grasshopper.

To catch fish, Karuks stood on fishing platforms holding large dip nets (the platforms were privately owned but could be rented). They also used harpoons and gaffs. They cut planks with stone mauls and horn wedges. Wooden implements included seats, storage boxes, spoons for men (women used mussel shell spoons), and hand drills for making fire. Women wove vegetable fiber baskets, containers, cradles, and caps. Bows were made of yew wood, with sinew backings and strings. Meat and bulbs were roasted in an oven of hot stones.

Hides, usually from deer, and furs were the basic clothing materials. Women wore hides with the hair on to cover their upper bodies, and they wore a double apron of fringed buckskin. They also had three vertical lines tattooed on their chins. Men wore a buckskin breechclout or nothing at all. Both sexes wore buckskin moccasins with elkhide soles and perhaps leggings for rough traveling. Both sexes also wore basketry caps and ear and nose ornaments. They decorated their ceremonial clothing with fringe, shells, and pine nuts. Snowshoes were of hazelwood with iris cord netting and buckskin ties.

There was no war in a real sense, only retaliatory activity that might involve fellow villagers. Casualties were invariably light, and young women who may have been captured were usually returned at settlement time, when every injured party received full compensation. Weapons included yew bows, obsidian-tipped arrows, and elk hide or rod armor vests.

Contact with outsiders was largely avoided until 1850 and the great gold rush. At that time miners, vigilantes, soldiers, and assorted Anglos seized Karuk lands, burned their villages, and massacred their people. Hitherto unknown diseases also decimated their population. Many Karuk were removed to the Hoopa Valley Reservation.

Without a reservation of their own, many survivors drifted away from their traditional lands in search of work. Children were forcibly removed from their families and sent to culture-killing boarding schools. Some people did remain at home, however, and continued to live a lifestyle that included traditional subsistence and religious activities. Ceremonialism fell off after World War II but was rein-vigorated beginning in the 1970s.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.



**Konkow**

See Maidu.

**Konomihu**

See Shasta.

**Lassik**

See Wailaki.

**Luiſeño**

“Luiſeño” (Li's ny) is a name derived from the Mission San Luis Rey. Luiſeño Indians who were associated with a nearby mission, San Juan Capistrano, were often referred to as Juaneño Indians. Both of these peoples are included among the groups of so-called Mission Indians. Luiſeños and Juaneños belong to the Cupan group of the Takic division of the Uto-Aztecan language family.

The traditional (eighteenth-century) location of the Luiſeños was a region of great environmental diversity, along the coast and inland along streams, south of present-day Los Angeles but north of the Tipai-Ipais. Today most Luiſeños live on reservations in San Diego and Riverside Counties. The Luiſeño population was roughly 10,000 in the late eighteenth century; in 1990, the Luiſeño population on their reservations stood at 1,795.

Ritual drama and sacred oral literature controlled their environment and confirmed the Luiſeños' place in the world. Ritual offices included chief, assistant chief, shamans, councilors, and members of the Chinigchinich society (most of the men in the village). A large number of ceremonies revolved around hunting, life cycle, weather control, and war and peace. Some ceremonies involved questing for visions with the help of a drink prepared from jimsonweed (*datura*). Religious knowledge/power was carefully guarded.

Sandpaintings were part of the secret Chinigchinich cult initiation (the cult may have been in part a response to the Spanish presence): The cosmos, sacred beings, and human spiritual phases were all represented. Sandpaintings never lasted beyond the ceremony. Ritual equipment included stone grinding bowls, clay figurines, sacred wands, head scratchers,

and eagle-feather headdresses. Most participants in rituals were paid.

The Luiſeños were organized into roughly fifty small, patrilineal clan-based tribes, each with an autonomous, semipermanent village led by a hereditary chief. Each village group also had its own food resource area; other resources (raw materials, sacred sites as well as food) could be owned individually or collectively. Trespass was by express permission only.

The chief supervised hunting, gathering, and war activities. He was aided by an assistant, shamans, and a council of advisers (all positions were hereditary). Band specialists managed natural resources using techniques such as controlled burning and water and erosion management. They also led various activities such as rabbit hunts and deer and antelope drives. In the eighteenth century, Spanish-style political offices (such as *generales* and *capitanes*) existed parallel to the traditional religious ones.

In addition to food and other resource areas, private property might include capital and ritual equipment, eagle nests, and songs. Social status was important and defined by many criteria. Aside from hunting (male) and gathering (female), sexual divisions of labor were ill defined. Aged women taught children crafts, whereas older men were generally more active in ceremonial affairs, including the making of hunting and ceremonial paraphernalia, and in instructing initiates. Traditional games included dice, the split stick gambling game, the ball and stick game, and cat's cradle.

The Luiſeños observed various life cycle taboos, restrictions, and ritual requirements. Puberty rituals stressed correct conduct, such as dances, ordeals, learning songs and rituals (boys), and rock painting and behavior in married life (girls). Girls married an arranged partner shortly after puberty. Divorce was possible but not easy to obtain. Death ceremonies proliferated. At different times, burning an image of the deceased, purification of the relatives, feasting, and gift giving were all practiced. A person's possessions were generally destroyed when she or he died.

The Luiſeños practiced controlled burning of certain areas to increase the yield of seed-bearing plants. They hunted with bow and arrow, throwing sticks, snares, and traps. Men used deer antler flakes to help flake stone points. They built canoes for ocean fishing. Other fishing equipment included seines, basketry traps, dip nets, bone or shell hooks, possibly harpoons, and poison. Utilitarian items





included pottery, coiled and twined baskets, carrying pouches of net or skin, stone grinding tools, cooking and eating utensils of wood and stone, and musical instruments, including bone and cane whistles, cane flutes, split-stick clappers, and turtle shell, gourd, or hoof rattles.

Fine arts included pottery; coiled baskets, decorated with tan, red, or black geometric designs; sand-paintings; petroglyphs, perhaps associated with hunting, from about 500 BCE to 1000; and pictographs, which featured straight and wavy lines, angles, and people. The pictographs were used in girls' puberty ceremonies after about 1400.

Trespass was a major cause for war. The Luiseños were also fairly imperialist, fighting (and marrying) to acquire territory. During war, the chief assumed commander duties along with an initiated warrior class. Weapons included the bow and arrow, small and large war clubs, lances, slings, and thrusting sticks.

The Luiseños constituted a distinct culture from at least 1400 or so. They first encountered non-Natives in 1796, with the Gaspar de Portolá expedition and the founding of Mission San Diego. Shortly thereafter, the Spanish built the missions San Luis Rey and San Juan Capistrano. Many Luiseños were missionized, and many died during this and during the succeeding Mexican and U.S. periods, which were characterized by hardship, disease, and murder.

After Mexican secularization of the missions in 1834, many Indians revolted against their continued exploitation by Mexican rancheros. In general, Luiseño villages maintained their traditional subsistence activities, with the addition of wheat and corn agriculture, irrigation, orchards, and animal husbandry. The United States created several Luiseño reservations in 1875; people either lived there or scattered. The 1891 Act for the Relief of Mission Indians led to the placement of federal administrative personnel on the reservations, including police, schools, and courts. The idea was to undermine the traditional power structure and move the people toward assimilation into mainstream U.S. culture.

Throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries, Luiseños fought to retain their land and their traditions. For instance, their resistance to government schools culminated in 1895 when a Luiseño burned the school and assassinated the teacher at Pachanga. The Luiseños rejected the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934 because it provided for too little home rule. They were finally

forced to abandon once prosperous farms and orchards after precious water supplies were taken by non-Indians living upstream.

Still, federal control of the reservations increased, as did pressure to assimilate. The 1950s brought a partial termination of federal services, which stimulated a resurgence of local self-government and self-determination. This trend accelerated in the 1960s with the arrival of various federal economic programs. Today, the Luiseños are prominent in state and regional Indian groups.

*See also* Basketry; Pottery; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Maidu

"Maidu" describes a group of three languages (Maidu, Konkow, and Nisenan) and in modern times a tribe of Indians. "Maidu" comes from their self-designation meaning "person." "Konkow" comes from the Anglicization of their word for "meadowland." "Nisenan" comes from their self-designation meaning "among us."

Traditional Maidu territory is along the eastern tributaries of the Sacramento River, south of Lassen Peak. This country features a great variation in terrain, from river and mountain valleys to high mountain meadows. Today, most Maidus live on two small reservations in Butte County and share one in Lassen County and one in Mendocino County. Roughly 9,000 Maidus lived in the early nineteenth century. Maiduan is a Penutian language. Its three divisions—northeastern or mountain (Maidu), northwestern or foothill (Konkow), and southern or valley (Nisenan)—were probably mutually unintelligible.

The Maidu religion was closely related to their mythology. Konkows and Nisenans, but not the Maidus proper, practiced the Kuksu cult, a ceremonial and dance organization led by a powerful shaman. Only those properly initiated could join. Members followed a dance cycle in which dances represented different spirits.

Shamans trucked with the spirits, cured, interpreted dreams, and conducted ceremonies. Spirits were said to live in natural geographic sites. A shaman had at least one spirit as a guardian and source of power. Female shamans were assumed to be malevolent.





The Nisenans observed an annual fall mourning ceremony and other ritual dances as well. Doctors could be of either sex, although women were considered less likely to hurt a patient (doctors could also poison people). Religious specialists included religious shamans, poison shamans, singing shamans, and weather shamans.

Of the three main Maidu divisions, the valley people, or Nisenans, had the largest population and the most tribelets (permanent villages). Village communities (consisting of several villages, with sizes in inverse proportion to elevation) were autonomous. The central village had the largest dance or ceremonial chamber, which doubled as a home to the headman. This office, which was inheritable only among the Nisenans, was chosen by a shaman. He or she (women might become chiefs among the Nisenans) was generally wealthy and served primarily as adviser and spokesperson.

The Maidus observed many life cycle taboos and restrictions. Gender roles were fairly rigidly defined. There was no formal marriage ceremony other than mutual gift giving. Couples lived in the woman's home at first and later in a home of their own near the man's family. If a woman gave birth to twins, she and the babies were often killed. The Nisenans practiced cremation; the other two groups buried their dead with food and gifts. All three burned the dead person's house and possessions and held annual mourning ceremonies for several years thereafter.

Most fishing and hunting areas were held in common. Theft from a neighbor was severely punished, although theft from someone of another community was not punished by the home community. Murder and rape were dealt with by blood revenge (of the guilty party or of a near friend or relative) or by payment. Lying was generally avoided. The community policed its boundaries against poachers.

Games include hoop-and-pole (in which an arrow was shot through a rolling hoop), tossing games, dice games, and hand games and often contained wagering, music, and song. Tobacco was their only cultivated plant. It was smoked in elderberry pipes at bedtime and during ceremonies.

Maidus were mainly hunters and gatherers. Their staple was the acorn, from which they made mush, bread, and soup. They also ate pine nuts, manzanita, roots, and insects. Game included deer (hunted in communal drives), elk, antelope, and bear (for hides). Meat was baked, dried, or roasted. Fish included eel, salmon, and trout. Taboo foods

among the Maidu proper included coyote, dog, wolf, buzzard, lizard, snake, and frog. Konkows refused to eat bear and mountain lion. The Nisenans ate neither owl, condor, nor vulture. Maidus drank wild mint tea and manzanita cider.

Prior to about 1700, when they abandoned it to the Paiutes, the Maidus also controlled the territory east of Honey Lake into present-day Nevada. Maidus first met Spanish and U.S. expeditions and trappers in the early nineteenth century. Initial contact was peaceful.

The Maidus were relatively successful in avoiding missions, but many were killed in 1833 by a severe epidemic, possibly malaria. The 1849 gold rush led directly to theft of their land, disruption of their ability to acquire food, more disease, violence, and mass murder. Most survivors were forced into ranch and farm work and onto reservations. Although some groups signed a treaty in 1851, it was never ratified; each Maidu received a land claims settlement payment of about \$660 in 1971.

The Konkow Reservation was established at Nome Lackee in 1854, but its residents were forced nine years later to abandon it and march to the Round Valley Reservation. The few surviving Nisenans lived near foothill towns and worked in local low-paying industries at that time. Many Maidu children attended assimilationist boarding schools around the turn of the century. Maidu culture underwent a brief revival in the 1870s under the influence of the Ghost Dance. All rancherias were purchased between 1906 and 1937 under legislation providing for "homeless" California Indians. Following the death in 1906 of the last hereditary headman, much of the people's ceremonial regalia were sold to a local museum.

*See also* Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Mattole

*See* Wailaki; Wiyot.

## Mission Indians

*See* Cahuilla; Luiseño; Serrano; Tipai-Ipai.





## Miwok

"Miwok" is a word meaning "People" in Miwokan. The Miwoks were originally composed of three divisions: Eastern (Sierra), Lake, and Coast. The Miwoks lived in over 100 villages along the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers, from the area north of San Francisco Bay east into the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. The Lake Miwoks lived near Clear Lake, north of San Francisco Bay.

Today the Eastern Miwoks live in five rancherias, located roughly between Sacramento and Stockton, and in nearby cities. Lake Miwoks have one small settlement at Middletown Rancheria that they share with Pomo Indians. The Miwok population stood at about 22,000 in the eighteenth century, of whom approximately 90 percent (19,500) were Eastern Miwoks. They spoke several dialects and groups of Miwokan, a California Penutian language.

The lowland occupation of California by the Eastern Miwoks probably began as early as 2,000 years ago or more; occupation of the Sierra Nevada is only about 500 years old. The Eastern Miwoks were divided into five cultural groups: Bay Miwoks, Plains Miwoks, Northern Miwoks, Southern Miwoks, and Central Sierra Miwoks. Sir Francis Drake (1579) and Sebastian Cermeño (1595) may have met the Coast Miwoks, but no further record of contact exists until the late eighteenth century and the beginning of the mission period. Russians also colonized the region in the early nineteenth century.

With regard to religion, Eastern and probably also Coast Miwoks believed in the duality (land and water) of all things. Ceremonies, both sacred and secular, abounded, accompanied by dances held in great dance houses. The ceremonial role of each village in the tribelet was determined by geographical and political considerations. Lake Miwoks allowed only men in the dance houses.

Sacred ceremonies revolving around a rich mythology featured elaborate costumes, robes, and feather headdresses. The Miwoks recognized several different kinds of shamans, such as spirit or sucking shamans, herb shamans (who cured and helped ensure a successful hunt), and rattlesnake, weather, and bear shamans. Shamans, whose profession was inherited patrilineally, received their powers via instruction from and personal acquisition of supernatural power gained through dreams, trances, and vision quests.

The main political units were small tribes, an independent and sovereign nation of roughly 100 to 500 people (smaller in the mountains). Each group was composed of a number of lineages, or settlement areas of extended families. Larger groups, those composed of several named settlements, were led by chiefs, who were usually wealthy. Their responsibilities included hosting guests, sponsoring ceremonies, settling disputes, and overseeing the acorn harvest. In turn, chiefs were supplied with food and were expected to conduct themselves with a measure of grandness.

Among the Lake Miwoks, special ceremonial officials presided over dances. Among the Eastern and Lake Miwoks the office of chief was hereditary and male, if possible. Other officials included the announcer (elective) and messenger (hereditary). The Coast Miwoks also included two important female officials who presided over certain festivals and who supervised the construction of the dance house.

All Eastern Miwoks were members of one of two divisions (land or water). Both boys and girls went through puberty ceremonies. Marriage among Lake Miwoks was a matter arranged by the parents through gift giving. Intermarriage between neighboring groups was common. The many life cycle prohibitions and taboos included sex before the hunt or during a woman's period. Fourth and later infants may have been killed. The dead were cremated or buried. Widows cut their hair and rubbed pitch on their heads. Along the coast, property was burned along with the body. The names of the dead were never spoken again. There were no mourning ceremonies.

Men and occasionally women used pipes to smoke a gathered local tobacco. Miwoks possessed a strong feeling for property: Trespass was a serious offense, and virtually every transaction between two people involved payment. The profession of "poisoner" was widely recognized, and many people feared being poisoned more than they feared illness. People often danced, both for fun and ritual. Most songs were considered personal property. Both sexes played hockey, handball, and traditional grass games. Women also played a dice game. Children played with mud or stick dolls and used acorns and pebbles as jacks.

Miwoks built conical houses framed with wooden poles and covered with plants, fronds, bark, or grasses. Hearths were centrally located, next to an earth oven. Pine needles covered the floors; mats and skins were used for bedding. Some winter homes or dance houses, and most houses among the





Lake Miwoks, were partially below ground. Larger villages had a sweat lodge that served mostly as a male clubhouse.

The Spanish established missions in Coast Miwok and Lake Miwok territory by the early nineteenth century, to which thousands of Miwoks were forcibly removed and where most later died of disease and hardship. In the 1840s, Mexican rancheros routinely kidnapped Lake Miwok people to work on their ranches and staged massacres to intimidate the survivors. As a result of all this bloodshed, previously independent tribelets banded together and even formed military alliances with other groups such as the Yokuts, raiding and attacking from the 1820s through the 1840s.

Everything changed for the Eastern Miwoks in the late 1840s, when the United States gained political control of California and the great gold rush began. Most Miwoks were killed by disease, white violence, and disruption of their hunting and gathering environment. The Mariposa Indian War (1850), led by Chief Tenaya and others, was a final show of resistance by the Eastern Miwoks and the Yokuts against Anglo incursions and atrocities. By the 1860s, surviving Miwoks were eking out a living by mining, farm and ranch work, and low-paying work on the edges of towns. Most Miwoks remained on local rancherias, several of which were purchased for them by the U.S. government in the early twentieth century.

Coast Miwoks remained for the most part in their traditional homeland in the twentieth century, working at sawmills, as agricultural laborers, and fishing. They were officially terminated in the 1950s, but in 1992 a group called the Federated Coast Miwok created bylaws and petitioned the government for recognition.

*See also* Pipes, Sacred; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Termination.

## Monache

*See* Mono.

## Mono

“Mono” or “Monache” is a Yokuts term of uncertain meaning. Also known as the Western Mono, they are *Nimi*, or “People,” in their own language.

Before contact with Europeans, the Monos lived in central California along the Sierra Nevada, higher in elevation (by 3,000 to 7,000 feet) than the Foothill Yokuts. Today most Monos live on Big Sandy and Cold Springs Rancherias, with other Indians on the Tule River Reservation, and in several northern California communities. The Mono population stood at roughly 2,500 in the late eighteenth century. Mono is a language of the western group of the Numic family of the Uto-Aztecan language stock.

During the eighteenth century, the Monos included six independent groups (Northfork Monos, Wobonuchs, Entimbichs, Michahays, Waksachis, and Patwishas). They were in general culturally similar to the neighboring Foothill Yokuts. Since they lived in a region not highly desired by miners or non-Native settlers, they enjoyed relatively higher survival rates in the nineteenth century than did most other California Indian peoples.

The Monos believed that spirits contained supernatural powers that might be employed by people with the proper knowledge. Supernatural powers were obtained through a connection with nature or by taking jimsonweed (*datura*), a drug, as part of a ritual. Although shamans were especially skilled in these techniques, most people thought it a good idea to possess some powers for general success in life. Shamans used their powers for curing. However, they could also hurt or kill, and various evil activities were often ascribed to them.

Ceremonies included bear dances (by members of the Bear lineage) and the annual mourning ceremony. The Monos brought the Ghost Dance of 1870 west of the Sierra Nevada. This phenomenon ended by 1875, largely because it failed to bring back the dead as promised; the 1890 Ghost Dance revival had no impact on the Monos.

Each Mono group was composed of villages or hamlets of between one and eight huts, each led by a (usually hereditary male) chief. Patrilineal lineages, such as Eagle, Dove, Roadrunner, and Bear, were social organizations. The chief (from the Eagle lineage) arranged ceremonies, saw to the needy, and sanctioned the killing of evil shamans or others. He led by suggestion rather than by command. A messenger (Roadrunner lineage) assisted the chief and settled quarrels. They both had a symbol of office, an eight-foot-long cane with red-painted bands and string on top. Only the Northfork Monos had formal intradivision groups (Eagle and Dove), each with its own chief.





*A Lake Mono basketmaker, ca. 1924. (Library of Congress)*

The Monos built three types of houses: conical with an excavated floor, oval with a ridgeline, and conical with a center pole covered by thatch or cedar bark. Houses were arranged in a semicircle around the village. Most villages also contained a sweat house (male only), an acorn storehouse, and an open area used for dances and ceremonies.

Acorns were the staple food of these hunter-gatherers. They also ate roots, pine nuts, seeds, and berries (and drank cider from manzanita berries). They hunted and trapped deer, bear, rabbits, and squirrels. Good hunters shared their meat. Bears were often killed by blocking egress from their caves and then shooting them. Fish were caught with traps, weirs, nets, and spears.

As "homeless Indians," the Monos received three rancherias from the federal government in the 1910s. Some individuals also acquired parcels of land. Many people retained their traditional subsis-

tence gathering patterns while working as loggers, ranch hands, miners, and domestic help. As was the case with many other Indians, a large number of Monos moved to the cities after World War II.

*See also* Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## **Nisenan**

*See* Maidu.

## **Nomlaki**

*See* Wintun.





## Nongatl

*See* Wailaki.

## Obispeño

*See* Chumash.

## Okwanuchu

*See* Shasta.

## Patwin

*See* Wintun.

## Pit River Indians

*See* Achumawi.

## Pomo

"Pomo," which describes a group of seven culturally similar but politically independent villages or tribelets, is taken from a Pomo word that means roughly "those who live at red earth hole," possibly a reference to a local mineral. Traditionally, the Pomos lived about fifty miles north of San Francisco Bay, on the coast and inland, especially around Clear Lake and the Russian River. Today there are roughly twenty Pomo rancherias in northern California, especially in Lake, Mendocino, and Sonoma Counties. Pomo Indians also live in regional cities and towns.

Roughly 15,000 Pomos lived during the early nineteenth century. The Pomo tongue was actually a group of seven mutually unintelligible Pomoan (Hokan) languages, including Southern Pomo, Central Pomo, Northern Pomo, Eastern Pomo, Northeastern Pomo, Southeastern Pomo, and Southwestern Pomo (Kashaya).

The Pomos' Kuksu cult was a secret religious society, in which members impersonated a god (*kuksu*) or gods in order to obtain supernatural power. Members observed ceremonies in colder months to encourage an abundance of wild plant food the following summer. Dances, related to cur-

ing, group welfare, and/or fertility, were held in special earth-covered dance houses and involved the initiation of ten- to twelve-year-old boys into shamanistic, ritual, and other professional roles. All initiates constituted an elite secret ceremonial society, which conducted most ceremonies and public affairs.

Secular in nature, and older than the Kuksu cult, the ghost-impersonating ceremony began as an atonement for offenses against the dead but evolved into the initiation of boys into the Ghost Society (adulthood). A very intense and complex ceremony, especially among the Eastern Pomos, it ultimately became subsumed into the Kuksu cult.

The Bole-Maru Religion, in turn, grew out of the Ghost Dances of the 1870s. The leader was a dreamer and a doctor, who intuited new rules of ceremonial behavior. Originally a revivalistic movement like the Ghost Dance, this highly structured, four-day dance ceremony incorporated a dualistic worldview and thus helped Indians to step more confidently into a Christian-dominated society.

Other ceremonies included a women's dance, a celebration of the ripening of various crops, and a spear dance (Southeastern, involving the ritual shooting of boys). Shamans were healing or ceremonial professionals. They warded off illness, which was thought to be caused by ghosts or poisoning, protecting individuals as well as the community. Doctors (mostly men) were a type of curing specialist, who specialized in herbalism, singing, or sucking.

The Pomos were divided into small tribes, each composed of extended family groups of between 100 and 2,000 people. Generally autonomous, each tribe had its own recognized territory. One or more hereditary, generally male, minor chiefs headed each extended family group. All such chiefs in a tribelet formed a council or ruling elite, with one serving as head chief, to advise, welcome visitors, preside over ceremonies, and make speeches on correct behavior. Groups made regular military and trade alliances between themselves and with non-Pomos. A great deal of social control was achieved through a shared set of beliefs.

The Pomos ranked individuals according to wealth, family background, achievement, and religious affiliation. Most professions, such as chief, shaman, or doctor, required a sponsor and were affiliated with a secret society. The people recognized many different types of doctors. Bear doctors, for instance, who could be male or female, could acquire extraordinary power to move objects, poison, or





*Man in Pomo dance costume, ca. 1924. (Library of Congress)*

cure. The position was purchased from a previous bear doctor and required much training. Names were considered private property.

Along the coast, people built conical houses of redwood bark against a center pole. Inland, the houses were larger pole-framed, tule-thatched circular or elliptical dwellings. Other structures included semisubterranean singing houses for ceremonies and councils and smaller sweat pithouses.

The Pomos participated in a vast northern California trade group. Both clamshell beads and magnesite cylinders served as money. People often traded some deliberately overproduced items for goods that were at risk of becoming scarce. One group might throw a trade feast, after which the invited group was supposed to leave a payment. These kinds of arrangements tended to mitigate food scarcities.

Exchange also occurred on special trade expeditions. Objects of interest might include finished products such as baskets as well as raw materials. The Clear Lake Pomos had salt and traded it for tools, weapons, furs, and shells. All groups used

money of baked and polished magnesite as well as strings of clamshell beads. The Pomos could count and add up to 40,000. Pomo baskets were of extraordinarily high quality. Contrary to the custom in many tribes, men assisted in making baskets. Pomos also carved highly abstract petroglyphs beginning about 1600.

Dress was minimal. Such clothing as people wore they made from tule, skins, shredded redwood, or willow bark. Men often went naked. Women wore waist-to-ankle skirts, with a mantle tied around the neck that hung to meet the skirt. Skin blankets provided extra warmth. A number of materials were used for personal decoration, including clamshell beads, magnesite cylinders, abalone shell, and feathers. Bead belts and neck and wristbands were worn as costume accessories and as signs of wealth.

Poaching (trespass), poisoning, kidnapping, or murder of women or children (usually for transgressing property lines), or theft constituted most reasons for warfare. The Pomos occasionally formed military alliances among contiguous villages. Warfare began with ritualistic preparation, took the form of both surprise attacks and formal battles, and could end after the first casualty or continue all the way to village annihilation. Women and children were sometimes captured and adopted. Chiefs of the fighting groups arranged a peace settlement, which often included reparations paid to the relatives of those killed. Hunting or gathering rights might be lost or won as a result of a battle. Pomos often fought Patwins, Wappos, Wintuns, and Yukis. They made weapons of stone, bone, and wood.

Little is known of Pomo pre-contact, except that the people became a part of a regional trading system at about 1500. By the late 1700s, the Spanish had begun raiding Southern Pomo country for converts, and Hispanic influence began to be felt in Pomo country. Russian fur traders also arrived to brutalize the Natives during this time. Their primary method of attracting Indian help was to attack a village and kidnap the women and children, who were then held as hostages (slaves) while the men were forced to hunt fur-bearing animals. In 1811 the Russians established a trading post at Fort Ross, on Bodega Bay (abandoned in 1841).

Hundreds of Pomos accepted the Catholic faith at local Spanish missions after 1817. In 1822, California became part of the Mexican Republic, and Mexicans granted land to their citizens deep within Pomo country and enforced the land grants with strict mil-





itary control. Thousands of Pomos died of disease (mainly cholera and smallpox) during the 1830s and 1840s, and Mexican soldiers killed or sold into slavery thousands more. Deaths from disease were doubly killing: Since the Pomos attributed illness to human causes, as did many Native peoples, the epidemics also brought a concurrent rise in divisive suspicions and a loss of faith in traditions.

A bad situation worsened for the Pomos after 1849, when Anglos flooded into their territory, stealing their land and murdering them en masse. Survivors were disenfranchised and forced to work for their conquerors under slavlike conditions. A number of Pomos—perhaps up to 200—were killed by the U.S. Army in 1850. In 1856, the Pomos were rounded up and forced to live on the newly established Mendocino Indian Reservation. The government discontinued the reserve eleven years later, however, leaving the Indians homeless, landless, and without legal rights.

Later in the century, the Pomos mounted a project to buy back a land base. Toward this end, they established rancherias (settlements) and worked as cheap migrant agricultural labor, returning home in winter to carry on in a semitradeitional way. By 1900, however, the Pomos had lost 99 percent of these lands through foreclosure and debt. The remaining population were viewed with hatred by most whites, who practiced severe economic and social discrimination against them. This situation provided fertile ground for Ghost Dance activity and the Bole-Marú (dreamer) Religion, an adaptive structure that may have helped ease their transition to mainstream values.

Missionaries in the early twentieth century worked with Indians to promote Indian rights, antipoverty activities, education, and temperance. By that time, the Pomos had begun using the courts and the media to expand their basic rights and better their situation. A key Supreme Court decision in 1907 recognized the rancherias as Indian land in perpetuity. More Pomo children began going to school; although the whites kept them segregated, the people mounted legal challenges designed to win equal access. After World War I, Indian and white advocacy groups proliferated, and reforms were instituted in the areas of health, education, and welfare. Indians gained a body of basic legal rights in 1928.

During the 1930s, the Depression forced a return to more traditional patterns of subsistence, which led to a period of relative prosperity and revitalization. At the same time, contact with other, non-

Indian migratory workers brought new ideas about industry and labor organization to the Pomos. Inter-marriage also increased. Women gained more independence and began to assume a greater role in religious and political affairs about this time.

After World War II, the United States largely relinquished its role in local Indian affairs to the state of California, which was unprepared to pick up the slack. Several rancherias were terminated, and services declined drastically, leading to a period of general impoverishment. Since the 1950s, however, various Indian groups have been active among the Pomos, helping them to become more politically and economically savvy, and some state agencies have stepped in to provide services. The Clear Lake Pomos were involved in the takeovers of Alcatraz Island in 1969–1971, reflecting their involvement in the pan-Indian movement. Beginning in the 1970s, many Pomo bands successfully sued the government for recognition, on the grounds that Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) promises of various improvements had not been kept.

*See also* Bole-Marú Religion; Ghost Dance Religion; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Trade.

## Purisimeño

*See* Chumash.

## Salinan

The Salinans consisted of two divisions: Northern (Antoniaño) and Southern (Migueléño). A third division, extreme Coastal, may also have existed. The people traditionally lived along the south central California coast, inland to the mountains. Today's Salinan descendents live mainly in the Salinas Valley between Monterey and Paso Robles. Salinan was a Hokan language.

The Salinans offered prayer to the golden eagle, the sun, and the moon. Shamans controlled the weather. Souls went to a western land of the dead. Initiation into religious societies was important, probably in the context of the Kuksu and/or the toloache (a hallucinogenic root) cults.

Clans as well as a Deer–Bear ceremonial division may have existed in aboriginal times. Although generosity with property was considered a virtue,





loans of currency came with high rates of interest. Girls did not undergo a formal puberty ceremony. The boys' puberty ceremony involved the use of jimsonweed (*datura*, which was also used for pain relief). Although the Salinans observed no formal marriage ceremony, marriage was formalized by gift giving and other customs, and divorce was relatively easy to obtain. The dead were cremated. The people played a traditional bone game, shinny, ball races, games of strength, and possibly hoop-and-pole (in which an arrow was shot through a rolling hoop) games. Shamans cured. They also poisoned and specialized in black magic. Medical treatments included bleeding, scarification, herbs, and sweat baths.

Both coiled and twined baskets were used for a number of purposes. Stone tools included scrapers, choppers, points, mortars, pestles, and bowls. Bone and shell tools included awls, wedges, and fish-hooks. Wooden tools included mortars, combs, and spoons. Musical instruments included cocoon rattles, elderwood rattles and flutes, musical bows, rasps, bone whistles, and drums. The Salinans also had calendars, numerical and measuring systems, and some knowledge of astronomy. They cooked basket-leached acorn meal in an earth oven.

The Salinans and Yokuts enjoyed friendly relations, including visiting, mutual use of resources, and trade. The former traded beads and unworked shells for salt-grass salt, seeds, obsidian, lake fish, and possibly tanned hides. They also traded with other groups for wooden dishes, steatite vessels, and ornaments. Trade competition for the inland market for shells led to much enmity, particularly with the Costanoans. Beads of mussel and shell formed the basis of a local currency.

In 1771 the Spanish constructed San Antonia de Padua, the first mission in Salinan territory. By 1790 this was the largest mission in California. Mission San Miguel followed in 1797 and also expanded rapidly. Under some pressure, most Salinans abandoned their aboriginal customs and became acculturated to mission life. After 1834 and the secularization of the missions, the Salinan experienced a rapid depopulation, primarily as a result of intermarriage and assimilation. Survivors either worked on the large rancheros or else remained in their original homeland as small-scale ranchers and hunters and gatherers. By the 1880s, most of the few remaining Salinans worked on the large cattle ranches that spread throughout the area, retaining a memory of their Indian heritage as well as close contact with each other. Until the 1930s there was a Salinan com-

munity not far from Mission San Antonia known as The Indians. The Northern division of Salinans became associated with the former mission; the Southern with the latter mission.

*See also* Basketry; Trade.

## Santa Barbara

*See* Chumash.

## Serrano

"Serrano" is a name taken from the Spanish term for "mountaineer" or "highlander." During the late eighteenth century, the Serranos lived in small, autonomous villages, near water sources in the San Bernardino Mountains and Mojave Desert. Today most live mainly on two reservations in Riverside and (especially) San Bernardino Counties in California. The Serrano population stood at roughly 2,000 in the late eighteenth century. The Serrano language belongs to the Takic division of the Uto-Aztecan language family and includes languages such as Kitanemuk, probably Vanyume, and possibly Tataviam.

The Serranos recognized a hierarchy of supernatural beings and spirits. Shamans conducted their ceremonies and acquired their powers through dreaming and *datura*-induced visions.

Autonomous lineages, the main political unit, claimed specific local territory. Larger social units included clans, headed by *kikas* who provided political, economic, and religious leadership. *Kikas* also had assistants. Each person belonged to one of two divisions, Wildcat and Coyote, each of which was composed of a number of patrilineal clans. In addition to conducting religious ceremonies, shamans also interpreted dreams and cured both by sucking out disease objects and by administering medicinal plants.

Both young men and women undertook puberty ceremonies. Waxan, the female ceremony, was public in the case of wealthy families and included dietary restrictions and instructions on how to be good wives. During Tamonin, the boys' ceremony, initiates ingested a jimsonweed (*datura*) drink and danced around a fire in the ceremonial house. After they experienced their visions, they learned special songs. The ceremony was followed





by feasting and gift giving. A new mother and child lived in a heated pit for several days, observing food taboos. The dead were cremated, and most of their possessions were burned. A month after the death, a second burning of the remaining possessions was held, accompanied by singing and dancing. There was also an annual seven-day mourning ceremony.

Parents, unmarried daughters, married sons, and sometimes extended family members lived in circular, domed tule-mat houses built around willow frames. Most household activities took place in nearby ramadas. Other structures included granaries, semisubterranean sweat houses, and a large ceremonial house where the *kika* lived. Men, women, and children all sweated and bathed together.

The Serranos made fine decorated coiled basketry. They also carved petroglyphs, beginning perhaps as early as 1000 BCE, that depicted big game hunting. Pictographs, consisting of geometric designs, straight and wavy lines, and people, were painted as part of the girls' puberty ceremony as early as 1400.

The Serranos may have encountered the Spanish as early as the 1770s, but the latter exerted little influence until 1819, when they constructed a settlement in the area. Most western Serranos were removed by force to the missions between then and 1834; at that point, too few remained to carry on a traditional lifestyle. The Vanyumes, a group associated with the Serranos and possibly living just to their north, became extinct well before 1900.

*See also* Basketry; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Shasta

"Shasta" describes one of four Shastan tribes, the other three being the Konomihus, Okwanuchus, and New River Shastas. The origin and meaning of the word "Shasta" are obscure. The approximate translation for the Shastas' word for their homeland, *kahusariyeki*, is "among those who talk right." The Shastas lived on both sides of the modern California-Oregon border, roughly in Oregon's Jackson and Klamath Counties and California's Siskiyou County, regions mostly of mountains and forest. Today most Shastas live on the Quartz Valley Rancheria in Siskiyou County, California, in the Shasta Nation in Yreka, California, and among the general population.

Roughly 3,000 Shastas lived in their region in the eighteenth century. Shastas, Konomihus, Okwanuchus, and New River Shastas make up the Shastan division of the Hokan language family.

Shastas lived in villages of one or more families. Each of the large villages, as well as each of the four divisions, had a headman who acquired office in a loose hereditary succession and whose duties included mediating disputes among men and preaching correct behavior. The headman's wife had similar responsibilities among women.

Shamans were usually women. They cured through the use of supernatural powers, which were also the source of all disease and death (except ill will). They acquired these powers through dream trances, during which a spirit, or pain, taught the shaman its song. An extended training period followed the trance experience. Shamans acquired certain paraphernalia over the years. They diagnosed by singing, dancing, or blowing tobacco smoke and cured by sucking. If a shaman lost too many patients, she was killed. Shamans' services were also available to kill an enemy (by throwing a pain) and to find lost or stolen objects and people. Doctors, who cured by using medicinal plants, were also women.

The Shastas observed numerous life cycle food and behavior taboos. Puberty activities for boys included an optional vision-seeking quest, which ensured success in male activities such as hunting, fishing, gambling, and racing. The girls' puberty ceremony and dance were the group's most important. Marriage required the payment of a bride price. Wealthy men occasionally had more than one wife. Divorce was unusual. The dead were buried in family plots; their possessions were burned or buried. Widows cut their hair (widowers singed it), covered their head and face with a pitch and charcoal mixture until remarriage, and observed several taboos. Souls were said to travel east along the Milky Way to the home of Mockingbird, a figure in Shasta mythology.

Both bitter feuds and friendships characterized Shasta intragroup relations. Payment usually resolved interpersonal differences. Families (through the male line) owned exclusive rights to specific hunting or fishing places within the village territory at large. Money and wealth were measured in deer-skins, clamshell disks, dentalia, and woodpecker scalps. Games included ring-and-pin, shinny (a variation of hockey), target games, and the men's grass (hand) and women's many-stick games.





Rectangular winter homes were set about three feet into the ground. With earth sidewalls and wooden end walls, they held between one and four families. All houses faced the water. Furnishings included tule pillows and wooden stools. Some groups used tule or raccoon skin bed coverings; others used elk skin or deerskin blankets or imported buffalo hides. The community house was similar, but larger. Boys past puberty and unmarried men slept in the sweat house if their village contained one. The menstrual hut was generally located on the west side of the village. Other structures included brush shelters in the spring and summer and bark houses during the fall acorn-gathering season.

Shastas usually ate two meals a day. Venison was a staple. Hunters also brought in bear, fowl, turtles, and various small game. Their methods included stalking and the use of drop pits and traps. Various hunting rituals and taboos included not eating one's first kill. Meat was boiled, baked (in earth ovens), broiled, or dried. Insects were parched or baked.

Men also fished for salmon, mussels, trout, and eels, using spears, nets, and traps. There were several First Fish rituals and taboos. Fresh salmon was generally roasted. Acorns were another staple. In addition to acorns, gathered foods included pine nuts, roots, seeds, greens, bulbs, and berries. Dried foodstuffs were ground into flour. Men were often served before women.

The four Shasta groups traded with each other as well as among the villages of each group. They traded acorns (Achumawis, Wintuns) and acorn paste (Rogue River Athapaskans), clamshell beads (northern peoples), and buckskin, obsidian, and dentalia (Warm Springs Indians). They obtained obsidian (Achumawis), buckskin clothing (Warm Springs Indians), otter skins (northern peoples), dentalia (Rogue River Athapaskans), and pine nut necklaces (Wintuns). Trade with their northern neighbors generally excluded the Klamaths and the Modocs. From their California neighbors, the Shastas received acorns, baskets, dentalia, obsidian blades, juniper, and Wintun beads.

Clothing was made of deerskin and shredded bark. People also wore shell necklaces, ear and nose ornaments, face and body paint, and tattoos. Heads were flattened for aesthetic reasons. Caps were of basketry (by women) and buckskin (by men). Footgear included buckskin ankle-length moccasins and snowshoes.

The four groups occasionally fought each other. They also engaged in intragroup feuds, primarily for revenge of witchcraft, murder, rape, and insult to a headman. Other occasional enemies included the Achomawis, Wintuns, and Modocs (in retaliation for the latter's raiding). Weapons included the bow and arrow, knives, and rod armor vests. Peace settlements included disarmament and payments. Young women occasionally accompanied a Shasta war party. They might be taken captive but were usually returned as part of the settlement.

Fur trappers in the 1820s were the first non-Native presence in the Shasta region. Their influence was relatively benign, in sharp contrast to that of the settlers who soon followed in their wake. Although the Shastas often fought each other and their neighbors, they all banded together in the 1850s to resist the Anglo invaders. In 1851, a treaty called for a Shasta reservation in Scott Valley, but the state of California refused to let the treaty be ratified. After the signing, Indians ate a meal at which the food had been poisoned with strychnine; thousands more Indians died during the ensuing attacks by white vigilantes.

The few surviving Shastas were forced onto the Grand Ronde and later Siletz Reservations. Among the other treaties that included the Shastas was the 1864 Klamath Treaty, in which, unbeknownst to them, their aboriginal homeland was ceded. The Shastas participated in the late-nineteenth-century religious revivals, including the Ghost Dance, Earth Lodge cult, and Big Head cult.

*See also* Fur Trade; Warfare, Intertribal; Women in Native Woodlands Societies.

## Sinkyone

*See* Wailaki.

## Smith River Indians

*See* Tolowa.

## Tache

*See* Yokuts.





## Tipai-Ipai

“Tipai-Ipai” is the common name since the 1950s of two linguistically related groups formerly known as Kamia (Kumeyaay) and Diegueño. Both terms mean “People.” “Diegueño” comes from the Spanish mission San Diego de Alcalá. “Kamia” may have meant “those from the cliffs.” The Tipai-Ipais are sometimes referred to as Diegueño Mission Indians.

During the late eighteenth century, the Tipai-Ipai lived in southern California and Baja California, along the coast and inland almost to the Colorado River. Today, many live on thirteen reservations in San Diego County, California. The late eighteenth-century Tipai-Ipai population stood between 3,000 and 9,000. Diegueño is a member of the Yuman division of the Hokan language family.

People have been living in traditional Tipai-Ipai territory for roughly 20,000 years. A proto-Tipai-Ipai culture had been established by about 5000 BCE, and the historic Tipai-Ipais were in place about 1,000 years ago.

Shamans were the religious leaders. They performed ceremonies, interpreted dreams, were believed to control weather, and cured the sick. Evil shamans might also produce disease. Named song cycles were associated with certain ceremonial dances. Ground paintings, a feature illustrating the connection with Southwestern cultures, featured symbols of colors and their associated directions. Their most important religious ceremony was *kaurk*. This clan-based mourning ceremony lasted from four to eight days. It included gift giving, dancing with images of the dead, and feasting, and it culminated with the burning of effigies of the dead. Toloache, a hallucinogenic root, was used by adolescent boys and adult men for spiritual strengthening.

The Tipai-Ipais consisted of over thirty autonomous bands or tribelets, usually made up of a single patrilineal clan and headed by a clan chief and an assistant. Neither the tribe nor the band had a formal name. Positions of authority were sometimes inherited by the eldest sons, brothers, and, rarely, widows. Two tribal chiefs directed ceremonies, advised about proper behavior, and appointed war or gathering leaders. Band leaders and councils saw to resource management. In historic times, some chiefs ordered assistants to beat nonconformists. The Imperial Valley Ipais had a tribal chief but no clan chief.

The Tipai-Ipais’ food staple was flour made from six varieties of acorn as well as from mesquite beans and seeds of sage, pigweed, peppergrass, flax, and buckwheat. Flour was cooked into mush and cakes and stewed with meat and vegetables. Other wild foods included cactus, agave, clover, cherries, plums, elderberries, watercress, manzanita berries, piñon nuts, and prickly pear. People fished where fish were available. Animal foods, which were generally roasted on coals or in ashes, included rodents and an occasional deer. The people also ate lizards, some snakes, insects, larvae, and birds. They also cultivated tobacco, which only men smoked. Imperial Valley Ipais planted maize, beans, and teparies, but they placed greater emphasis on gathering.

In 1769, the Spanish built the presidio and mission of San Diego de Alcalá and began rounding up local Indians, especially those to the north and on the coast. The latter revolted regularly. In 1775, about 800 people from some seventy villages united to burn the mission. It was later rebuilt, however, and the missionization process continued. After the Mexicans secularized the missions in 1834, they treated the resident Tipai-Ipais as trespassers or rebels and continued many of the same oppressive practices that characterized mission life.

In 1852, shortly after the United States gained control of California, the U.S. Senate ratified a treaty with “the nation of Diegueño Indians,” under which the latter lost their best lands. Overgrazing and water diversions soon destroyed their remaining grassland and woodland. By the late 1870s, the Tipai-Ipais were settled on about twelve small, poor reservations, although many were at least located on the site of Native villages. Coastal Ipais also lived in San Diego slums or camped in nearby hills.

At the turn of the century many Tipai-Ipais were working for low wages on ranches and in mines and towns or starving on the inadequate reservations. Traditional Tipai-Ipai government was disrupted by Indian agents who required the Indians to select a “captain.” Bitter political factions had emerged by the 1930s with the formation of the rival Mission Indian Federation and the Southern Mission Indians. Frequent cross-border visits and ceremonies became difficult after 1950 and impossible after the 1970s, owing to U.S. immigration policies. In recent times, the bands have been reviving the traditional governing structure.

*See also* Identity; Worldviews and Values.





## Tolowa

"Tolowa" is an Algonquin name given to these people by their southern neighbors, the Yuroks. Cultural and linguistic relatives in Oregon are known as Chetcos and Tututnis. Tolowas are presently associated with the Tututnis. Their name for themselves is *Xus*, or "Person." Traditionally, the Tolowas lived in approximately eight permanent villages in northwestern California, from Wilson Creek north to the Oregon border. The area included coast, rivers (especially the Smith River), and interior marshes, hills, and mountains. Today many Tolowas live in and around Humboldt and Del Norte Counties, California. The people spoke several dialects of Tolowa, an Athapaskan language.

Most important, Tolowa ceremonies were connected with diet, such as catching the season's first salmon, smelt, or sea lion. The *Naydosh* (Feather Dance) was performed as part of a World Renewal ceremony. Salmon, smelt, and sea lion were the staples. Other foods included seaweed, shellfish, shore bird eggs, and acorns. The people may have cultivated tobacco.

Shamans were mostly women or transvestite men. They were paid a high fee for curing disease. Their methods included dancing, trances, and sucking with the assistance of a spiritual power, or pain. Although Tolowa villages did not closely cooperate among themselves, intermarriage and ceremonial interaction between the Tolowas and their neighbors (Yuroks, Karuks, Hupas, Tututnis) was common. Male activities mostly revolved around hunting, boat building, and fishing; women generally collected and transported food, especially acorns, and prepared it for eating and storage. Corpses were removed through a loose plank in the house, wrapped in tule mats, and buried with shell beads and other objects.

The wealthiest man in the village was usually the leader. There was no formal chief or overall political organization. Prestige, in the form of gaining and displaying wealth, or treasure (such as large obsidian knives, necklaces of dentalium shell beads, and red woodpecker scalp headdresses) was of prime concern to the Tolowas. Treasure was not normally used for utilitarian purposes except for bride prices. Besides marrying off daughters, other ways to get wealth were shrewd trading, fines and indemnities (there were many occasions for this, which were watched for carefully), infant betrothal, and gambling. Wealthy men might have several wives.

The Tolowas lived in square redwood-plank houses with two-pitched roofs. The central area was slightly excavated for cooking and sleeping. An interior ground-level ledge was used for storage. Men and boys slept, gambled, and made nets and weapons in semisubterranean sweat houses. The people lived in their permanent villages about nine months a year, leaving in late summer to fish for smelt on sandy beaches and continuing on inland to catch salmon and gather acorns through the fall.

During the late eighteenth century, probably before the Tolowas had yet encountered non-Natives face to face, an epidemic contracted from non-Native explorers in the region destroyed one of their villages. The first direct contact came in June 1828 in the person of Jedediah Smith and his exploring party. However, the Tolowas continued to live relatively unaffected by outside influences until about 1850.

More than half of the Tolowa population died during that decade alone from disease and the effects of Anglo mass murders. In 1860, following the Chetco/Rogue River Indian War (begun in 1852), 600 Tolowas were forced to march onto reservations in Oregon. Some of those people were later removed to the Hoopa Valley Reservation. The 1870 Ghost Dance revival reached them in about 1872 and lasted about ten years.

Around the turn of the century, the Tolowas suffered a further dramatic population reduction as a result of disease, mostly measles and cholera. Their population at this time had been reduced by roughly 95 percent, to some 200 people. Individual Tolowas had received a few allotments in the late nineteenth century. In 1906, the government purchased tracts of land near the mouth of the Smith River that later became the Smith River and Elk Valley Rancherias. By 1913, most Tolowas were living in and around Crescent City and on the Hoopa Valley and Siletz Reservations. Beginning in 1923 and lasting for at least thirty years, owing to the government crackdown and confiscation of regalia, people held their traditional religious observances secretly.

The Indian Shaker Movement, which supported traditional healing and spiritual practices, arrived around 1930 and remained popular for a generation. About the same time, the Del Norte Indian Welfare Association was founded as a community and self-help organization. The two rancherias were terminated in 1960, with devastating cultural results. As a response to termination, Tolowa landowners in 1973 created the Nele-chun-dun Business Council and





filed for federal acknowledgment ten years later as the Tolowa Nation. The rancherias were reinstated in 1983.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Women in Native Woodlands Societies.

## Tubatulabal

“Tubatulabal” (T ’bät l ’ä bl) means “pine nut eaters.” These people originally lived in three autonomous bands: the Pahkanapils, Palagewans, and Bankalachis, or Toloims. During the early nineteenth century, the Tubatulabals lived in the southern Sierra Nevada Mountains and their foothills and in the Kern, South Fork Kern, and Hot Springs Valleys. Today many live on reservations in Tulare County. A population of up to 1,000 Tubatulabals lived in their region in the early nineteenth century. Tubatulabal was a subgroup of the Uto-Aztecan language family.

According to traditional belief, numerous supernatural spirits often took human or animal form. They were treated with respect, in part because they could be malevolent. Shamans used jimsonweed (*datura*), believed to have special powers, as an aid in curing. They also used singing, dancing, herbs, blowing tobacco smoke, and sucking techniques, calling on their supernatural guardian helpers for assistance. Shamans could be either men or women, but only men could cure: Female shamans were witches, the most feared members of the community (men could also be witches). Chronically unsuccessful shamans might be accused of witchcraft and killed. Shamanism was considered an inborn quality that could not be acquired.

The three bands were composed of several family groups, mobile throughout much of the year except during winter, when they settled in hamlets of between two and six extended families. Each band was headed by a chief, generally hereditary, occasionally female. He or she arbitrated disputes, represented the band, and organized war parties. A “dance manager” or “clown” instigated public criticism of the chief preparatory to the appointment of a new chief. He also acted as the clown at ceremonies. Although the three bands were politically autonomous, people often visited and intermarried.

Each band claimed formal but unexclusive possession of a specific territory. The people played sev-

eral games, most of which involved gambling on the outcome. They included a women’s dice game, a men’s shinny game (a variation of hockey), and a men’s hoop-and-pole game (in which an arrow was shot through a rolling hoop). String figure making and storytelling provided entertainment on winter evenings. Professional male dancers performed at various ceremonies and occasions. Also, both sexes danced for enjoyment.

This group entered the region at least around 1450 and perhaps as early as 2,000 years ago. They first encountered Spanish explorers in the late eighteenth century. By the midnineteenth century, miners, ranchers, and settlers began taking their land. The Kern River gold rush began in 1857. In 1862, a few Tubatulabals joined the Owens Valley Paiutes in anti-white fighting in the Owens Valley. In the following year whites massacred Tubatulabals in the Kern River Valley.

By 1875, most male survivors were working for local ranchers. In 1893, survivors of the Pahkanapil band, the only one left of the original three, were allotted land in the Kern and South Fork Kern Valleys. The people experienced severe epidemics of measles and influenza in 1902 and 1918. During the twentieth century, many Tubatulabals moved to the Tule River Reservation and throughout California. After the last hereditary leader died in 1955, a council of elders carried on leadership through the 1960s. In the 1970s, the Tubatulabals, Kawaiisus, and Canebrake area Indians formed the Kern Valley Indian Community and Council, a goal of which is to obtain federal recognition.

*See also* Demographics, Historical; Worldviews and Values.

## Ventureño

*See* Chumash.

## Wailaki

“Wailaki” is a Wintun term meaning “north language.” The tribe had three main subdivisions: Tsenahkennes (Eel River Wailakis), Bahnekos (North Fork Wailakis), and Pitch Wailakis (located farther up the North Fork of the Eel River). The Wailakis are culturally related to four other small tribes—the





Mattoles, Lassiks, Sinkyones, and Nongatls—who lived just to their north and west.

In aboriginal times, the Wailakis lived in northwestern California, along the Eel River and the North Fork Eel River. Today, descendents of these people live in and near Mendocino County. Roughly 2,700 Wailakis lived in their region in the midnineteenth century; the population of all five tribes may have exceeded 13,000. With the Mattoles, Lassiks, Sinkyones, and Nongatls, the Wailakis spoke a Southern Athapaskan language.

The Wailakis believed that spirits were present in all objects, inanimate as well as animate. The source of shamans' power was their ability to communicate with Katanagai (Night Traveler), the creator god. The Wailakis recognized various types of shamans, both men and women, who might attend special schools to receive visions and practice on patients. They cured the sick by sucking or with herbs, and they could find lost souls. Sucking and soul-loss doctors could also foretell the future and find lost people or objects. Singing, dancing, and smoking tobacco accompanied most shamans' rituals. Other ceremonies were connected with salmon fishing, acorn gathering, and girls' puberty.

The nuclear family was the primary social unit. Gift exchange formed the basis of the marriage formalities. Mothers-in-law and sons-in-law did not speak directly to each other out of respect. Herbal abortion was practiced and probably infanticide, especially in the case of twins, one of whom was generally killed. Divorce was relatively easy to obtain for the usual reasons: unfaithfulness, barrenness, or laziness of the wife; unfaithfulness or abuse on the husband's part. Corpses were buried with their heads facing east; the grave was later piled with stones. Wives and husbands were generally buried together. The house was destroyed, and possessions were buried or otherwise disposed of.

Retaliation or revenge for murder, witchcraft, insult, or rape could lead to war among families. Most Southern Athapaskans fought little and then usually only among themselves. Battles consisted mainly of surprise attacks. Ceremonial dances preceded and victory dances followed hostilities. All casualties and property loss were compensated for. Weapons included the sinew-backed bow and arrow, knives, clubs, sticks, slings, spears, and rocks. The Wailakis also used elk hide armor and shields.

Although human occupation of the Wailaki homeland is at least 4,000 years old, the Southern

Athapaskans appear to have arrived in California around 900. They had little contact with non-Natives until the midnineteenth century, especially during the Anglo extermination raids of 1861 and 1862.

Survivors fiercely resisted being placed on reservations. Most stayed in the hills working on Anglo sheep and cattle ranches. Others worked on small parcels of land. At one point around the turn of the century, so many of their young were being kidnapped and indentured that parents tattooed their children so that they would always know their ancestry.

*See also* Warfare, Intertribal; Worldviews and Values.

## Whilkut

*See* Hupa.

## Wintun

"Wintun" means "person." The Wintun people consisted of three subgroups: Patwins (Southern), River and Hill Nomlakis (Central), and Wintus (Northern). Wintuns traditionally lived west of the Sacramento River, from the valley to the Coast Range. Today most Wintuns live on reservations and rancherias in Colusa, Glenn, Yolo, Mendocino, and Shasta Counties in California. The eighteenth-century population of Wintuns was roughly 15,000. The three Wintun language groups—Wintu, Nomlaki, and Patwin—are Penutian languages.

The rich Wintun mythology included recognition of a supreme being as well as numerous spirits. Wintuns prayed to the sun before washing in the morning, smoking, and eating. Spirits, present in all things, could be acquired by dreaming and going to a sacred place and engaging in ritual behavior. Among the Nomlakis, they could also be influenced by prayer, charms, magic, and ritual. Shamans provided overall religious leadership. Bear shamans could destroy enemies. They received their powers during an annual five-day initiation period of fasting, dancing, and instruction from other shamans. Their curing methods included massage, soul capture, and sucking out a disease-causing object. Some





Wintuns practiced the Kuksu cult, in which one or more secret societies, open by initiation to men and some high-status women, performed their own dances and rituals to restore the people to a perfect aboriginal state.

Wintuns did not adopt the 1870 Ghost Dance but rather the 1871 Earth Lodge cult, which preached the return of the dead, the end of the world, and the protection of the faithful. The Bole-Marú Religion came in 1872, and dream dancing was popular toward the end of the century. Among the Nomlakis, virtually every activity and life cycle phase carried with it ritual restrictions and ceremonies. Like many California peoples, Wintuns were organized into small tribes. The village was the main social, economic, and political unit. Villages were autonomous and had clearly defined territory. Each village was led by a chief, whose office was often hereditary, who arbitrated disputes, hosted ceremonies and gatherings, and engaged in diplomatic relations with the chiefs of other villages. The chief, who was materially supported by his followers, had to be a good singer and dancer and generally well liked. The Nomlakis recognized a secret society of higher-status men, who had a higher degree of authority in public matters and who controlled most of the skilled crafts and professions.

Murder, rape, or some other sexual transgression was generally capital crimes. Most intentional crimes could be atoned for by compensating the injured party. Dances were more often social than religious and were often given when food was plentiful. Gambling was also a part of social dances; activities included the grass game (for men), hand games, shinny (for women, a variation of hockey), football, hoop-and-pole (in which an arrow was shot through a rolling hoop), ring and pin, and other contests of skill. Songs could also be social or religious.

Four to seven pole-framed, bark-covered conical houses made up a village. Among the Patwins, dwellings as well as the ceremonial and domed menstrual huts were semisubterranean and earth covered. The men's clubhouse and sweat lodge was semisubterranean and circular, fifteen to twenty feet in diameter, with one center pole. In cold weather single men also slept there.

Men hunted deer and rabbits, both communally in drives and individually. They also smoked bear (except grizzly) out of their dens and captured fowl, birds, and rodents. Communal drives were

held to catch salmon and trout. Women gathered grubs, grasshoppers, acorns, greens, and seeds. Men and women cooperated in gathering acorns, with men shaking acorns out of trees for women to gather. The acorns were then dried and pounded into meal, after leaching them to remove their bitter taste.

In addition to fighting neighboring villages, Wintun enemies generally included the Shastas, Klamaths, Modocs, and Yanas. The Nomlakis' main enemy was the Yuki. Wintus took no prisoners. Typical provocations for feuds or war included murder, theft of women, poaching, and trespass. Among the Nomlaki not all men fought; those who did underwent special practical and magical training. Seers determined the proper course of action, and poisoners used magic as a weapon. Wars were usually limited, and casualties were minimal. Weapons included the bow and arrow, clubs, spears, daggers, slings, and wooden rod armor. Hand-to-hand fighting was avoided if possible. When the fighting stopped, an assembly of important men decided on just compensation.

In aboriginal times, the Wintuns consisted of nine major groups within the three main subgroups. Some Nomlakis encountered the Spanish as early as 1808, although in general the Nomlakis were outside the sphere of Spanish influence.

By 1800, the Patwins were being taken by force to the missions. Wintus first met non-Natives in 1826, when the Jedediah Smith and Peter Ogden expeditions entered the region. Malaria epidemics killed roughly 75 percent of Wintuns in the early 1830s. Severe smallpox epidemics followed in 1837. By the midnineteenth century, most of their land had been stolen. Ranchers' cattle and sheep destroyed their main food sources. Miners polluted the fresh water. Then came the massacres. Captain John C. Frémont killed 175 Wintu and Yana in 1846; in 1850, whites gave a "friendship" feast with poisoned food, killing 100 Wintus. In 1851, 300 Indians died when miners burned the Wintu council house.

The so-called Cottonwood Treaty, ratified in 1852, acknowledged thirty-five square miles of Wintu land, but from 1858 to 1859, California regular and irregular troops killed at least 100 Wintus and displaced hundreds of others. Throughout the 1860s, Wintuns were hunted down and either killed or used as laborers. The 25,000-acre Nome Lackee Reservation was established in 1854 in the foothills





of western Tehama County. Indians created a stable existence there based on farming, but by 1863 the reservation had been taken over by whites, and its residents were sent to Round Valley.

Many surviving Nomlakis eventually returned to their old territory, working as farm hands and establishing a number of settlements, or rancherias. Most Patwins who survived the missions, military forays, raids, epidemics, and massacres either became assimilated into white society or were forced onto small reservations during the 1850s and 1860s, most of which have since been terminated.

A period of religious revival occurred in the 1870s, during which much traditional practice was replaced with Ghost Dance and later Big Head ceremonies. Wintus gathered en masse for the last time at the end of the nineteenth century. Copper-processing plants around the turn of the century poisoned what decent land and water remained in the region. Cortina, Colusa, Paskenta, and Grindstone Rancherias were created between 1906 and 1909.

Wintun children were formally excluded from local schools until 1928. Termination and allotment policies during 1952 and 1953 further broke up Wintun culture; only three rancherias survived this period. In the 1930s and again in the 1970s, dam construction flooded much of their remaining land. Despite an agreement with the Wintun people, the U.S. government removed people from and destroyed their homeland, the Toyon-Wintun site, in 1984.

*See also* Bole-Marú Religion; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Ghost Dance Religion; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Wiyot

"Wiyot" is the name of one of three culturally and linguistically related groups on the Eel River Delta in the early nineteenth century. They were culturally similar to the Yuroks. Humboldt Bay was first occupied around 900 by Wiyots or Yuroks. The Wiyots traditionally lived near Humboldt Bay, California, from the Little River south to the Bear River and east about twenty-five miles. This environment is coastal lowland, an unusual one in California. Today, most Wiyots live in and around Humboldt

County. As many as 3,500 Wiyots may have been living in their region in the early nineteenth century. Wiyot was an Algonquian language related to Yurok.

The Wiyots' creator was known as "that old man above." The Wiyots practiced World Renewal ceremonies and dances. Although other peoples celebrated the World Renewal religion in a showy and complex manner, which involved recitations, displays of wealth, costumed dances, and various decorations, the Wiyots observed it irregularly and with less flair. Men and women also performed victory dances when an enemy was killed and conducted an elaborate girls' puberty ceremony. They did not observe a first salmon ritual (the ritualistic preparation and consumption of the season's first catch). Female berdaches played an important role in Wiyot ceremonialism.

Each Wiyot group was autonomous and self-governing. Wealth was valued as the source of social stratification and prestige, although not to the degree of the Klamath River peoples. There was no debt slavery. Most of the common menstrual taboos were absent among the Wiyots. Married couples generally lived with the father's family, except in the case of "half-marriages" (when a man worked to cover part of the bride price). Corpses were carried by stretcher to the cemetery and buried in an extended position in plank-lined graves along with money and valuables. Relatives and undertakers observed various taboos following the funeral.

Both women and men hunted. Disease was considered to be caused either by the intrusion of poisonous objects, soul loss, or breaches of taboo. Herb doctors and especially sucking doctors (shamans) cured disease. Unlike most northwest California peoples, the Wiyots did not penalize shamans for declining a curing case.

Two or more families, including men, slept in rectangular houses of split redwood planks. Each unnamed house had a two- or three-pitch roof and a smoke hole at the top. The sweat house, built like a dwelling, only smaller, was used for gambling, ceremony, and occasionally sleeping. The Wiyot built no separate birth or menstrual huts.

Women generally wore twined basket hats and either fringed and embroidered buckskin double aprons that hung to between the knee and the ankle or one-piece, inner-bark skirts or aprons. Men wore buckskin breechclouts. Robes were of deer hide and woven rabbit skin. Both sexes wore moccasins.





Murder, insult, or poaching was the typical cause of war. The Wiyots fought by surprise attack or prearranged battle and used elk hide armor, rawhide shields, and bows and arrows. Women and children were not killed in war. After the fighting, both sides paid compensation for damaged property.

In 1806, the first non-Native explorers came into the region. The first systematic murders of Wiyots began around 1852 during the Chetco/Rogue River Indian War. The regular killings of individual Indians led to wholesale massacres shortly thereafter. In 1860, a massacre at Gunther Island, perpetrated by white residents of Eureka during a Wiyot religious celebration, killed as many as 250 Indians. Survivors were forced onto reservations on the Klamath and Smith Rivers. Wiyot culture never recovered from this event; their identity became mixed with whites and other local Indian peoples.

*See also* Warfare, Intertribal; Women in Native Woodlands Societies; Worldviews and Values.

## Yana

"Yana" means "people." In the early nineteenth century, the Yanas lived in the upper Sacramento River Valley and the adjacent eastern foothills. The elevation of their territory ranged between 300 and 10,000 feet. The aboriginal population of Yanas probably numbered fewer than 2,000. Yana was a Hokan language. Its four divisions were Northern, Central, Southern, and Yahi.

Yana settlements consisted of a main village with several smaller satellite villages. Each village probably had a hereditary chief or headman, who lived in the main village. Chiefs were wealthy and often had two wives. They led the dances, orated from the roof of the assembly house on proper behavior, and were the only ones permitted to keep vultures as pets. The villagers provided food for chiefs and their families. Shamans, mostly male, received their power by fasting in remote places or swimming in certain pools. Trained by older shamans, they cured by singing, dancing, or sucking. Unsuccessful shamans might be accused of sorcery and killed. Various roots and teas were also used as medicines.

Land was privately owned. Men played double-ball shinny (usually a woman's game, a variation of

hockey). Other games included ring and pin, cat's cradle, stick throwing at a stake, and the traditional grass or hand game.

The Northern and Central groups lived in earth-covered multifamily houses. The Southern and Yahi groups preferred smaller, conical, bark-covered houses. An assembly house was located in a tribelet's main village. All groups lived in temporary brush shelters or caves while hunting.

Acorns, fish, and venison were the Yanas' staples. Men climbed trees to shake acorns down while women gathered, shelled, and dried them. After leaching the acorn flour, it was used for mush, bread, and a soup with meat, berries, and other foods. Women also gathered roots, tubers, bulbs, berries, pine nuts, and grasshoppers. Men stalked deer using a deer head decoy and bow and arrow. Salmon was broiled on heated rocks, roasted over an open fire, or dried and stored. Rabbits were hunted in community drives. The Yanas also took other game.

Members of a Mexican expedition may have been the first non-Natives to encounter the Yanas during 1821. Hudson's Bay Company trappers almost certainly interacted with the Yanas from about 1828, and some Mexicans received land grants in Yana territory during that time. The first permanent Anglo settlement in the area came in 1845.

By the late 1840s, Anglo trails crossed Yana territory. With Anglo encroachment came increased conflict: Attacks by U.S. soldiers (John C. Frémont in 1846, for example) led to retaliations, and as food became scarcer the Yanas began raiding cabins. In the 1860s, Anglos set out to exterminate the Yanas. Through massacres, disease, and starvation, their population was reduced by 95 percent in about twenty years.

In 1911, a Yana man named Ishi walked out of the foothills of Mount Lassen to a nearby town, where two anthropologists were able to communicate with him. Ishi eventually communicated his story, which began at the time when Anglo invaders and murderers began to destroy the Yahi (a subset of Yana people). Only about a dozen or so Yahis remained alive after a massacre in 1868, six years after Ishi's birth. These people remained in the wilderness until 1908, when only four were left. Three died shortly thereafter, leaving Ishi as the only remaining Yahi in 1911. After leaving the woods, he lived and worked at the University of California Museum of Anthropology (San Francisco), demonstrating traditional crafts, providing a wealth of





information about his culture, and learning some English. Ishi died of tuberculosis in 1916.

*See also* Fur Trade; Worldviews and Values.

## Ynezeño

*See* Chumash.

## Yokuts

“Yokuts” is a term meaning “person” or “people.” The three divisions were the Northern Valley Yokuts, the Southern Valley Yokuts, and the Foothill Yokuts. Contemporary Yokuts tribes include the Choinumnis, the Chukchansis, the Tachis (or Taches), and the Wukchumnis.

The Yokuts traditionally lived along the San Joaquin Valley and the Sierra Nevada foothills. Specifically, the Southern Yokuts inhabited a lake-slough-marsh environment in the southern San Joaquin Valley; the Northern Yokuts’ territory was wetlands and grassy plains in the northern San Joaquin Valley; and the Foothill Yokuts lived approximately on the western slopes between the Fresno and Kern Rivers. Today, Yokuts live on two rancherias in Tulare and Kings Counties and in nearby communities.

The Yokuts population was between 18,000 and 50,000 in the early eighteenth century. They had one of the highest regional population densities in aboriginal North America. Yokuts people spoke various dialects of Yokuts, a California Penutian language.

The San Joaquin Valley has been inhabited for some 11,000 years. Yokuts culture is probably between 600 and 2,000 years old, with direct cultural antecedents dating back perhaps 7,000 years.

The Yokuts’ most important festival was their annual six-day ritual in honor of the dead. They also celebrated the arrival of the first fruit of the season. Group ceremonies were always conducted in the open and included shamanic displays of magic powers. Many men and older women also had spiritual helpers that conferred good fortune or specific abilities. The Northern Yokuts may have practiced the Kuksu cult. Men and women of this group also drank jimsonweed (*datura*) annually as part of a

spring cleansing and curing ritual. Among the central Foothills group, *datura* was drunk once in a lifetime, by adolescents.

The Yokuts were organized into about fifty named tribelets, each with its own semipermanent villages, territory, and dialect. Each tribelet also had several hereditary chiefs (often at least one per village, usually from among the Eagle lineage). The chief, usually a wealthy man, sponsored ceremonies, hosted guests, aided the poor, mediated disputes, and authorized hunts as well as the murder of evil people such as sorcerers. Other offices included the chief’s messenger. Shamans derived power from spirit animals via dreams or vision quests. They cured and presided over ceremonies. Large fees were charged for cures. Chronically unsuccessful shamans might be accused of sorcery and killed.

Among the foothill Yokuts, everyone swam at least daily, with adolescents also swimming several times at night during the winter for toughening. The divisions competed against each other in games, with men and women often gambling on the results. Both sexes played the traditional hand game. Women also threw dice or split sticks. Leisure activities also included dancing and storytelling. Men smoked tobacco, usually at bedtime. Rattles accompanied most singing, which usually occurred during rituals. Other instruments included bone and wood whistles, flutes, and a musical bow.

The Southern Yokuts built both single-family oval-shaped and ten-family dwellings, in which each family had its own door and fireplace. Both featured tule mats covering pole frames. Mats also covered the floor and raised beds. Men sweated and sometimes slept in sweat houses.

The Northern Yokuts built similar single-family and possibly ceremonial earth lodges. Conical huts thatched with grass or bark slabs characterized dwellings of the Foothills Yokuts. Beds were of pine needles. Other structures included sweat houses, gaming courts, and mat-covered granaries and ramadas. Among Foothills Yokuts, women might use the sweat houses when no men were present.

The wetland home of the Southern Valley Yokuts contained an enormous variety and quantity of wildlife. They hunted fowl, rabbits, squirrels and other rodents, turtles, and occasionally big game. They gathered tule roots, manzanita berries, pine nuts, and seeds. Seafood included lake trout, salmon, perch, and mussels. Fresh fish was broiled





on hot coals or sun-dried for storage. They also raised dogs for eating but did not eat frogs. Their salt came from salt grass.

In addition to many of these foods, Northern Valley Yokuts depended on fish, mussels, turtles, elk, antelope, and smaller mammals. Salmon and especially acorns were staples. The Foothills Yokuts ate a lot of deer, quail, acorns, and fish. They also ate pine nuts, wild oats, manzanita berries, duck, trout, wasp grubs, squirrels, and rabbits. Iris bulb and tule root were important sources of flour. Men stalked deer by using deer disguises, or they ambushed them and shot them with bow and arrow. Quail were trapped. Salmon and other fish were caught with spears, weirs, and basket traps. The Yokuts also planted tobacco and may have engaged in basic horticulture or plant management.

The Spanish came into the region of the Southern Yokuts in the 1770s and were warmly received. In the early nineteenth century, serious cultural destruction began as the northern valleys were drawn into the exploitative mission system. Yokuts' resistance and retaliation brought further Spanish repression and even military expeditions. Foothills Yokuts communities were protected by their relative isolation, and they sheltered escapees and began raiding for horses to ride and eat, activities that they continued into the Mexican period. Yokuts became excellent cattle breeders and horse breakers during this period.

In the early 1830s, malaria and cholera epidemics killed roughly three-quarters of all Indians in the region. Mexicans established land grants in the San Joaquin Valley. By then, traditional flora, fauna, and subsistence patterns had all been severely disrupted. After the United States annexed California in 1848, its citizens began a large-scale campaign of slaughter and land theft against the Yokuts. The latter, along with their Miwok allies, resisted Anglo violence and land theft by force (such as the Mariposa Indian War of 1850–1851). In 1851, the tribes signed a treaty to relinquish their land for a reservation and payment, but pressure from the state of California kept the U.S. government from ratifying the agreement.

Dispossessed, some Yokuts worked on local ranches, where they were poorly paid and kept practically in peonage. The 1870 Ghost Dance revival provided a straw of hope to a beaten people. It lasted two years; its failure probably prevented the 1890 Ghost Dance from gaining popularity. The Tule

River Reservation was established 1873. The Santa Rosa Rancheria was established in 1921.

Yokuts found minimal employment as loggers, as ranch hands, and as farm laborers into the twentieth century. Their children were forcibly sent to culture-killing boarding schools in the early part of the century. By the 1950s, most Indian children were in (segregated) public schools. A cultural revival took place beginning in the 1960s.

*See also* Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Ghost Dance Religion; Worldviews and Values.

## Yurok

"Yurok" is a Karuk word meaning "downstream" and refers to the tribe's location relative to the Karuk people. The Yuroks referred to themselves as *Olekwo'l*, or "Persons." Some Yurok villages were established as early as the fourteenth century and perhaps earlier. Traditionally, the Yurok lived in permanent villages along and near the mouth of the Klamath River, in northern California. Today, many live on several small rancherias in Humboldt County. The aboriginal Yurok population was roughly three thousand in the early nineteenth century. Yurok is an Algonquian language.

Similar to other northern California Indians, local Yurok groups practiced the World Renewal religion and the accompanying wealth-displaying white deerskin and jumping dances. Other ceremonies included the brush dance, kick dance, ghost dance, war dance, and peace dance. People who performed religious ceremonies were drawn from the ranks of the aristocracy. In general, religious training was related to acquiring not spirits, as in regions to the north, but rather real items, such as dentalia or food.

The wealthiest man was generally the village leader. About 10 percent of the men made up an aristocracy known as *peyerk*, or "real men." Selected by elder sponsors for special training, including vision quests, they lived at higher elevations than most Yuroks, spoke in a more elaborate style, and acquired treasures such as albino deerskins, large obsidian knives, and costumes heavily decorated with shells and seeds. They also wore finer clothing, imported special food, ate with a different etiquette, hosted ceremonial gatherings, and occasionally spoke foreign languages. The *peyerk* occasionally





*Yurok man in canoe on the Trinity River in California, ca. 1923. (Library of Congress)*

gathered as a council to arbitrate disputes. “Real women” went through a similar training experience. Since children were considered a financial drain, “real women” and their husbands practiced family limitation by sexual abstinence.

Social status was a function of individual wealth, which was itself a major Yurok preoccupation. Only individuals owned land, although other resources might be owned as well by villages and descent groups. Poor people could voluntarily submit to the status of slave to acquire some measure of wealth. Imported dentalia shells were a major measure of wealth; they were engraved, decorated, and graded into standard measures for use as money. Other forms of wealth included large obsidian blades (also imported), pileated woodpecker scalps, and albino deerskins.

Via prayer and the elicitation of wrongdoing, women doctors cured by gaining control of pains,

small inanimate, disease-causing objects within people. The misuse of curing power (sorcery) could cause individual death or group famine. Intertribal social and ceremonial relations with neighbors were frequent and friendly. Yurok villages often competed against each other in games. Unlike most offenses, certain sex crimes may have been considered crimes against the community.

The basic unit of society was a small group of patrilineally related males. Marriage was accompanied by lengthy haggling over the bride price. Most couples lived with the husband’s family. Illegitimacy and adultery, being crimes against property, were considered serious. Corpses were removed from the home through the roof and buried in a family plot. If a married person died, the spouse guarded the grave until the soul’s departure for the afterworld several days after death.





The Yuroks' first contact with non-Natives came with Spanish expeditions around 1775. The first known contact was among Hudson's Bay Company trappers and traders in 1827. However, the Yuroks remained fairly isolated until about 1850, when a seaport was created in Yurok territory to make travel to the gold fields more accessible. The rush of settlers after 1848 led to a wholesale slaughter and dispossession of the Yuroks. An 1851 treaty that would have established a large Yurok reservation was defeated by non-Indian interests. Shortly after the first white settlement was founded, Yuroks were working there as bottom-level wage laborers.

President Franklin Pierce established the Klamath River Reservation in the Yurok territory in 1855, and Congress authorized the Hoopa Valley Reservation in 1864. In 1891, the Klamath River Reservation was joined to the Hoopa Reservation in an extension now called the Yurok Reservation. This tract of land consisted of 58,168 acres in 1891, but

allotment and the sale of "surplus" land, primarily to Anglo timber companies, reduced this total to about 6,800 acres. Three communal allotments became the rancherias of Big Lagoon, Trinidad, and Resighini.

From the midnineteenth century into the twentieth, many Yuroks worked in salmon canneries. Yuroks formed the Yurok Tribal Organization in the 1930s. Indian Shakerism was introduced in 1927, and some Yuroks joined the Assembly of God in the 1950s and 1960s. In a landmark 1988 case, the U.S. Supreme Court declined to protect the sacred sites of Yurok and other Indians from government road building. Also in 1988, the Hoopa-Yurok Settlement Act partly resolved a long-standing dispute over timber revenues and fishing rights.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Women in Native Woodlands Societies; Worldviews and Values.



# *Native Americans of the Northwest Coast*



## **Bella Bella**

“Bella Bella” is a term dating from 1834, not an aboriginal self-designation. The Bella Bellas (made up of at least three subgroups: the Kokaitks, Oelitks, and Oealitks), the Haihais, and the Oowekeenos are sometimes referred to as Heiltsuks. The Heiltsuks, along with the Heislas, are today identified as Bella Bellas or northern Kwakiutls. Traditionally, these groups lived in the vicinity of Queen Charlotte Sound, north of Vancouver Island and the Kwakiutl people, in the Canadian province of British Columbia. This is a wetland, marked by inlets, islands, peninsulas, mountains, and valleys, with a relatively moderate climate. Roughly 1,700 Bella Bellas lived in their territory in 1835. In 1901 the figure had shrunk to 330, but it climbed to 1,874 in 1995. The Heiltsuks spoke Heiltsuk (Haihai and Bella Bella)-Oowekyala (Oowekeenoo), a Wakashan language. The two component languages were virtually mutually unintelligible.

Dancing or secret societies performed their ceremonies in winter. Initiation into the societies was by hereditary right. Dances—a first, or shamans’, series, including a cannibal’s dance; a “coming down again,” or second, series, including war dances; and a dog-eating dance—were ranked according to the status of both the dance and the performers. Performances dramatized the encounter of an ancestor with a supernatural being. Wealthy, high-status people sponsored dances, feasts, and potlatches. A council of chiefs managed the winter dances.

As was generally the case along the Northwest Coast, the basic political unit was the autonomous local group or clan. Each such group was presided

over by a chief. Parts of several clans often formed a village, where the highest-ranking chief had relative degrees of control over the others. For defensive purposes, some villages congregated to form loose confederations or tribes.

Distinctive crests and ranked titles identified each of the four crest groups, or clans—Raven, Eagle, Orca, and Wolf. These groups also had heads, or chiefs. Resource sites could be owned by families, local groups, or crest groups, and they could be rented out for some form of compensation.

In general, society was divided into status-ranked groups, such as chiefs, free commoners, and slaves. Some divisions also added another free group between commoners and slaves, as well as several levels of chief. Symbols of high rank included tattoos, ornamentation, and the possession of wealth and hereditary titles. Commoners had less prestigious names, held smaller feasts, and had no inherited rights to certain dances. The low-class free were orphans or the unambitious with no wealthy relatives.

Regular intermarriage occurred between the Bella Bellas and the Bella Coolas. Marriage between close cousins was condoned if it furthered one’s status. The bride price was a key ingredient of a marriage; in cases of divorce it was generally refunded.

Semipermanent winter villages were composed of rectangular cedar plank houses. Features included vertical wall planks, a gabled roof and double ridge-pole, carved interior posts, an adjustable central smoke hole, and mat-lined walls in sleeping areas. Summer camp houses were of similar but less elabo-





rate construction. When they were in small or temporary camps, people made do with bark structures.

Fish, especially salmon, was the staple. Other marine foods were also important. The Bella Bellas took stranded whales only for their blubber. They ate several varieties of berries and hunted deer, wolf, bear, mountain goat, small mammals, waterfowl, and most birds (except crow and raven) and their eggs. Other than in winter, when food stores were eaten, people migrated seasonally to various resource sites. Fishing technology included stone and wood stake weirs, traps, harpoons, dip nets, and clubs. Harpoons, clubs, and bow and arrow were used for hunting sea mammals. Land animals were hunted with the help of dogs, snares, spears, and deadfalls. Digging sticks helped people gather roots. Most woodworking tools were of stone. Women made burden and storage baskets.

The Bella Bellas traded shellfish and seaweed with more inland groups (such as the Bella Coolas) for eulachon (smelt) and eulachon products. They also obtained canoes in trade, often from the north. Bentwood boxes, chests, canoes, and horn spoons and ladles were items of fine local construction. Also important were relief carved and painted ceremonial/religious items such as totem poles and masks. The cedar dugout, a shallow-bottom canoe used with round-tipped blades, was the primary means of transportation. The Bella Bellas and Haihais also used bark canoes for lake travel.

In warm weather, women wore cedar-bark aprons; men went naked. Blankets of woven cedar bark, mountain goat wool or dog hair, or tanned, sewn skins kept people warm in cold weather. Women wore waterproof basket caps and cedar-bark ponchos in the rain. Both sexes wore their hair long. Those who could afford it wore abalone nose and ear pendants. High-status women also wore labrets, dentalia bracelets, necklaces, and anklets. They also deformed their babies' heads for aesthetic purposes. The people painted their bodies and faces against sunburn.

The Bella Bellas fought regularly, mainly against the Bella Coolas, Haidas, Tsimshians, and Kwakiutls. They were well organized militarily. The Haihais were regularly under attack, but the Oowekeenos were more geographically isolated. Revenge, trespass, violation of custom, and seasonal shortages of food were common causes of war.

Bella Bellas probably met non-Indians for the first time in 1793, when the explorers George Van-

couver and Alexander Mackenzie arrived to prospect for the fur trade. Shortly thereafter, that trade brought more Anglos as well as Anglo-Indian violence. Milbanke Sound was the first local major trade center. In 1833, the Hudson's Bay Company built Fort McLoughlin on Campbell Island as a major trading post. Although it abandoned the fort ten years later, the company opened a small store on the site about 1850. During the fur trade period, the Bella Bellas emerged as intermediaries, controlling access to some interior tribes and playing the Americans and British against each other.

An 1862 smallpox epidemic set off a period of rapid change. Dramatic Indian depopulation led to village consolidation. Missionization followed, as did the growth of the commercial fishing, canning, and logging industries. In 1880, the government separated Indians from their land by unilaterally establishing reserves. The Bella Bella Reserve was run by Methodist missionaries. Village centralization and consolidation continued. Around 1900, two Oowekeeno villages were established near a sawmill and a cannery. The Haihais moved from their local villages in about 1870 to Swindle Island, a fuel depot for steamships.

In the twentieth century, northern Kwakiutls were largely displaced from the logging and fishing industries owing to a combination of factors, including competition with non-Natives, technological advances, and the loss of land rights. Increased unemployment and out-migration have been the results. However, ties remain strong between home communities and the people in regional cities and towns.

*See also* Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Potlatch; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Slavery; Trade.

## Bella Coola

"Bella Coola" is an Anglicization of a Heiltsuk word for the speakers of the Bella Coola language. The Native word for the people of the Bella Coola valley was Nuxalkmx. They consisted of four or five subgroups linked linguistically, territorially, and culturally, although not politically. These people are known today as the Nuxalt Nation.





Traditionally, several permanent villages existed south and east of the Bella Bellas and the Haislas, east of the Queen Charlotte Sound coast in British Columbia. These people may also have occupied territory east of the Coastal Range. Beginning around 1800, they consolidated their villages at the mouth of the Bella Coola River. In 1936, a flood forced them to move from the north to the south shore of the river's mouth. Their traditional territory is rugged, with mountains, estuaries, and forests. The climate is cool and wet. Perhaps 1,400 Bella Coolas lived in their villages in 1780. Speaking a Salishan language, the Bella Coolas were late-comers to the region, probably arriving around 1400.

The Bella Coolas recognized four or five worlds, including a center, or human, world. A supernatural being kept this flat center world level and balanced. There were many deities and a supreme female deity, all of whom resided in the sky. All things had spirits that could intervene in the lives of people. Favorable intervention might be gained through prayer and ritual sexual intercourse.

Their extremely rich ceremonialism was dominated by two secret societies as well as the potlatch. Membership in one such society, Sisaok, was restricted to the children and relatives of certain chiefs. An extended period of seclusion accompanied initiation, as did songs and the display of carved masks with crests. The ceremony dramatized various kin-related legends. The other society, Kusiut, was based on contact with the supernaturals. Its dances, such as cannibal, scratcher, breaker, and fungus, included songs and masks representing supernatural beings. These dances dominated the ceremonial period, which lasted from November through March.

All people had the potential to become shamans; the event occurred when a supernatural being conferred power through a visit, a name, and songs. Some such power could cure sickness. Some shamans received power through ghosts and could see dead people; they cured disease caused by ghosts.

Aboriginally, the Bella Coolas inhabited between thirty and sixty autonomous villages, each consisting of from two to thirty houses arranged in a row along a river or creek bank. Each village had a chief, whose status derived from his ancestral name, prerogatives, and wealth. Chiefs had little direct ruling power. A woman who had been "rebought" several times, and who had thus helped her husband accumulate status, was also recognized as a chief.

Descent groups probably owned fish weirs in aboriginal times. Hunting, too, could only occur in an area claimed by a descent group. Hunters, some of whose ancestral prerogatives allowed them to be known as professionals, underwent ritualistic preparation.

The units of social organization included the household, village, and descent group, or all those with a common ancestral mythology. A child could inherit both parents' descent groups, but residence with the father's family tended to reinforce the patrilineal line. Social status was important and clearly delineated. The ability (and obligation) to give away gifts on ceremonial occasions (potlatches) was a key component of social status. Social mobility was possible, and even slaves might obtain dance prerogatives and thus achieve some status.

Babies were born with the assistance of midwives in a birth hut in the woods. Their heads were flattened and their bodies massaged daily. Wealthy parents gave naming potlatches. Infanticide and abortion were occasionally practiced. The Bella Coolas pierced the nasal septa of high-status children, both boys and girls; the occasion was accompanied by potlatches. Upon reaching puberty, girls were secluded, and their activity and diet were restricted for a year. There were no boys' puberty rituals, although their first hunted game was distributed and eaten ritually, as were the first berries gathered by girls.

Although the ancestral family was an important source of Bella Coola identity, they did intermarry extensively with other peoples. Parents and elderly relatives arranged marriages, around which there were many rituals and opportunities to increase status. The relatives of high-status brides were expected to "rebuy" the woman (donate goods) every time her husband gave a potlatch. Cruelty, neglect, and infidelity were considered grounds for divorce.

Music could be both sacred and secular. The former was sung by a choir, who used sticks and drums for a beat, and three main performers. Various wind instruments were also used to symbolize the supernaturals.

Permanent houses were large, planked structures. They were constructed of red cedar and often built on stilts against floods and enemies. Housefronts were decorated with the owner's crest. Houses were inhabited by extended families. Entry was through carved house posts. Some winter houses were excavated, with only the roofs showing.





The Bella Coolas enjoyed a relatively regular food supply. Fish was the staple, including five types of salmon plus steelhead trout, rainbow and cut-throat trout, eulachon (smelt), Pacific herring, and others. All fish was boiled, roasted, or smoke-dried. Eulachon was very valuable, perhaps more for its grease than as food. The first chinook salmon and eulachon of the season were eaten ritually.

Other important foods included shellfish; seals, sea lions, and beached whales; land mammals, such as mountain goat, bear, lynx, hare, beaver, marmot, and deer; and fowl. More than 135 plants were used for foods, medicines, and raw materials. Important plant foods included berries and the cambium layer of the western hemlock (steamed with skunk cabbage leaves, pounded, dried, and mixed with eulachon grease).

Wood carving was probably the preeminent Bella Coola art. Masks, entry poles, house frontal poles (with entry through a gaping mouth), and carved posts were often painted and decorated with crest figures. They had no fully developed totem pole. They also made pictographs and petroglyphs. The Bella Coolas used several types of canoes, including long, narrow canoes of a single red cedar log for rivers (the most common) and four types of seagoing canoes. Canoes were decorated with crest designs or painted black. Hunters also wore two types of snowshoes in winter.

The Bella Coolas engaged in irregular conflict with neighbors such as the Carriers, Chilcotins, and Kwakiutls. Their lack of political centralization made retaliating against raiding parties difficult. The Bella Coolas raided too, attacking at dawn, burning a village, killing all the men, and taking women and children as slaves. Weapons included moose-hide shields, wood armor, the bow and arrow, clubs, and spears.

In 1793 the Bella Coolas encountered the explorers George Vancouver and Alexander Mackenzie; the Indians traded fish and skins to them for iron, copper, knives, and other items. As the fur trade developed, Hudson's Bay Company maintained a local fort/post from 1833 to 1843. During this period, the Bella Coolas prevented furs from the Carrier Indians (an eastern group) from reaching the coast, thus maintaining a trade monopoly with the whites.

Shortly after gold was discovered in their area (1851), disease, alcohol, and hunger combined to weaken and kill many Indians. A severe smallpox epidemic in 1863 forced the abandonment of numer-

ous villages. Hudson's Bay Company operated another local trading post from 1869 to 1882, and Protestant missionaries penetrated the Bella Coola territory in the 1870s and 1880s. In 1885, nine Bella Coolas journeyed to Germany for thirteen months, dancing and singing for European audiences and inspiring the anthropologist Franz Boas to begin his lifelong study of Northwest Coast Indians. A Norwegian colony, the first local non-Indian settlement, was established in the Bella Coola Valley in 1894.

These changes, combined with the gradual transition to a commercial (fishing and logging) economy and the replacement of traditional housing with single-family structures, weakened descent groups and led to the gradual consolidation of ceremonies and the abandonment of songs. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, the people relearned the old songs, using recordings made by anthropologists. In the 1970s, the revival of traditional culture also included new masks and dances.

*See also* Disease, Historic and Contemporary;  
Potlatch; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual  
Significance of; Slavery; Trade.

## Chehalis

*See* Salish, Southwestern Coast.

## Chetco

*See* Tolowa; Upper Umpqua.

## Chinook

"Chinook" describes one of a group of Chinookan peoples whose branches included Lower Chinookan (or Chinook proper) and Upper Chinookan. The name came from a Chehalis word for the inhabitants of a particular village site on Baker Bay. In 1780, roughly 22,000 Chinookans lived in their territory, a figure that declined to less than 100 in the late nineteenth century.

Traditionally, the Chinookan peoples lived along the Pacific Coast around the Columbia River delta and upstream on both sides for about 150 miles. Lower Chinookans included the Shoalwater Chinookans (Shoalwater or Willapa Bay and the





north bank of the Columbia from Cape Disappointment to Gray's Bay) and the Clatsops (south bank of the Columbia, from Young's Bay to Point Adams). Upper Chinookans included the Cathlamets (Grays Bay to Kalama), the Multnomahs (Kalama to about Portland and up the Columbia just past Government Island), and the Clackamas (southwest of Portland and roughly along the Willamette and Clackamas Rivers). Today, most Chinookans live in southwestern Washington and locales around the Pacific Northwest.

The Chinookan family of Penutian languages was composed of Lower Chinookan (Chinook proper) and Upper Chinookan, which included the languages of Cathlamet, Multnomah, and Kiksht. In the context of historic Northwest Coast trade, Chinook, or Oregon Trade Language (consisting of elements of Chinookan, Nootkan, French, and English) was considered a trade *lingua franca* from Alaska to California.

All Chinookan males and some females sought guardian spirit powers on prepubescent quests alone at night. Special songs and dances accompanied the receipt of such powers. An elaborate ceremonialism, based on the acquisition and display of spirit powers, took place during winter, the sacred period of spiritual renewal. Shamans might rent their powers to inflict harm (bodily injury or soul loss) or to cure someone. Chinookans also observed the first salmon rite (the ritualistic preparation and consumption of the season's first catch).

Aboriginally, the Chinookans lived in more than thirty villages. Each village had a hereditary chief, but, through the deployment of the proper alliances and methods, a chief could exercise his authority over a wider area. The chief arbitrated quarrels, supervised subsistence activities, and provided for his village in time of need. His privileges included taking food, goods, or women at will. The chief was assisted by an orator who spoke directly to the lower-ranked people.

Chinookan society was clearly stratified; status rankings included slave, commoner, and chief. High status went to those who had and could display wealth (food, clothing, slaves, canoes, high-ranked spouses), such as chiefs, warriors, shamans, and traders, as well as those with hereditary privileges. Slaves were bought, sold, or captured as property. Fishing areas were usually controlled by specific descent groups, although other subsistence areas were not so clearly controlled. Ties between villages were maintained by trade and alliances through

wives. Imported dentalium shell was used for money and ornamentation. Later, beads from China were also highly prized.

All life cycle events, at least among high-status families as well as those of chiefly succession, were marked by wealth display, gift giving, feasting, singing, and dancing. The purpose of the potlatch, a word meaning "giving" in Chinookan, was to reaffirm the lineage system as well as individual and descent group rank and social status, by conferring legitimacy on an occasion. Chinookans observed numerous taboos around girls' puberty (including seclusion for five months) and menstruation. Non-slave infants' heads were flattened at birth for aesthetic reasons. Corpses were placed in cattail mats; burial with possessions took place in canoes. A slave was sometimes killed to serve as a servant in the afterlife. Mourners cut their hair and never again spoke the name of the dead. Lacrosse was a popular game.

Permanent winter dwellings were rectangular, gable-roofed, cedar plank houses, excavated and framed with cedar logs, with an average length of fifty feet. Decorations were of geometric, animal, and human designs. Floors were mat covered or planked, with an excavated central fireplace and a smoke hole above. Elevated bed platforms ran along the walls. Winter villages generally comprised around twenty houses. A light framework supported shelters of cattail mat sides and cedar-bark roofs at summer fishing, hunting, or root gathering camps.

Their strategic location at the mouth of the Columbia, as well as their business skills, enabled the Chinookans to dominate trade as far away as Puget Sound and areas to the west and south. The Dalles, a giant waterfall and rapids on the Columbia, was the site of a great aboriginal trade fair. Participants brought pelts, mountain sheep horn, baskets, woven rabbit skin robes (interior tribes); slaves (Klamaths and Modocs); salmon, bear grass, blubber, canoes, and berries (Chinookans); and dentalia (Nootkas). Connections to this trade fair stretched ultimately as far as the Great Plains. The existence of Chinook jargon, the regional trade language, was testament to the central role the Chinookans played in trade. Imported dentalium shells were a standard medium of exchange.

After contact, the Chinookans were involved in a triangular trade in which they traded elk hide cuirasses and other items to non-Natives, who traded them to other Native people for sea otter





pelts, which they in turn traded in China for items such as silk and tea. Meanwhile, the Chinookans traded guns, powder, and steel tools obtained from the non-Natives to other Indians for a fabulous profit. This trade pattern greatly increased the status of Chinook women, who played a more active trading role than men. When land-based trade in items such as beaver and other furs replaced the maritime trade, women continued their dominant roles.

Although Chinookans may have spotted Spanish ships off the Columbia River delta, early Anglo explorers first encountered and spread smallpox among them in 1792. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark lived among and wrote about the Clatsops in 1805.

The fur trade began in earnest during the next decade; Astoria was founded in 1811. During the early days of the fur trade, at least, the Indians played key roles. The acquisition of goods such as musket and powder, copper and brass kettles, cloth, tobacco, and other items increased the relative prestige of downriver groups so much that they tried to monopolize trade to the exclusion of their upriver rivals. Native culture began gradually to change, owing mainly to the acquisition of manufactured items and to enduring contact between Indians and Anglos.

Shortly after the initial contacts, Indians began to experience severe population declines due to disease. Alcohol-related disease and deaths took a further toll. The Chinookans abandoned many village sites and consolidated others, particularly around trading sites. The number of potlatches may have increased during this time, as villages had to rerank themselves in the context of the new trading society. By the 1850s, most survivors were being forced, under treaties that were never ratified, to cede their land in exchange for fishing rights. Survivors drifted to area reservations (Chehalis, Siletz, Grande Ronde, Shoalwater) or remained in their homelands.

By the twentieth century, the (Lower) Chinook had so effectively merged with the Lower Chehalis and the Shoalwater Salish that their language essentially passed out of use. Other groups also lost their identities through merger and consolidation. In 1899, the Chinookans, Clatsops, Cathlamets, and Wahkiakums (Upper Chinookans) presented a land claim to the U.S. government. They were awarded \$20,000 (for almost 214,000 acres) in 1912. In 1925, the tribe established a business council to pursue its elusive treaty rights. A 1931 U.S. Supreme Court

case (*Halbert v. U.S.*) held that Chinookans and other tribes had formal rights on the Quinalt Reservation. Within a few years they had become that reservation's largest landholders. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), however, blocked their bid to organize a government under the Indian Reorganization Act.

In 1951, the nonreservation Chinookans combined to form the Chinook Nation and press their land claims with the newly created (1946) Indian Claims Commission. Soon, however, and without any official action, the BIA began to treat them as a terminated tribe. In 1971, this group, reconstituted in 1953 as the Chinook Indian Tribe, Inc., received an award of almost \$50,000 but no land. Their petition for federal recognition, filed in 1979, is still pending.

*See also* Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Fishing Rights; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Slavery; Trade.

## Comox

*See* Salish, Northern Coast.

## Coosans

"Coosans" describes the Coosans proper and Siuslaw peoples. The word is probably southwestern Oregon Athapaskan and refers to Coos Bay and the surrounding region. "Coos" may mean "on the south," "lake," or "lagoon." "Siuslaw" comes from the Siuslaw word for their region.

The Coosans lived around Coos Bay, Oregon, roughly from Twomile Creek in the south to Tenmile Lake in the north. Siuslawan speakers lived north of them, along the coast and inland, to about Tenmile Creek. Except for the immediate coast, much of the area is mountainous and densely forested. Today, most of these people live in and around Coos Bay in southwestern Oregon. The number of Coosans in the mideighteenth century may have approximated 4,000. This number had declined to roughly 465 by 1870. Coosans spoke two Coosan languages: Hanis and Miluk. The Siuslawans spoke the Siuslaw language, which consisted of the dialects Siuslaw proper and Lower Umpqua (Kuitches). Both Coosan and Siuslaw were Penutian languages.





Individuals could acquire power, mostly used to ensure luck in gaining wealth, through dreams and spirit quests. Unlike more northerly tribes, few other than shamans were actively involved with the supernatural; most people were much more interested in obtaining wealth. The most common kind of shaman was rigorously trained as a curer of disease (caused either by the intrusion of a disease-causing object, often sent by a hostile shaman, or, less often, by soul loss). The second kind of shaman was more ritualistic; in addition to curing, these shamans also found thieves and promulgated evil. They were involved in the numerous life cycle taboos and especially in the elaborate girls' puberty ceremony and various other rituals of purification.

The people regularly held large-scale ceremonies featuring dancing, feasting, games, and gambling. Their mythology included stories of a primordial trickster, of legends, and of supernatural beings of forest and water. First salmon and first elk ceremonies (the ritualistic preparation and consumption of the season's first catch or kill) were also held.

The basic political unit was the winter village group, usually a group of paternally related men with their families. Each major village had a chief and often an assistant chief. An informal council of wealthy men and women advised the chief. Succession was mainly hereditary, at least among the Coosans. Women might succeed if there were no eligible males. Chiefs arbitrated quarrels, supervised communal activities, and saw that no one went hungry. Villagers contributed food to the chief's family.

Coosan and Siuslaw society consisted of four classes: chiefly and wealthy families, a socially respectable majority, poor people, and slaves (obtained by capture or trade). The classes enjoyed similar subsistence levels; their main difference lay in nonfood wealth and status. Marriage occurred when a groom's family paid a bride price, which was later returned in a lifelong cycle of mutual gift giving and responsibilities. The dead were buried; their goods were broken and placed in and around the grave.

Permanent houses ranged between twenty and fifty or more feet long and half as wide and were excavated to a depth of about three to six feet. Two or more center posts supported a single ridgepole. Rafters sloped to the ground or to side supports. Walls and gabled roofs were of lashed cedar planks. Tule mats lined the inside walls, mat partitions divided the several families within the house, and

mats or hides covered the floors. Bed platforms ran along the walls. Among the Siuslaw, two or more houses were sometimes joined.

Camp houses were of thatched grass with a gabled or one-pitch roof. Two types of sweat houses existed. One doubled as a men's clubhouse and boys' dormitory. It was square, plank-walled, excavated, and covered with dirt. The other, for use by both men and women, was in a beehive shape and heated by steam.

Most clothing was made by women from skins and various fibers. Both sexes wore leggings and moccasins but usually only for travel and in cold weather. On such occasions, they also wore headbands and waterproof fur or fiber capes. Men generally wore breechclouts or shorts and often shirts and caps. Women wore shirts and skirts or one-piece dresses and woven hats. Everyone wore rain capes of cattail or shredded bark. Wealthy people were likely to decorate their clothing. Some people wore tattoos, primarily for measuring dentalia strings. The Kuitch wore large beads in their noses and flattened the heads of their infants.

The first regional contact with non-Natives occurred in 1792, when Upper Umpquas traded with U.S. and British ships. Occasional trade-based contacts through the 1830s were generally amicable, except for a Kuitch (Lower Umpqua) massacre of the Jedediah Smith party in 1828 and their attack on a Hudson's Bay Company fort in 1838.

Tensions increased with the major influx of non-Natives in the 1850s. Although only the southernmost Coosan group, the Miluks (Lower Coquilles), participated in general in the 1855–1856 Rogue River War, all the Coosans and Siuslawans also suffered. An 1855 treaty, signed by Chief Jackson and others, though never ratified, was used to dispossess the Indians of their land and move them the following year to the Lower Umpqua River. Miluks and Kuitch were taken to the Coast (later the Siletz and the Alsea) Reservation, where about half died of starvation, exposure, and disease.

During these and subsequent years, the military continued to round up groups of Indians living in remote areas. As was the case nearly everywhere, Indian agents stole mercilessly from the Indians. Indians who practiced their traditional customs were whipped at a post. Easy access to alcohol corrupted, demoralized, and sickened the people.

In 1860, both groups were forcibly marched to the Siletz Reservation, which had been created five years earlier. In 1861, people on the southern part of





Siletz, including Coos and Kuitch, were moved to or near the Yachats River on the coast, home of the Alsea Indians. They remained there until 1875, dying of illness and starvation from trying to farm in a rain forest. In 1865, a central strip was removed from the reservation and opened for white settlement. The northern part then became the Siletz Reservation (Miluks) and the southern half became the Alsea Reservation (Coosans, Kuitches, and Alseans).

In 1875, when the Alsea Reservation was made available for non-Indian settlement, many people refused to go to Siletz. Some joined the Siuslawans while others filtered back to their original homelands and received eighty-acre homesteads from the government in 1876. As their culture and language languished, tribal members worked as loggers, laborers, clam diggers, and cranberry harvesters. Women specialized in making baskets and cattail fiber mats.

Coosans who did live at Siletz worked at subsistence activities around the turn of the century. Indian loggers cut trees that stood on their former, plundered reservation. Siletz Indians won several small land claims judgments in the 1930s and 1950s. However, the tribe and reservation were “terminated” in the mid-1950s, with devastating result. They were restored in 1977 and given a 3,630-acre reservation three years later.

The Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw organized formally in 1916. They have spent the rest of the century petitioning the government for compensation for their aboriginal lands, in vain to date. The Coos obtained a 6.1-acre “reservation” at Coos Bay in 1940. They were involuntarily terminated in 1954 and restored thirty years later.

The Dream Dance, a local variation of the Ghost Dance, was popular in the 1870s. By the twentieth century, most Native languages were no longer spoken. In 1917, Coosans and Siuslawans created the Coos–Lower Umpqua–Siuslaw Tribal Government. A schism in the Coos tribe occurred in 1951 after a court ruled that some Miluks were eligible to share in money awarded in a land claims suit to the (upper) Coquille (Mishikhwutmetunne) Indians. These Miluks then became affiliated with the Coquille Indian tribe.

*See also* Fishing Rights; Ghost Dance Religion; Potlatch; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Slavery; Trade.

## **Coquille (Mishikhwutmetunne)**

*See* Coosans; Upper Umpqua.

## **Cow Creek Band of Umpqua Indians**

*See* Upper Umpqua.

## **Cowichan**

*See* Salish, Central Coast.

## **Cowlitz**

*See* Salish, Southwestern Coast.

## **Duwamish**

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

## **Grand Ronde, Confederated Tribes of**

*See* Upper Umpqua.

## **Haida**

“Haida” is an adaptation of their self-designation. In the late eighteenth century, Haidas lived in a number of towns, politically unorganized but distinguishable as six groups by geography, tradition, and speech. These groups included the Kaigani people, the people of the north coast of Graham island, the Skidegate Inlet people, the people of the west coast of Moresby Island, the people of the east coast of Moresby Island, and the southern (Kunghit) people. The west coast Pitch-town people stood outside this classification system.

Haida territory included the Queen Charlotte Islands and Alexander Archipelago of British Columbia. This is a region of considerable environmental variation, including coastal lowlands, plateau, and mountains. The area is fairly wet, especially





*Young Haida dancer Donny Edenshaw dances while Guugaaw Edenshaw, a family member, drums out a rhythm on a beach at Masset in the Queen Charlotte Islands in 1985. (Dewitt Jones/Corbis)*

in the west. The Haida population was roughly 9,000 to 10,000 in the late eighteenth century. This number dropped by almost 95 percent, to about 550, in 1915. Haidas spoke various dialects, including Skidegate and Masset, of the Haida Athapaskan language. Haida country was settled more than 9,000 years ago.

Haidas believed that animals possessed intelligence and humanlike souls, had a hierarchical ranking, lived in villages, and could change their forms at will. Haidas offered prayers, grease, tobacco, and flicker feathers to the spirits of game animals. They also conceived of three worlds: sky, sea, and land. Their ceremonies were directly related to the system of social stratification. Potlatches, feasts, and dance performances, given by high-ranking people, were the main ceremonial events. Shamans, with multiple supernatural powers, were considered to be more powerful than chiefs.

People lived in autonomous villages, some consisting of a single lineage. The basic social and political unit was the lineage, or clan; each contained up

to twelve households and was presided over by a hereditary chief. He gave permission for others to access the lineage's subsistence area and could declare war. Household chiefs (owners of plank houses) exercised control over their households, deciding when members left for fishing or hunting camps. In multilineage towns, the wealthiest, highest-ranking house chief was the town master, or town mother.

The Haidas divided most labor along sex and class lines. Women gathered, processed, and preserved all foods; prepared animal skins; and made clothing and baskets. Men fished, hunted, built houses and canoes, carved, and painted. Canoe making and carving, as well as sea otter hunting, were high-prestige occupations. Economically important slaves, captured during war, did much of the fishing.

Ambition, success in hunting and fishing, and industry were highly valued qualities. Haida society was divided into two matrilineal divisions: Raven and Eagle, each composed of lineages, or clans. Lin-





eages had mythological origins and controlled property such as subsistence areas and names, dances, songs, and crest figures. Crests were the identifying symbols of lineages and an indication of personal rank within the lineage. They were carved on totem poles and other wooden items and tattooed on the body.

At feasts and potlatches, guests were seated according to their rank. Feasts, although always part of potlatches, were also held separately to name a child, at a marriage or death, to honor a visitor, or to enhance prestige. In addition to personal rank, there was a class system. Upper-class people bore many potlatch names, because when they were children their parents had given potlatches in their honor; they owned houses and were heirs to high-ranking names and chieftainships.

The Haidas observed a number of life cycle rituals and taboos. Children were regarded as reincarnated ancestors. Uncles toughened boys by, for example, making them take winter sea swims. There was no boys' puberty ceremony, but girls were secluded for a month or longer and followed many behavioral restrictions. Marriages were arranged in childhood or infancy. Property exchange and gift giving marked the marriage. Death among high-status people was a major ceremonial occasion. After bodies were washed, costumed, and painted, they lay in state for several days. Then they were placed in bent-corner coffins constructed by men of the father's lineage and removed through a hole in the wall. Burial was either in a lineage grave or in a mortuary column, followed by a potlatch and the raising of a memorial pole. Commoners had no poles erected in their honor. Slaves were thrown into the sea.

The Haidas were a seafaring people. Fishing technology included hook and line (of gut), traps, and harpoons. Hunting equipment included snares, bows and arrows, and clubs. Women made twined basketry (for quivers and other items) of split spruce roots and cedar-bark mats and bags. Building tools included wooden wedges, stone adzes, and basalt or jade hammers. Dugout cedar canoes were up to seventy feet long and eight feet wide, carved and painted. The Haidas had a fire bow drill and began working their own iron in the late eighteenth century.

At least in the early historic period, the Haidas gained wealth from their skill as traders. They traded canoes, slaves, and shell to the Tlingits for copper, Chilkat blankets, and moose and caribou

hides. Canoes, seaweed, chewing tobacco, and dried halibut went to the Tsimshians for eulachon (smelt) grease, dried eulachons, and soapberries. They acquired slaves from the Kwakiutls. There was some intravillage trade. In the mid-1830s they traded furs, dried halibut, potatoes, and dried herring spawn to the Hudson's Bay Company for blankets, rice, flour, and other staples.

The Haida were outstanding wood-carvers. Their masterpieces included canoes, totem (mortuary) poles, house fronts, walls, screens, weapons, bentwood boxes, ceremonial masks, tools, and implements. Totem pole carving burgeoned during the nineteenth century with the acquisition of metal tools; the Haidas built some of the best such poles in world history. Designs included zoomorphic crest figures as well as mythological beings and events. Black, red, and blue-green were traditional colors. Other arts included basketry, especially hats, and other excellent woven items, such as robes, capes, and blankets. They may have carved argillite in prehistoric times, but certainly for the curio trade from the nineteenth century on, at which time they also took up silver engraving.

The Natives first saw a non-Indian when the Spanish explorer Juan Pérez Hernandez arrived in 1774. Numerous trading ships followed in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Haidas traded sea otter pelts for European and U.S. manufactured goods. They also began cultivating potatoes at this time. By the late eighteenth century, the Haidas were rich and powerful.

Early trade was generally peaceful except for some hostilities in 1791, the probable year they first contracted smallpox. Their sea otter trade ended about 1830. It was replaced by land-based fur operations and the Hudson's Bay Company, whose 1830s post at Fort Simpson (coast Tsimshian country) became the central trading location for Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian traders for the next forty years. The Haidas also traded in Victoria beginning in 1858, drawn by the local gold rush. During this period, however, they fought with rival Kwakiutls and fell victim to drinking and prostitution. More disease, especially smallpox, hit hard in 1862 and led to widespread village abandonment and consolidation. By the mid-1870s, Haida culture was in full collapse.

Christian (Methodist) missionaries arrived in Haida country in 1829. The Anglican Church was active at Masset from the early 1880s; shortly thereafter the Haidas ceased erecting grave posts and





memorial totem poles. Dancing and the power of shamans also declined. In 1883, Haida villages were divided between Methodists (central and southern) and Anglican (northern) missionaries.

Under government auspices, the Presbyterian Church established Hydaburg, Alaska, around the turn of the century. It was meant to facilitate the transition among Haidas from its traditional to the dominant culture. In 1936, the Haida became the first Indian group in Alaska to adopt a constitution under the Indian Reorganization Act. They succeeded in obtaining a large reservation in 1949, but, under pressure from the salmon industry, a judge invalidated the reservation several years later.

The Haidas in Canada were granted almost 3,500 acres of land in 1882 and another 360 in 1913. By the twentieth century, Haidas were migrating seasonally to work in the commercial mining, fishing, and canning industries. Acculturation proceeded rapidly. The potlatch was outlawed in 1884, although many Indians continued clandestinely to observe this central aspect of their culture. Government land allotments, without regard to traditional lineages, undercut the latter's power, as did the growth of single-family housing.

Canada passed its first comprehensive Indian Act in 1884. Among other things, the Act established numerous small reserves for Indian subsistence and other activities. In 1912, Presbyterian Tlingits formed the Alaska Native Brotherhood (the Alaska Native Sisterhood was founded eleven years later), which worked for the abandonment of tradition, the mitigation of racial prejudice, increased educational opportunities, and land rights. These organizations reversed their stand against traditional practices in the late 1960s. Severe overt economic and social discrimination against Indians continued, however, including a virtual apartheid system during the first half of the twentieth century.

After World War II, Masset experienced a brief boom in carpentry and boatbuilding. Most villagers in the 1960s worked in the canning and processing industries for half the year and were otherwise unemployed. In general, Alaska Indians campaigned for self-government and full citizenship. Canadian Indian policy favored integration into mainstream society after World War II. In the 1960s, the government granted Indians a measure of self-determination, which sparked a period of cultural renewal. Tlingits and Haidas received a \$7.5 million land claims settlement in 1970. Under the terms of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (1971), the

Haidas set up several corporations, although one, the Haida Corporation, declared bankruptcy in 1986.

*See also* Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Slavery; Totem Poles; Trade.

## Haihais

*See* Bella Bella.

## Hoh

*See* Quileute.

## Kikiallus

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

## Klallam

*See* Salish, Central Coast.

## Kuitch (Lower Umpqua)

*See* Coosans.

## Kwakiutl

"Kwakiutl" was originally the name of a local group and may mean "beach on the other side of the water." Once consisting of roughly thirty autonomous tribes or groups, the Kwakiutls did not think of themselves as a people until about 1900. They are sometimes referred to as *Kwakwaka'wakw* ("Kwakiutl-Speaking People") or *Kwakwala* ("Kwakiutl language"). Many Kwakiutls continue to live in or near their aboriginal territory, which is located around the Queen Charlotte Strait on the central coast of British Columbia. The Kwakiutl population in the early nineteenth century was about 8,000. Kwakiutl is a member of the northern (Kwakiutlan) branch of the Wakashan language family. The three related languages were Haisla, Heiltsuk-Oowekyala, and Kwakiutl proper.





The area around the Queen Charlotte Strait has probably been occupied for 10,000 years or longer. During the last 5,000 years, two distinct cultures arose. One was based on a simple obsidian technology and featured a broad-based subsistence economy. People of the second, or Queen Charlotte Strait culture (post-500 BCE), used bone and shell technology and ate mostly salmon, seal, and other marine foods.

Spanish, British, and U.S. explorers arrived in the Kwakiutl homeland during the late eighteenth century. By early in the next century the local sea otter trade was in full swing. The Hudson's Bay Company became active when the sea otter trade diminished, around the 1830s. At that time the Kwakiutls began serving as intermediaries in the fur trade. They and many other Indian peoples were frequent visitors to the company's post at Fort Victoria.

Changes in Kwakiutl culture during the fur trade period included the substitution of iron and steel for Native materials in tools, as well as Hudson's Bay blankets for the older style of robes. Disease epidemics leading to depopulation also took a heavy toll at that time. In the 1850s, several Kwakiutl villages consolidated around a Hudson's Bay Company coal mine at Fort Rupert; this was the genesis of the Kwakiutl tribe. In general, the 1850s and 1860s were terrible years for the Kwakiutls, marked by the destruction of several villages by the British Navy and Bella Coola raiders as well as smallpox epidemics. In the late 1880s, Canada established reserves for some Kwakiutl bands while claiming much of their aboriginal territory.

Aboriginally, trade partners were also often raiding targets. The enforced cessation of intertribal hostilities about 1865 precipitated an explosion of potlatching activity, as all Kwakiutl tribes became part of the system of social alliances and tribal ranking. The potlatch flourished despite legislation outlawing it in 1885 and 1915, as did traditional artistic expression.

Acculturation was proceeding rapidly by the 1880s. The Kwakiutl were giving up their traditional dress, subsistence activities, and many customs and were entering the local wage economy. Around 1900, Alert Bay, the site of a cannery, a school, and a sawmill, superseded Fort Rupert as the center of Kwakiutl life. The early twentieth century was a period of economic boom for Kwakiutls owing to the growth of the commercial fishing and canning industries. Another boom in the fishing industry occurred after World War II. Many people aban-

doned the potlatch and traditional culture during the Depression and converted to the Pentecostal Church. Potlatching was not significantly reestablished until the 1970s.

In traditional Kwakiutl belief, everything had a supernatural aspect that commanded respect from people in the form of individual daily prayer and thanks. Guardian spirits, which provided luck and certain skills, might be obtained through prayer or fasting. Associated with each spirit was a secret ceremonial society, such as Cannibal, Grizzly Bear, and Warrior, as well as specific dances and ceremonies.

Shamans formed an alliance with a supernatural helper and were initiated into their craft by other shamans. The Kwakiutls recognized several degrees of shamanic power, the highest being the ability to cure and cause disease; these most powerful people were usually attached to chiefs. Shamans used songs, rattles, and purification rings (hemlock or cedar) in public curing ceremonies. Witches could harm or otherwise control people without recourse to supernatural power, although knowledge similar to theirs was available to guard against such practices.

The winter ceremonials were based on complex mythological themes and involved representations of supernatural beings and stories of ancestral contact with them. The principal winter ceremonies, including the Cedar Bark Dance and the Weasel Dance, involved feasting, potlatching, entertainment, and theater. Winter was considered a sacred season because the supernaturals were said to be present at that time. People attempted to be on better behavior and even took on sacred names.

Each of the roughly thirty autonomous tribes (local groups) had its own hereditary chief, subsistence area, winter village, and seasonal sites. Tribes consisted of between one and seven (usually at least three) kin groups (*numayms*), each having perhaps seventy-five to 100 people aboriginally and roughly ten to fifteen in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In early historic times, some tribes formed joint winter villages without losing their individual identities.

Kin groups (tribes) owned resource areas, myths, crests, ceremonies, songs, dances, house names, named potlatching positions, and some inheritable guardian spirits. Crests, privileges, and rights were transmitted through marriage. The Kwakiutls recognized many forms of permissible marriages. Preserving the existence of crests and privileges remained all-important, and rules were





bent or broken over time to accommodate this need. There were four traditional classes or status groups: chiefs, nobles, commoners, and slaves. Society became much more equal in the midnineteenth century: As the population declined, the number of privileged positions remained constant, so that more people could rise to such positions.

Potlatches, once modest affairs, became highly complex, elaborate, and more culturally central in the late nineteenth century, helping to integrate and drive Kwakiutl society by validating social status and reciprocities. The size of a potlatch varied according to the event being marked: Life cycle events for high-status children and wiping out casual mistakes received small potlatches; the receipt of a first potlatch position, dancing the winter ceremonial, and the occasion of girls' puberty received moderately sized potlatches; and the assumption of a chiefly name and/or position within a kin group, a grease feast, the buying and selling of coppers, the erection of crest memorial poles, and marriage received the largest potlatches. All included feasting, socializing, speeches, songs, displays of wealth and crests, and dances. Such potlatches were occasionally given on credit; that is, borrowed goods (such as blankets) were usually lent at 100 percent interest.

Traditionally, the Kwakiutls practiced blood revenge, in which one or more people might be killed upon the death of a close relative. Corpses were buried in trees, caves, or canoes (chiefs), although northern groups cremated their dead.

Rows of cedar beam and plank houses with shed roofs faced the sea in traditional villages. The central house posts were carved and painted with crests. A sleeping platform extended around walls. Four families of the same kin group occupied most houses, each in a corner with its own fireplace. Private areas were partitioned off. Each village also had one or more ceremonial houses, similarly constructed. By the late nineteenth century, houses were built with milled lumber and gabled roofs.

The Kwakiutls were artists. Even in utilitarian items, visual art was joined with rhetoric, mythology, and performance art to glorify the kin groups. Wooden objects, such as massive house posts, totem and commemorative poles (nonaboriginal), masks, rattles, feast dishes, and other objects used for crest displays were carved and/or painted. The point of most Kwakiutl art was social—to display ancestral rights—rather than specifically religious, although the two are basically inseparable.

Their basic colors were black and red. The Kwakiutls experienced a golden age of art from about 1890 to 1920. They also produced some excellent twined, spruce root, and cedar-bark hats.

*See also* Fur Trade; Hudson's Bay Company; Slavery; Totem Poles; Trade.

## Lower Umpqua

*See* Coosans.

## Lummi

*See* Salish, Central Coast.

## Makah

"Makah" is a Klallam word for "the People." The Makah word for themselves is *Kwe-net-che-chat*, "People of the Point." They were a whaling people, culturally similar to the Nootkans of Vancouver Island. People have lived around Cape Flattery for roughly 4,000 years. The Makahs emigrated from Vancouver Island about 500 years ago, although some Makah villages were occupied as early as 1500 BCE. The Makahs lived around Cape Flattery on the northwest tip of the Olympic Peninsula, a region of fierce, rainy winters and calm, sunny summers. The Makah Reservation is in Clallam County, Washington, within their aboriginal lands. The Makah population was roughly 2,000 in the late eighteenth century. Makah is a southern or Nootkan language of the Wakashan language family.

The acquisition of guardian spirits was central to Makah religion and ceremonialism. Adolescent boys acquired them by fasting in remote places. Shamans, both male and female, who had acquired several guardian spirits cured people and provided ceremonial leadership. Except for ritual hunting preparations, most ceremonies took place in the winter. Carved wooden masks figured prominently in a four-day Wolf ritual, during which members were initiated into the secret Klukwalle Society. A healing ceremony and complex whaling rituals follow Nootka patterns.

The Makahs lived in five permanent, semiautonomous villages, with one or more lesser satellite





villages in the same general area. Social groups included headmen, commoners, and slaves. The headmen regularly affirmed their rank through the institution of the potlatch. Commoners could advance or fall back slightly through marriage or by acquiring privileges. Alliances were formed, and privileges and subsistence areas were inherited through ranked patrilineal lineages. Whaling and fur seal hunting were particularly prestigious occupations. Only the former was an inherited privilege, but both involved substantial ritual components. Aboriginally, only men hunted and fished; women gathered shellfish and plants and cleaned, cooked, and otherwise prepared food products.

Permanent houses were built on wooden frames as large as sixty by thirty by fifteen feet high. Platforms along the wall served as sleeping and storage areas. Planks from nearly flat roofs, on which fish drying racks were located, could be easily removed for ventilation. Several families lived in one house. Privacy was provided by removable partitions. House fronts and posts were carved or painted. In summer, some people left the permanent villages for summertime residences.

The region supported abundant land and sea life, including mammals, fish and shellfish, birds, and flora. Sea mammals were the most important staple, followed by fish, particularly halibut. Oil, especially from whales and fur seals, was used to flavor dried foods. The Makahs ate some land mammals. Plant foods included several varieties of berries, roots (especially sand verbena, surf grass, and buttercup), and greens. Plants were also used as medicine, for raw materials, and in entertainment.

Makah women wove spun dog wool or bird skin and fiber cordage on a two-bar loom. Women also made baskets of cedar as well as of cattail, tule, and cherry bark. Whaling equipment included mussel shell-tipped harpoons, line made of whale sinew and pounded cedar boughs, and skin floats for floating the dead whales and towing them ashore. Fishing equipment included hooks and kelp lines, weirs, traps, and gaffs. Land mammals provided additional raw material, such as antler and bone, for manufactured items. Shell was used for cutting and eating tools and for adornment. Mats for canoe sails, blankets, and cargo wrap were made from cedar bark. Wooden implements, such as bent-corner boxes (steamed and bent), bowls, dishes, containers, clubs, harpoon and arrow shafts, and bows, were fashioned from yew, red cedar, spruce, alder, and hemlock.

The Makahs were actively involved in trade and social intercourse with all neighbors, including Klallams, Quileutes, and Nitinahts. Makahs often served as intermediaries, handling items such as dried halibut and salmon, sea otter skins, vermilion, whale and sea oil, dentalium shells, dried cedar bark, canoes, and slaves. They made an especially good profit selling whale oil. Camas, a favorite food, was obtained in trade from the north. They both imported and exported canoes.

The Makahs first encountered non-Natives around 1790, when British and Spanish ships entered the area, and the Spanish built a short-lived fort. The Makahs detained several shipwrecked Russians and Inuit around 1809, as well as three shipwrecked Japanese in 1833. They traded occasionally with Hudson's Bay Company.

The results of early contact included an intensification of trade and the use of non-Native goods as well as disease epidemics. By the 1850s, villages were being abandoned as a result of depopulation. The Makahs signed the Treaty of Neah Bay in 1855, ceding land in return for "education, health care, fishing rights" and a reservation (subsequently enlarged). The Indian Service soon moved in and tried to eradicate Makah culture. They prohibited the Native language and customs in government schools and tried, but failed, to replace maritime traditions with agriculture.

During the 1860s and 1870s, Makahs hunted fur seals for the non-Native market. In the 1880s, they were hunting on white-owned ships, at a wage so great that they temporarily abandoned whaling. By the 1890s, some Makahs had their own boats and were hiring both Indian and white crews. At this time, however, the seal population began to decline due to overhunting. As international treaties began to restrict seal hunting, Makahs turned to poaching and then abandoned the activity altogether. By this time, in any case, many of their maritime-related ceremonies had disappeared.

In 1896, when the local boarding school closed, many families moved to Neah Bay, which became the Makahs' primary village. In 1911, a treaty gave the Makahs and some other Indian groups the right to hunt seals using aboriginal methods, a practice that continued for several decades. Commercial logging began in 1926. A road connecting the reservation with the outside world opened in the 1930s, as did public schools, which replaced the hated boarding schools. Tourism and the general local cash economy increased. In the 1940s, the Army Corps of





Engineers completed a breakwater that provided a sheltered harbor for tourist boats and fishing vessels.

Major postwar economic activities were commercial fishing, logging, and tourism. Makah cultural life began to reemerge with the relaxation of the severe anti-Indian government policies. In any case, some aspects of traditional culture, such as the potlatch and the language, had never been eradicated. In 1970, archaeological excavations at the village of Ozette revealed much about the aboriginal life of the Makahs. This site has yielded over 50,000 artifacts as well as other valuable information and has encouraged many young Makahs to study anthropology.

*See also* Fishing Rights; Potlatch; Trade.

## Muckleshoot

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

## Nisqually

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

## Nooksack

*See* Salish, Central Coast.

## Nootkans

The Nootkans were a linguistic group of Vancouver Island Indians consisting of more than twenty-two tribes, confederacies, or sociopolitical local groups. Captain James Cook, who thought it was the Native name for what came to be called Nootka Sound, originated the term. Many Nootkans continue to live in or near their aboriginal territory, which was the western half of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, roughly 125 miles north and south of midcoast. The geography features a rocky coast and a coastal plain ("outside") as well as a series of inlets penetrating deep into the hilly interior ("inside"). The climate is wet and moderate with fierce winter storms. The Nootkan population was at least 15,000 in the mideighteenth century. Nootka and Nitinaht,

together with Makah, constitute the southern or Nootkan branch of the Wakashan language family.

Numerous categories of spirit and mythological beings were recognized as ubiquitous. They could be obtained and controlled through rituals or by spirit quests. Rituals, especially as practiced by chiefs, helped to ensure bountiful salmon runs, the beaching of dead whales, and other food resources. Long-haired shamans dived to the bottom of the sea to battle soul-stealing sea spirits. Chiefs also engaged in spirit quests (commoners' spiritual help came through minor rituals and charms). One obtained power from a spirit being by seizing it, rather than by establishing a relation with it as with a guardian spirit. Such power provided special skills, luck, or other achievements.

Nootkans prayed for power to the Four Chiefs of Above, Horizon, Land, and Undersea. They observed two primary winter ceremonies: the Dancing, or Wolf, ritual, and the Doctoring ritual (central and southern Nootkans only). Although the former was an initiation and the latter a curing ceremony, the ultimate purpose of both was to confirm the social order. The Wolf ritual, several of which might be held in a village each winter, involved masks and dramatization.

Local groups held defined territories, the legitimacy of which came from a particular legendary ancestor. The chiefly line of descent was the group's nucleus. The highest-ranking man in a local group was its chief, whose position was inheritable.

Local groups sometimes united to form tribes, with ranked chiefs and common winter villages and ceremonials. Some northern Nootkan tribes also came together to form confederacies, with each local group retaining its identity, territory, and ceremonies.

Inherited rights formed the basis of social rank and governed the ownership and use of practically everything of value. Inheritance was generally patrilineal. Nootkan social classes consisted of chief, commoners, and slaves. The chief did not work; he directed his followers, who in turn supported him and who were taken care of by them. A chief's close male relations were secondary chiefs (such as war chiefs and speakers). Chiefs received tribute for the use of resource sites. When goods accumulated, they held a feast or a potlatch. Other occasions for potlatches included life cycle and public events such as status transfer and confirmation. The participation in all life cycle rituals and ceremonies was commensurate with social rank.





Pregnancy and birth carried numerous rituals and restrictions, especially regarding twins. Infants' heads were flattened to achieve an aesthetic ideal. Children were regularly instructed on correct behavior, such as industry, peacefulness, and social responsibility, and on ritual knowledge. For high-status families, the onset of female puberty was the occasion for a great potlatch. It also entailed rituals and seclusion for the woman herself. Along with warfare, marriage was the means by which local groups sought to maximize access to subsistence areas. As such, it was mostly an alliance between families and was accompanied by great ritual, depending on rank. Although divorce was possible, adultery, unless chronic or within the chief's family, was generally smoothed over.

Multifamily cedar houses between forty and 150 feet long, between thirty and forty feet wide, and between eight and ten feet high lined the beaches. Planks were removable for use in smaller camp dwellings. Roofs were of both shed (primarily in the south) and gabled style. Individual family areas, each with its own fireplace, were set off from the others by storage chests. Sleeping platforms ringed the walls. Posts and beams were carved with hereditary designs. Local groups had house frames standing at three sites: permanent village, summer-time fishing and sea hunting areas, and a main salmon stream.

Salmon, smoked and dried, was the Nootkans' staple food. Nootkans also ate herring, halibut, cod, snapper, flounder, and other fish. Other important foods included roots, berries, bulbs, ferns, crabapples, and eelgrass; shellfish, mollusks, kelp, and sea cucumbers; waterfowl; and sea mammals such as harbor seals, porpoises, sea lions, sea otters, and whales. The ritualistic preparation by whalers, who were always chiefs, included bathing, praying, and swimming, and it began months in advance of the whaling season. Land mammals included deer, elk, black bear, and small mammals. Most food was dried, smoked, steamed in pits, or broiled in wooden boxes with red-hot stones. Fish were taken with dip nets, rakes, floating fences, and weirs; waterfowl with nets, nooses, bow and arrow, and snares; marine invertebrates with yew digging and prying sticks; sea mammals with clubs, harpoons, stakes hidden in seaweed, and nets. Special whaling equipment consisted of harpoons with mussel shell blades, two forty- to sixty-fathom lines, floats, and lances. Nootkans used six types of canoes,

some with cedar-bark mat sails. The uses of wood, a key raw material, included hunting and war tools, canoes, houses, utensils, buckets, and storage boxes. Mattresses and other such items were made of cedar bark.

Nootkans enjoyed a virtual monopoly on dentalia shell, an item highly prized by many peoples along and surrounding the Northwest Coast. They also supplied sea otter pelts and canoes. Their primary trading partners were the Nimpkish Kwakiutls and the Makahs. Nootkans received eulachon (smelt) oil and grease from the Tsimshians, Chilkat goat-hair blankets from the Tlingits, and furs from the Coast Salish (who obtained them from interior peoples).

Music and dance were important Nootkan arts. Vocal music, often containing complicated structures, patterns, and beats, was accompanied by drumming and rattles. Songs were sung for many different occasions, both sacred and secular.

Drama regularly included masks to represent supernatural beings. People told long, complex stories on winter evenings. House posts and fronts and many wooden objects were elaborately carved with crest designs. The decorated conical, onion-domed cedar-bark and spruce-root whaler's hat was a classic Nootkan basketry item. Painting was highly developed in the historic period.

Nootkan culture changed relatively little during the 5,000 years pre-contact with non-Natives. In the late prehistoric period they had acquired iron and other metals through trade and salvage from shipwrecks. In 1778, Captain Cook remained with the Nootkas for a month, acquiring a large collection of sea otter pelts. Cook's crew later sold the pelts to Chinese merchants at great profit, thereby laying the basis for the northwest maritime fur trade.

A few Nootkan chiefs, such as Maquinna, whose power was maintained in part by the Spanish, became very wealthy by controlling that trade. Partly by means of firearms, they established themselves as intermediaries between whites and other Indian peoples. During that time, Indians began to suffer significant population decline owing to increased warfare (competition over the fur trade) as well as epidemics, including venereal disease. By the end of the century, hunters had so depleted the sea otter stock that the local fur trade was in sharp decline. In its wake, Indians began attacking trade ships, which in turn greatly diminished their contact with non-Natives for several decades.





Population decline and general dislocation led to the formation of new tribes and confederacies in the early nineteenth century. Continued Nootkan attacks on trade ships in midcentury brought retaliation from the British navy. Gradually, without being formally conquered, the Nootkans became integrated into the new commercial economy. There was a continuing trade in the furs of animals such as deer, elk, mink, marten, and northern fur seal. Throughout the late nineteenth century, Nootkans were important suppliers of dogfish oil, which was used in the logging industry. They also became involved in the pelagic sealing industry, hunting from canoes as well as schooners. Some Nootkans became wealthy during that period and even purchased their own schooners. Commercial fishing was another important local industry, providing jobs and drawing people to canneries from their villages. Crafts for the tourist trade also became important around that time, as did seasonal hop picking in the Puget Sound area.

When British Columbia joined Canada in 1871, Nootkans became part of the federal Indian reserve system. Villages still in use received small reserves in the 1880s, though without having formally surrendered any land to the government. Missionaries arrived to carry out government health and education programs. Such programs included the establishment of Indian boarding schools, where Native culture was ruthlessly suppressed.

After World War II, further consolidation and centralization of the Nootkan population paralleled similar trends in the fishing industry. Potlatching and other forms of traditional culture continued, despite government opposition. Beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, Nootkans focused on fostering a positive self-identity and achieving control over their own destinies. In 1978, a political organization called the West Coast District Council (formerly the West Coast Allied Tribes) adopted the name Nuuchah-nulth ("all along the mountains") for all Nootkan peoples and renamed the organization the Nuuchah-nulth Tribal Council.

*See also* Potlatch; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Slavery; Trade.

## Oowekeeno

*See* Bella Bella.

## Puyallup

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

## Quileute

"Quileute" is taken from the name of a village at the site of La Push, on the present-day Washington State coast. The Hoh Indians, formerly considered a Quileute band, now have independent federal recognition. Traditionally, the Quileutes lived along the coast from south of Ozette Lake to just south of the Hoh River and west to Mt. Olympus, on the Olympic Peninsula. Most of the region is rain forest. Today, many Quileutes live on reservations on the Pacific coast of the Olympic Peninsula, in the state of Washington. In the late eighteenth century, about 500 Quileutes lived on the Olympic Peninsula. In late pre-contact times, the Quileute were members, with the Hoh and the Quinault, of a confederation that controlled most tribes from Cape Flattery to Grey's Harbor. Quileute is a Chimakuan language.

The Quileute universe was peopled with a creator-transformer and a variety of ghosts, spirits, monsters, and creatures. This interplay gave rise to a rich mythology. Entry to one of five ceremonial societies—warrior, hunter, whaler, shaman, and fisher—might be obtained by holding a potlatch or showing evidence of an appropriate guardian spirit power. Initiations, which included dances with carved wood masks, took place primarily in the winter. Potlatches also accompanied life cycle events.

Individuals could claim guardian spirits, from nature or ancestors, through special quests or by being adopted by the power. Such powers could also be lost or stolen, perhaps through the intercession of a shaman, or simply depart, in which case a shaman might bring them back (this was the lost-soul cure; shamans could also cure disease). Adolescents quested after spirit powers by fasting and visiting remote places. The Quileutes also observed first salmon rites (the ritualistic preparation and consumption of the season's first catch).

A village, made up of extended families, was the basic political unit. Each village had two hereditary chiefs. Quileute society was divided into the hereditary groups that were usual for Northwest Indians: chiefs, commoners, and slaves (acquired in raids or trade). Much social activity was devoted to maintain-





ing and pursuing status. With rank came the rights to names, dances, songs, designs, guardian spirit powers, and membership in certain secret societies.

The traits of cleanliness, moderation, and generosity were especially prized. At puberty, girls were confined to a section of the house for five days. Boys began spirit questing in their late teens. Perhaps because pre- and extramarital sex was taboo, the Quileutes recognized ten different types of marriage, including polygamy. Quileutes intermarried regularly with Makahs and Quinaults. Divorce was common.

Both parents were subject to behavioral restrictions regarding pregnancy and childbirth. The birth of twins subjected parents to eight months of additional taboos. Babies were kept in cradle boards. Noble families flattened their babies' heads. The dead were wrapped in mats or dog hair blankets and buried in canoes or hollow logs. Mourners cut their hair and painted their faces. Widows observed special taboos, such as not sleeping lying down. The names of the dead were not spoken for some time, and mourners asked those with similar names to change them. On the second anniversary of death, the remains of high-status people were reburied, and a memorial potlatch was given.

Quileutes either killed or enslaved the first non-Natives they met (Spanish in 1775, British in 1787, Russian in 1808). They had little contact with whites until 1855, when the Indians signed a treaty agreeing to move to the Quinault Reservation. They had not yet moved, however, by 1889, the year the one-square-mile La Push Reservation was created. Four years later, a reservation was established for the people of the Hoh River.

In the interim (1860s–1880s), Quileutes did the best they could to resist the invading non-Natives. Most declined to send their children to an Anglo school that opened at La Push in 1882. Symptomatic of the interracial hostility that reigned during that time was the fire set by a white person at La Push in 1889 that destroyed twenty-six houses and almost all pre-contact artifacts.

In 1895, the Quileutes embraced the Indian Shaker religion. In 1912, whites appropriated ancient fishing sites to open a canning industry on the Quilayute River. Indians were declared ineligible to obtain fishing licenses. They gave up whaling in 1904 and sealing in the 1930s. In 1936, shortly after 165 Quileutes were each allotted eighty acres of timbered land on the Quinault Reservation, the tribe adopted a constitution and bylaws.

*See also* Fishing Rights; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of.

## Quinault

*See* Salish, Southwestern Coast.

## Salish, Central Coast

Central Coast Salish were a group of Indians who shared a common language family and a related culture. Central Coast Salish tribes and villages included the Squamish (at least sixteen villages), the Nooksacks (at least twenty villages), the Klallams (about a dozen villages), the Halkomelems, and Northern Straits. The Halkomelems had three divisions: Island (Nanoooses, Nanaimos, Chemainus, Cowichans, and Malahats), Downriver (Musqueams, Tsawwessens, Saleelwats, Kwantlens, Coquitlams, Nicomekls, and Katzies), and Upriver (Matsquis, Sumas, Nicomens, Scowlitzes, Chehalis, Chilliwaks, Pilalts, and Taites). Northern Straits had six divisions: Sookes, Songhees, Saanichs, Semiahmoos, Lummis, Samish. The discussions that follow do not apply to every group or tribe.

Traditionally, the lands inhabited by the Central Coast Salish in Canada and the United States included both sides of the southern Strait of Georgia, the San Juan Islands, the extreme northwest part of Washington east of the strait, and parts of the northern Olympic Peninsula. The region is generally wet and moderate, although it includes some drier and cooler regions. Most contemporary Central Coast Salish Indians live on reserves or reservations in or near their aboriginal lands or in cities of the Northwest. The Central Coast Salish population stood at roughly 20,000 in the mideighteenth century. Central Coast Salish, which includes the Squamish, Nooksack, Klallam, Halkomelem, and Northern Straits (Lkungen) languages, is a member of the central division of the Salishan language family.

Central Coast Salish recognized a mythological time when their legendary ancestors lived. They believed that people are composed of several components, one or more of which might occasionally get lost or lured away and had to be restored by shamans. In their everyday lives, they made a distinction between what was considered normal and anything that might connote danger or power (such





*Two Salish women drying meat on a stick frame, ca. 1910. (Library of Congress)*

as a deformed person, a menstruating woman, or a corpse). People sought luck or skills from an encounter with a spirit. An accompanying song provided direct access to the spirit's power.

The shamans' spirit helpers gave special powers. Men and women could be shamans. Curing, the province of shamans, entailed singing, drama, and extracting a harmful entity with the hands and mouth. Some shamans could also foretell the future. Spells or incantations were also believed to carry power. Most people used them to help perform a task, but people highly skilled in such matters could be hired for special occasions.

Intra- and intervillage spirit dances took place in the winter. The host provided food, and dancers danced their spirit songs, of which there were several categories. Dances and songs were accompanied by much ritual paraphernalia. Secret societies also held their dances in the winter. Their main ceremony was initiating new members; the right to member-

ship was hereditary. Central Coast Salish people also observed first salmon ceremonies (the ritualistic preparation and consumption of the season's first catch). Cleansing rituals were made both to erase a disgrace and to enhance a festive occasion.

Each group lived in a number of villages. Heads of the leading or established household served as local group chiefs. As such, they had little or no power to govern; they were wealthy and influential men who entertained guests, made decisions about subsistence activity, and arbitrated disputes.

Several extended families made up a household, which owned particular subsistence areas and tools, such as clam beds and fowl nets. Some particularly prestigious households, or "houses" (in the European sense), descended from a notable ancestor and shared resources, names, ceremonies, and other valuables. Some local groups may have had their own winter villages, although larger villages included several local groups. Members of different





households cooperated in some activities such as deer drives, building a salmon weir, ceremonies, and defense, but they were not necessarily culturally homogeneous. There was little intervillage cooperation. Social groups included worthy people (those with wealth, ancestry, manners, and guardian spirits), worthless people, and slaves.

The Central Coast Salish intermarried within the village and outside it. Marriages involved ritual exchanges and promoted trade. They were initiated by men; women could refuse, but they felt pressure to marry "well." A wedding usually entailed the exchange of gifts (material and/or hereditary privileges) and a cleansing ceremony. Exchanges of food and gifts between families-in-law continued throughout the marriage.

From an early age, children were "toughened" by swimming in icy water and running in storms. This process culminated in the adolescent spirit quest. Boys marked puberty by making their first kill. If possible, girls were feted with a feast and a display of hereditary privileges. They were secluded during their periods. Among the Cowichans, a girl undertook a solitary vigil; if she was joined by a boy, and their parents agreed, they could be married. Corpses were wrapped in blankets and placed in canoes or grave boxes. Among the worthy, bones were rewrapped several years later with an accompanying display of privileges.

Potlatches, as opposed to feasts, were usually held outdoors in good weather. Occasions included life crises and important life cycle or ceremonial events. Usually all or part of a village held the potlatch, with each house marking its own occasions. Goods were not expected to be returned: The point was status—that is, good relations with neighbors and good marriages for children.

Some hunters, on both land and sea, achieved a professional status and spent whole summers hunting. People generally spent the summers traveling in small groups, following seasonal food cycles and living in temporary dwellings. They enjoyed several gambling games, including the traditional hand and disk games. Sports included shinny (a variation of hockey), races, athletic competitions, and games of skill. Singing for pleasure was common.

Winter villages consisted of from one house to several rows of houses built on the beach. Houses were up to several hundred feet long. They had a permanent wooden framework with a shed roof with removable roof and wall planks. Each family had a separate fire. House posts were decorated with

painted and carved images of ancestors and spirit powers. These people also built some fortified war refuges (stockades). Other structures included summer mat houses, wooden grave houses, and pole and mat sweat lodges.

Fish, especially salmon (of all species), was the staple food, although it was available to different people in different places at different times of the year. The leaner fall runs were dried for storage; otherwise fish was eaten fresh. Other important foods included sea mammals (seal and porpoise, used mostly for oil; sea lions; whales [Klallam]); shellfish; land mammals such as deer, elk, black bear, mountain goats, and beaver (smaller game as well as grizzlies, cougars, and wolves were generally avoided); waterfowl; and a large variety of plants. Camus, brake fern, wapato, and wild carrots were especially important, but other bulbs, roots, berries, sprouts, and stems were also used. Camus fields were burned and reseeded. Potato husbandry became important after 1800.

Fish were taken with reef nets, dip nets, trawl nets, harpoons, gaff hooks, spears, basket traps, weirs, tidal pounds (rows of underwater stakes), hooks, and herring rakes and in rectangular nets suspended between two canoes, a method by which several thousand fish a day might be captured. Harpoons, seal nets, and clubs served as marine mammal hunting equipment; land mammals were taken with pitfalls, snares, bow (2.5 to 3 feet, made of yew) and arrow, and spears. Waterfowl were snagged in permanent nets stretched across flyways. They were also hunted with bow and arrow, flares and nets at night, and snares.

Important raw materials included wood, hides, antler, horn, mountain goat wool, beaver teeth, wood stone, and shell. Wooden items included house materials, canoes, bent-corner boxes, dishes, tools, weapons, and ceremonial items. Shredded bark was used for towels, mattresses, and similar items. Sewn mats of cattail leaves and tule lined the interior house walls, covered the frames of summer shelters, and were made into mattresses, rain covers, and sitting or kneeling pads. Women made several types of baskets, including wrapped lattice, coiled, twined, and woven. They practiced a distinctive form of weaving, spinning wool from a special breed of dog (now extinct) plus mountain goat wool, waterfowl down, and fireweed cotton on a large spindle and weaving it on a two-bar loom.

The Central Coast Salish fought wars among themselves, with their neighbors, and with more





distant neighbors. Injury and death, intentional or not, demanded compensation. Refusal to pay might lead to fighting, and some groups, such as the Klallams, saw compensation as dishonorable. The Klallams were particularly aggressive; the impaled heads of their foes, often Snohomish, Cowichans, or Duwamish, often decorated their beaches. There was some naval warfare, in which canoes rammed and sank other canoes. At least in the early nineteenth century, the Lekwiltoks (Kwakiutls) were a common enemy.

Raids, for loot, territory, vengeance, or a show of power, were led by professional warriors with special powers. Raids featured surprise attacks. Men were killed, and women and children were captured, later to be ransomed or sold as slaves. Warriors wore elk hide armor.

*See also* Basketry; Fishing Rights; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Salish, Northern Coast

The constituent groups of the Northern Coast Salish ('Sal ish) included Island Comoxes, Mainland Comoxes (Homalcos, Klahooses, and Sliammons), Pentlatches, and Sechelts. The Comoxes called themselves *Catlo'ltx*. Traditional Northern Coast Salish territory, all in Canada, included roughly the northern half of the Strait of Georgia, including east central Vancouver Island. The climate is wet and moderate. As of the 1990s, Northern Coast Salish Indians lived in villages and reserves in their traditional territory and in regional cities and towns. The Comox population in 1780 was about 1,800. In 1995, about 2,750 Northern Coast Salish from six bands (Comoxes, Homalcos, Klahooses, Sliammons, Qualicums [Pentlatches], and Sechelts) lived in the region. Northern Coast Salish, which includes the Comox, Pentlatch, and Sechelt languages, is a member of the Central division of the Salishan language family.

People sought guardian spirits (from animate or inanimate objects) to confer special powers or skills. Spirits were acquired in dreams or by fasting or other physical tests. The Northern Coast Salish Indians celebrated two forms of winter ceremonials: spirit dancing, which was inclusive and participatory, and masked dancing, which was reserved for only certain high-status families. Shamans as

well as various secret societies provided religious leadership.

Villages were headed by chiefs, who were the heads of the leading or established households. Chiefs had little or no power to govern; they were wealthy and influential men who entertained guests, made decisions about subsistence activity, and arbitrated disputes.

Among most groups, the "local group" consisted of members who traced their descent patrilineally from a mythical ancestor; it was identified with and controlled certain specific subsistence areas. The right to hold potlatches and certain ceremonies, including dances and songs, was also inheritable. Northern Coast Salish people were either chiefs, nobles, commoners, or slaves.

Both parents, but especially the mother, were subject to pregnancy and childbirth-related taboos and restrictions. Infants' heads were pressed for aesthetic effect. Pubescent girls were secluded and their behavior was restricted, but boys were physically and mentally trained to seek a guardian spirit. Those who embarked on extended training and quests became shamans.

People were considered marriageable when they reached adolescence. Men, accompanied by male relatives, first approached women in a canoe. Polygyny was common, and multiple wives resided in the same household. Corpses were washed, wrapped in a blanket, and placed in a coffin that was in turn set in a cave or a tree away from the village. Possessions were burned. The Comoxes and Pentlatches erected carved and painted mortuary poles.

Northern Coast Salish people built three types of permanent plank houses (semiexcavated and with shed and gabled roofs). Planks could be removed and transported to permanent frameworks at summer villages. Some houses were up to sixty or seventy feet long and half as wide. Most were fortified with either stockades or deep trenches. The Pentlatches and Island Comoxes had enclosed sleeping areas and separate smoke-drying sheds. Structures housed several related households, including extended families and slaves.

Fish was the staple, especially salmon. Fall salmon were smoke-dried for winter storage; the catch from summer salmon runs was eaten fresh. The people practiced the ritualistic preparation and consumption of the season's first salmon. They also ate lingcod, greenling, steelhead, flounder, sole, and herring roe. Other important foods included sea mammals (sea lion, harbor seal, porpoise); shellfish;





land mammals, such as deer, bear, and some elk and mountain goat; birds and fowl; and plant foods, including berries, shoots and leaves, roots, bulbs, and cambium.

Fish were taken with gill nets, basket traps and weirs, gaffs and harpoons, tidal basins of stakes or rocks, dip nets, and rakes (herring). Seal nets, clubs, and harpoons with an identifiable float served as marine mammal hunting equipment. Land mammals were taken with pitfalls, snares, bow (2.5 to 3 feet long, made of yew) and arrow, nets, knives, traps, and spears. Waterfowl were snagged in permanent nets stretched across flyways. They were also hunted with bow and arrow, flares and nets at night, and snares.

Important raw materials included wood, hides, antler, horn, mountain goat wool, beaver teeth, wood, bone, stone, and shell. Wooden items included house materials, canoes, bent-corner boxes, dishes, tools, weapons, and ceremonial items. Shredded bark was used for towels, mattresses, and similar items. Sewn mats of cattail leaves and tule lined interior house walls, covered frames of summer shelters, and were made into mattresses, rain covers, and sitting or kneeling pads. Women made several types of baskets of cedar limb splints or roots, including wrapped lattice, coiled, twined, and woven.

Juan de Fuca may have encountered the Northern Coast Salish in 1752. British and Spanish trade ships arrived in 1792 to a friendly reception. Owing to the lack of sea otter in the Strait of Georgia, however, most Northern Coast Salish did not participate in the local maritime fur trade.

Miners and other non-Natives founded Victoria in 1843. By this time local Indians had experienced severe epidemics with some concomitant village abandonment and consolidation. Catholic missionaries arrived in the 1860s, and many Natives converted and renounced their ceremonials, including potlatching. Some self-sufficient overtly Christian villages were established, complete with a missionary-imposed governing structure. By the end of the century, the missionaries, along with Catholic boarding schools, had largely destroyed the Native language and culture.

With their traditional economy severely damaged, many Indian men took jobs as longshoremen, loggers, and migrant farmers. They also worked in commercial fishing, including canneries. Canada officially established Indian reserves in 1876, by which time Indians had already lost much of their aboriginal land. In the early twentieth century, sev-

eral Indian organizations, such as the Allied Tribes and the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia, formed to pursue title to aboriginal lands. The Alliance of Tribal Councils continued this work in the 1970s and worked to foster a positive self-image as well as political unity. Partly as a result of its activity, in 1986 the Sechelt band became the first self-governing Indian group in Canada.

*See also* Fishing Rights; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of.

## Salish, Southern Coast

The Southern Coast Salish included over fifty named, autonomous Indian groups or tribes inhabiting the Puget Sound region and speaking one of two languages. The component groups included (but were not limited to) Swinomish, Skagits (Lower Skagits or Whidby Island Skagits), Upper Skagits, Stillaguamish, Skykomish (perhaps once a subdivision of the Snoqualmies), and Snohomish (speakers of Northern Lushootseed); Steilacooms, Snoqualmies, Suquamish, Duwamish, Puyallups, Nisquallys, and Squaxins (speakers of southern Lushootseed); and Quilcene, Skokomish, and Duhlelipsis (speakers of Twana). Many of these groups themselves consisted of autonomous subdivisions. Little is known of these Indians' lives before their contact with non-Natives.

The basic Southern Coast Salish culture was in place at least 2,000 years ago. Southern Coast Salish people lived in and around the Puget Sound Basin in Washington. The climate is generally wet and moderate, with the northern areas somewhat drier. Although most of the land was timbered, some was kept open by regular burning practices. Most contemporary Southern Coast Salish Indians live on local reservations or in nearby cities and towns. The precontact population was estimated to be around 12,600. Southern Coast Salish, which includes the Lushootseed (Northern and Southern dialects) and Twana languages, is a member of the Central division of the Salishan language family.

According to the Twana, people were possessed of life souls and heart souls. Illness occurred if the former left the body. At death, life souls went to the land of the dead and were eventually reborn, whereas heart souls just disappeared. The people prayed to the sun and the earth, deities concerned





with ethics. They also regarded salmon and other animal species as “people in their own country,” complete with chiefs and other such conventions.

A mythological age ended when a transformer fashioned this world. Guardian spirits, both regular (lay) and shamanistic, were believed responsible for all luck, skill, and achievement. Shamans received the same powers as lay people, plus two unique powers. Spirit helpers and their associated songs were acquired through quests (or occasionally inheritance), which might begin as early as age eight and which consisted of fasting, bathing, and physical deprivation. Following the quest, nothing happened for up to twenty years, at which time the spirit returned (temporarily causing illness), the person sang and danced, and the power was activated. Shamans cured certain illnesses (such as soul loss) and could also cause illness and death, an explanation of why they were sometimes killed.

Southern Coast Salish Indians celebrated several regular ceremonies. The Winter Dance was sponsored by someone who was ill as a result of a returning spirit. There was much ritual connected with a “cure,” including dancing, singing, feasting, and gift distribution. The soul recovery ceremony was an attempt to recapture a soul from the dead. Performers sang their spirit songs and dramatized a canoe search and the rescue of soul. The potlatch was given by those who had encountered a wealthy power and were to become wealthy themselves. It was held in the summer or early fall. The leading men of nearby villages and their families were invited. Guests brought food and wealth. Potlatches lasted for several days and included games, contests, secular songs, and dances, after which the sponsor gave away gifts and sang his power song.

Among the Twanas, Suquamish, and maybe others, the *tamanawas* ceremony initiated new members (adolescents of both sexes with wealthy parents) into a secret religious society.

Each local group had one or more winter villages as well as several summer camps and resource sites. Village leaders were generally the heads of the wealthiest households; they had no formal leadership role. In Twana villages, the chief’s speaker and village crier delivered brief sermons and awakened people, respectively.

Villages consisted of one or more houses, which in turn sheltered several families, each within its own special section. Village membership may have been more permanent or stable in the south than in the north. Although they were truly autonomous,

neighboring groups were linked by intermarriage, by ceremonial and customary activities, and by the use of common territories. Fishing sites and equipment could be individually or communally owned. Hunting was a profession among many Coast Salish groups.

Classes, or social groups, included upper free (wealthy, high birth, sponsors of feasts and appropriate ceremonies), lower free (less wealth, common birth, fewer and less prestigious ceremonies), and slave (property). Recognition by the intervillage network was required to confirm or alter status. Possessions of woven blankets, dentalia, clamshell-disk beads, robes, pelts, bone war clubs, canoes, and slaves constituted wealth. The house posts and grave monuments of high-status people were carved and/or painted. All except slaves and the very poor had their heads flattened in infancy. Popular games included gambling (dice and the disk and traditional hand games) as well as games of skill and athletic contests. More southerly people smoked tobacco (obtained in trade) mixed with kinikinnick (bearberry).

There were few formal birth ceremonies, although behavior was restricted for a new mother and father. At adolescence, both sexes were expected to seek visions, although a girl was subject to a greater number of behavioral restrictions, including isolation at her first period (and at all subsequent periods). Upper-class girls had “coming out parties” after their first isolation to announce their marriageability. Marriage was arranged by families, usually to people in different villages. It involved the ritual exchange of gifts. Divorce was possible but difficult, especially among the upper class. Death received the most ritualistic treatment. Professional undertakers prepared the body, which was interred in a canoe or an aboveground grave box. After the funeral there was a feast, and the deceased’s property was given away.

Permanent plank houses had shed roofs (later, gambrel and gabled roofs) and were very similar to those of the Central Coast Salish. Several families (nuclear or extended, possibly including slaves) shared a house. Each family, or sometimes two, had its own fireplace. Co-wives might also share the house and have their own fireplaces. Cedar long-houses might be as large as 200 by fifty feet.

Some houses were built and used by wealthy men as potlatch houses. Temporary summertime camp houses consisted of mats covering pole frames.





Most villages had at least one sweat house. Stockades protected some villages. The famous “old man house,” a Suquamish dwelling, once stood in the village of Suqua. It was about 500 feet long and sixty feet wide. The government ordered it burned in the 1870s.

Several types of cedar canoes were employed for purposes such as trolling, hunting, moving freight, and warfare. For major travel (such as travel to and from summer camps), people made a sort of catamaran by lashing some boards between two canoes. Upriver peoples used log rafts for crossing or traveling down streams. Winter hunters walked on snowshoes. Horses arrived in the area in the late eighteenth century, but only inland groups such as the Nisquallys and Puyallups used them extensively.

Most clothing was made of shredded cedar bark and buckskin. In warm weather, men wore breechclouts or nothing; women wore a cedar-bark apron and usually a skirt. In colder weather, men and some women wore hide shirts, leggings, and robes of bearskin as well as skins of smaller mammals sewn together. Both wore hide moccasins.

Some groups wore basketry or fur caps. Many wore abalone and dentalia earrings. Women also wore shell, teeth, and claw necklaces as well as leg and chin tattoos. Older men might keep hair on their faces. Intragroup violence was usually dealt with by compensation and purification. Fighting, usually resulting from revenge, the ambitions of warriors, and slave raids, was usually with nonneighboring groups. Professional warriors did exist, although warfare was largely defensive in nature. Weapons included war clubs, daggers, spears, and bow and arrow (possibly poisoned). Hide shirts were worn as armor. Rather than fight, Twanas might hire shamans to harm other groups.

At least in the early nineteenth century, the Southern Coast Salish had to deal with highly aggressive Lekwiltok Kwakiutl raiders. On at least one occasion the Salish tribes banded together to launch a retaliatory expedition against the Kwakiutls. Some groups, such as the Skagits and Snohomish, had guns before they ever saw non-Indians.

George Vancouver visited the region in 1792. By that time, evidence of metal and smallpox suggested that the Southern Coast Salish might already have encountered Europeans indirectly. Owing primarily to the lack of sea otters in their region, the Salish experienced little further contact for the next thirty years or so.

At least after 1827 and the establishment of the Hudson’s Bay Company post on the Fraser River, the Southern Coast Salish were in regular contact with non-Native traders. Fort Nisqually was founded in 1833. Among the cultural changes the Indians experienced were the introduction of firearms, the move away from traditional forms of dress, and the beginning of the potato crop. They also experienced new Native ideas from remote places, such as the Plateau Prophet Dance.

Catholic missionaries arrived around 1840. The first U.S. settlers followed shortly thereafter, especially after the United States took control of the region by the Treaty of Washington (1846). In 1850, the Donation Land Act of Oregon allowed settlers to invade and claim Indian land. The Washington Territory was officially established in 1853.

In 1854 and 1855, Southern Coast Salish Indians signed a number of treaties (Medicine Creek, Point Elliot, and Point No Point) ceding land and creating seven future reservations (Squaxin, Nisqually, Puyallup, Port Madison, Tulalip, Swinomish, and Skokomish). Notable chiefs who signed included Sea’t’h’l (Suquamish/Duwamish, after whom the city of Seattle was named), Goliah (Skagit), and Patkanin (Snoqualmie). The Nisqually chief Leschi opposed the Medicine Creek Treaty, arguing that his people should settle near the mouth of the Nisqually River and other traditional subsistence areas. He was hanged by the Americans in 1858.

The Steilacooms were denied a reservation because of the planned development of the town of Steilacoom. Most joined other local reservations or remained in their homeland, becoming the ancestors of the modern tribe. Upper Skagits were left landless by the Point Elliot treaty; they later received and then lost several individual allotments.

In 1857, an executive order established the Muckleshoot Reservation (the Muckleshoots were an amalgam of several inland tribes and groups). During subsequent years these lands were whittled away by the Dawes Act and other legal and extralegal coercions (such as the unofficial toleration of illegal whiskey peddlers). Indians rebelled against unfair and dishonest treaty negotiations by engaging in the 1855–1856 Rogue River War and by refusing to move onto reservations.

However, by the 1850s, most Southern Coast Salish were heavily involved in the non-Native economy, and most sold their labor, furs, and other resources to non-Indians. Important and growing industries included logging, commercial fishing and





canning, and hopyards. Seattle was founded in and grew out of a Duwamish winter village (in 1962, the government paid the members of the Duwamish tribe \$1.35 an acre for land that had become the city of Seattle). The Duwamishes moved around the region, refusing to settle on reservations, until some joined the Muckleshoot and Tulalip Reservations. Whites burned them out of their homes in West Seattle in 1893. In 1925, though landless, they adopted a constitution and formed a government. Furthermore, most tribes came under the control of the rigidly assimilationist Bureau of Indian Affairs.

In 1917, the government commandeered most of the 4,700-acre Nisqually Reservation for Camp (later Fort) Lewis. Displaced Nisquallys scattered to various reservations and lands. During the 1960s, clashes between Indians and non-Natives over fishing rights sometimes became violent; they were settled in the Indians' favor, however, in the 1970s. Contrary to government desires, they did not farm but maintained their hunting and fishing traditions.

The Puyallups turned to agriculture during the 1870s. For that reason, they were seen by whites as having made great progress toward civilization. The growth of the adjacent city of Tacoma fueled pressure for the sale of unallotted lands; most of the reservation had been lost by the early twentieth century. The Puyallups were at the forefront of the fishing wars of the 1960s and 1970s. Many Snohomishes left their reservation during the last years of the nineteenth century as a result of overcrowding and oppressive government policies. These Indians, plus those who never moved to the Tulalip Reservation, became the historic Snohomish tribe.

The Tulalip tribes were created in 1855, as was the Tulalip Reservation, which was intended for the Snohomishes, Snoqualmies, Stillaguamishes, Skykomishes, and others. The word "Tulalip" comes from a Snohomish word meaning "a bay shaped like a purse." Many of these Indians refused to settle on the reservation, however, and ended up landless.

By the 1860s, the Squaxins had abandoned their traditional dress but maintained other aspects of their culture. In 1874, about thirty Squaxins went to live at and became assimilated into the Twana community. Some Squaxins also owned allotments on the Quinault Reservation. In 1882, a Squaxin Indian, John Slocum, began the Indian Shaker Church, which emphasizes morality, sobriety, and honesty. This religion soon spread far and wide and continues today. The Snoqualmies were removed to the

Tulalip Reservation after the Rogue River War; they slowly assimilated into that and nearby white communities.

*See also* Fishing Rights; Fur Trade; Potlatch; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Seattle.

## Salish, Southwestern Coast

"Southwestern coast Salish" refers to the speakers of four closely related Salishan languages. Its component groups are Queets, Copalis, and Quinaults, who are speakers of Quinault; Humptulips, Wynoochees, Chehalis, and Shoalwater Bay, who are speakers of Lower Chehalis; Satsops and Kwaiiilks, or Upper Chehalis, who are speakers of Upper Chehalis; and Cowlitzes, who are speakers of Cowlitz.

Traditionally, the Southwestern Coast Salish lived along the Pacific Coast from just south of the Hoh River delta to northern Willapa Bay, including the drainages of the Queets, Quinault, Lower Cowlitz, and Chehalis River systems, all in the state of Washington. Local environments included rain forest, mountains, open ocean, sheltered saltwater bays, forest, and prairies. Today, most of these Indians live on local reservations or in Northwest cities and towns. Around 1800, there were perhaps 2,500 Quinaults and Lower Chehalis and about 8,000 Kwaiiilks and (mostly Lower) Cowlitzes. Southwest Salish, which includes the Quinault, Lower Chehalis, Upper Chehalis, and Mountain and Lower Cowlitz languages, is part of the Tsamosan (formerly Olympic) division of the Salishan language family. The Upper and Lewis River Cowlitzes spoke dialects of Sahaptian.

Southwestern Coast Salish religion centered around the relation of individuals, including slaves, to guardian spirits. Spirits lived either in the land of the dead or in animate and inanimate objects. They provided wealth, power, skill, and/or luck. Songs, dances, and paraphernalia were associated with particular spirits. Spirits not properly honored could be dangerous. Training (such as bathing, fasting in lonely places, and other physical tests) to acquire a spirit began as early as about age seven and culminated in a formal spirit quest at adolescence.

Shamans, who might be men or women, had especially powerful spirits. They diagnosed and





cured disease. They could also cause illness or death and were occasionally hired for this purpose. Feasts involved only local people; potlatches were intertribal. The latter, held in winter, were given at life cycle events or at the perceived bequest of a spirit. Social status was closely related to potlatching activity.

Spirit song ceremonials were observed in winter, accompanied among some tribes by gift giving. Some coastal groups also had secret societies. Most groups celebrated first salmon rituals (the ritualistic preparation and consumption of the season's first catch) during which they burned the salmon's heart and distributed some of the fish to all villagers.

Politically independent villages were each composed of between one and ten households, each household consisting of several families. A nonpolitical "tribe" was recognized as several villages that shared a language and a territory. Village leaders tended to come from certain families, with the eldest son often inheriting the leadership position. Leaders were wealthy and often owned several slaves so that they would not have to work as hard as others did. Their power was limited to giving advice and settling disputes. In some villages (the Quinaults, for example), speakers announced the chief's decisions and negotiated with other villages. This office was obtained by merit. Some villages also had official jokers or buffoons.

Property rights, such as the control of subsistence areas and even the use of particular parts of a whale, were inheritable and carefully controlled. One's work and social activities depended on gender, talent, status, and the possession of an appropriate spirit power. Shamans had especially powerful spirit powers.

The basic social distinction was between slave and free, although some free people were wealthier and more influential than others. Houses were owned by the man who contributed the most labor and materials to its construction. He also directed certain subsistence activities such as weir building. Upon his death, the house would be torn down; it might be rebuilt nearby, or else the former members would each build a new house.

Cedar-planked, gabled houses were arrayed along a river. A door was set at one or both ends. From two to four families, or sometimes more, lived in a house. Partitions divided sections for menstruating women. Sleeping platforms with storage space underneath ran along the interior walls. Shorter

benches in front of the houses were used for sitting and as a place for men to talk and work. Interior walls might be lined with mats. Temporary summer shelters were made of cedar-bark slabs or mat- or bough-covered pole frames. People also occasionally stayed in temporary bark or brush hunting shelters.

Fish, especially all types of salmon, was the food staple. Besides salmon, the people used sturgeon, trout, eulachon (smelt), halibut, herring, and cod. Fish were eaten fresh or smoke-dried. Eulachon was used mainly for its oil. Other important foods included shellfish; land mammals (especially in the Quinault highlands and among the Kwaikwaka) such as deer, elk, and bear; waterfowl and birds; sea mammals; and plants, especially inland, such as camas, berries, crabapples, roots, and shoots. Inland people burned prairie land every two to three years.

Fishing equipment included nets (trawl, gill, drift, dip), weirs, clubs, traps, harpoons, hook and line, herring rakes, and gaffs. People hunted with bow and arrow, deadfalls, nooses, snares, and nets. Professional woodworkers made most houses and canoes as well as bent-corner and bent-bottom boxes, utensils, and tools. The basic woodworking tool was the adze. Women shredded bark and sewed and twined mats. They also made baskets, mostly of spruce root found along the coast.

Neighbors regularly traded and intermarried. Dentalium shells served as currency for durable goods, and food and raw materials were usually exchanged for them. Canoes were widely exchanged. The Copalises provided many groups with razor clams. The local trading complex stretched from Vancouver Island to south of the Columbia River and east of the Cascades.

Most disputes between villages were usually settled by some form of economic arrangement such as formal compensation or marriage. In general, the Cowlitzes were on unfriendly terms with coastal groups, and the Queets fought the Quileutes and sometimes the Quinaults. The Chehalis killed many Queets and burned their villages around 1800; they also regularly attacked the Copalises. Queets, Quinaults, Hohs, and Quileutes occasionally confederated to oppose the Klallams, Makahs, Satsops, and others.

Fighting was more regulated in the south, and there no slaves were taken. Weapons included mussel shell knives, whalebone daggers, yew spears with shell or bone points, whale rib and stone clubs, and the bow and arrow. Elk hide shirts and helmets





and cedar shields (Chehalis), as well as slatted wood breastplates, provided protection in war.

In 1775, Southwestern Coast Salish encountered and killed Spanish explorers and salvaged their ship for iron. By the late 1780s, Indians were used to trading with Europeans and had already experienced population loss from European diseases.

The Lower Chehalises were among the people who traded with Meriwether Lewis and William Clark in 1805–1806. Contact with non-Natives was commonplace after Astoria was founded on the Columbia estuary in 1811. The Hudson's Bay Company founded local posts, such as Fort Vancouver (1825), Fort Nisqually (1833), and Cowlitz Farm (1839). Some Cowlitz groups became mixed with the Klickitats, an inland group, during the early nineteenth century. As access to European goods increased, Indians also skirmished among themselves for control of the inland trade.

A malaria epidemic devastated Indian populations in the 1830s and resulted in significant village abandonment and consolidation. For instance, the Chinookan and Lower Chehalis people combined in a bilingual tribe known as Shoalwater Bay Indians; the Salishan-Chinook language (as well as the tribe's later adoption of Lower Chehalis) eventually died out altogether. The Treaty of Washington (1846) and the Donation Land Act (1850) allowed non-Natives to appropriate Indian land. Many Indians, especially inlanders, were driven away, exterminated, and/or had their food resources destroyed or taken.

The Cowlitzes refused to sign the 1855 treaty because it did not provide a reservation in their homelands. Along with many other tribes, they fought the United States in the Rogue River War of 1855–1856. After inflicting severe dislocations, the government ordered them to remove to the Chehalis Reservation, but they refused, continuing to hold out for their own reservation. Many groups refused to sign treaties or accept goods from Indian agents, fearing that such action would be seen as evidence of forfeiture of land title.

The Quinault River Treaty in 1855 did provide that tribe with a reservation in exchange for vast areas of their traditional lands. In 1864, the Chehalis Reservation was created—without treaties or the formal Indian cession of land—for Chehalis, Cowlitzes, and some southern coastal people, but most remained near their homes. These people either became assimilated into the white population or joined the Chehalis Confederated Tribes or other tribes. Most Chehalis Reservation land was later

reappropriated; the rest was homesteaded by thirty-six Indians and set aside for school purposes.

The Shoalwater Bay Tribe and Georgetown Reservation were created in 1866. The tribe was composed mainly of Chehalis and Chinook families living on Willapa (formerly Shoalwater) Bay. By 1879, these Indians all spoke the lower Chehalis dialect.

All reservation Indians experienced pressure to Christianize, take up farming, and give up their culture. Corrupt agents profited on their rations. Of necessity and desire, hunting, fishing, and gathering continued, although Indians increasingly became involved in the cash economy (logging, farming, and railroads).

The Quinaults remained relatively isolated until the late 1880s. During the early twentieth century, a legal ruling allowed members from various non-Quinault tribes to claim allotments on that reservation and to apply for (and receive) status as Quinaults. This process first resulted mostly in environmental degradation and a sharply decreased salmon run as a result of clear-cutting and then in the attendant relocation of people off the reservation.

*See also* Fishing Rights; Hudson's Bay Company; Potlatch; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Spanish Influence.

## Samish

*See* Salish, Central Coast.

## Sauk-Suiattle

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

## Shoalwater Bay

*See* Salish, Southwestern Coast.

## Siletz, Confederated Tribes of

*See* Coosans; Upper Umpqua.

## Siuslawans

*See* Coosans.



**Skagit**

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

**Skokomish (Twana)**

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

**Snohomish**

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

**Snoqualmie**

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

**Snoqualmoo**

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

**Squaxin**

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

**Steilacoom**

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

**Stillaguamish**

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

**Suquamish**

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

**Swinomish**

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

**Tillamook**

“Tillamook” is a Chinookan word for a Tillamook place-name, possibly meaning “land of many waters” or “People of Nehalem.” These people were formerly referred to by other names, such as Calamoxes. The Tillamooks traditionally lived along a coastal strip from roughly Tillamook Head to the Siletz River, in present-day Oregon. The Tillamook population stood at about 2,200 in 1805. In 1950 it was under 250. Tillamook is a Salishan language. Its dialects included Nehalem, Nestucca, Salmon River (Nechesnan), and Siletz (Tillamook proper).

Tillamooks attempted to gain power from spirits, whom they believed were more active and closer to humans in the winter. Shamans renewed their power in January or February by sponsoring a ceremony that included singing a power song and dispensing food and presents to guests. During the course of this five- to fifteen-day ceremony, all other “knowers” (those with spirit powers) sang their songs too. Winter was also the time for relating myth narratives. Mythological characters were particularly important because social status was dependent on one’s ability to form a relationship with a mythological personage, a natural feature, or a guardian spirit. Rituals also accompanied the first seasonal consumption of various foods.

Tillamook society was divided into the many free and the few slave people as well a majority of people who had acquired guardian spirits and a minority of those who had not. The elite were wealthy and experts in doctoring, war, and hunting. Women received status from their own guardian spirits or from those of their close relatives. Older women were accorded higher status.

Depending on the particular activity, different people, including shamans, headmen, and warriors, played leadership roles in the numerous small villages. Headmen were particularly skilled orators and negotiators. Most disputes, up to and including murder, were settled by arbitration and involved payment. This was often the case even with people from other villages.

The Tillamooks recognized five types of shamans: healers (men by drawing with the hands and women, by sucking), poison doctors (men with much ritual paraphernalia to send and extract poisons), spirit doctors (men who personally retrieved lost spirits from the spirit world), love doctors (women), and baby diplomats (men who foretold events by conversing with babies).





Women wore large grass, tule rush, or shredded-bark back aprons, small front aprons, and buckskin leggings. Men wore fur or basketry caps, breechclouts, buckskin shirts, and hide pants. Beaver and painted buckskin capes and rabbit, bobcat, or sea otter fur blankets kept people warm in the winter. Footgear included both moccasins and snowshoes. Items such as menstrual pads and diapers were made of cedar bark. Both sexes painted their hair part red and wore ear pendants. Men also wore nose pendants. Women wore decorative tattoos, but men's tattoos served only to measure dentalium.

Winter villages were usually built at the mouths of rivers or streams. They typically consisted of several houses, at least one work-and-menstrual hut, sweat houses, and a graveyard. Rectangular houses, which were occupied by up to four families, were constructed of cedar planks tied together with peeled and steamed spruce roots. Roofs were gabled with overlapping planks. Each had several fires in a center pit and sleeping platforms along the sides. Some houses were built aboveground and some were semisubterranean (with a door in the roof and entry via a ladder). Mat partitions separated families and multiple wives. Floors were covered by ferns and rush mats. Pitch torches or fish head or whale oil lamps provided extra light. Roots were kept in pits beneath the floor.

Salmon and other fish were the staples. Other seafood included sea lions, seals, and shellfish. Women gathered salmonberries, huckleberries, strawberries, camas, ferns, and other plant foods. Men hunted elk, beaver, muskrat, bear, and waterfowl. Many foods were either steamed in earth ovens, stone-boiled in baskets or bowls, or dried on racks. Canoes of several sizes and shapes were used for travel and fishing. They were single-log dugouts, painted black on the outside and red on the inside, and coated with pitch. The Tillamooks were part of a flourishing regional trade. In general, they traded tanned beaver hides, canoes, and baskets to northern Columbia River peoples for abalone shell, dentalia, buffalo hides and buffalo horn dishes, and dried salmon. The Tillamooks bought wapato roots and other items from Columbia River peoples east of the Coastal Range. They traded and intermarried with the Kalapuyas, and they also raided their southern neighbors for slaves, which they sold in the north.

History records the first contact between the Tillamooks and non-Natives as occurring in 1788,

although iron knives and smallpox scars told of at least indirect encounters previously. They were also visited by Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. Regular contact with traders began after 1811. Epidemics of malaria, syphilis, smallpox, and other diseases, as well as guns and liquor, diminished the Tillamook population by around 90 percent in the 1830s and greatly reduced the number of their villages.

In 1850, the Donation Land Act opened Tillamook lands for white settlement. The Indians ceded land in an unratified 1851 treaty, and the few surviving Tillamooks either remained in place, officially landless, or were removed to the Siletz or Grand Ronde Reservation. Under the leadership of the peaceful Kilchis, Tillamooks refused to participate in the wars of the 1850s. Awards from the Indian Land Claims Commission in 1958 and 1962 did little to reunite a scattered and unorganized people. Congress officially terminated its relationship with the Tillamooks in 1956.

*See also* Indian Claims Commission; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Slavery.

## Tlingit

"Tlingit," meaning "human beings," is taken from the group's name for themselves. The Coastal Tlingit were a "nationality" of three main groups—Gulf Coast, Northern, and Southern—united by a common language and customs. The Interior Tlingit have never considered themselves a cohesive tribe. Total Tlingit population was at least 10,000 in 1740. Tlingit is remotely related to Athapaskan languages.

Humans have lived in Tlingit country for at least 10,000 years; the continuous occupation of the region began around 5,000 years ago. People probably came from the south, with Tlingit culture perhaps having its origins near the mouths of the Nass and Skeena Rivers about 800 years ago. The earliest Tlingit villages had disappeared by historic times, however, and a new migration into the area began in the eighteenth century, as the Haidas displaced southern Tlingit groups.

Of the three major groups of coastal Tlingits, the Gulf Coast group included the Hoonah of Lituya Bay; the Dry Bay people at the mouth of the Alsek River, who were established in the eighteenth century by a conglomeration of Tlingits and Atha-





paskans; and the Yakutats, who were composed of Eyak speakers from the Italio River to Icy Bay. In 1910 the Yakutats merged with the Dry Bay people. Northern Tlingits included the Hoonahs on the north shore of Cross Sound, the Chilkat-Chilkoots, Auks, and Takus; the Sumdums on the mainland; and the Sitkas and Huntsnuwus, or Angoons, on the outer islands and coasts. The southern Tlingits included the Kakes, Kuius, Henryas, and Klawaks on the islands and the Stikines or Wrangells, Tongassess, and Sanyas or Cape Fox along the mainland and sheltered waters.

Coastal Tlingit groups lived along the Pacific Coast from roughly Icy Bay in the north to Chatham Sound in the south, or roughly throughout the Alaskan panhandle. This country, no more than thirty miles wide, but roughly 500 miles long, is marked by a profusion of fjords, inlets, bays, and islands, most of which are mountainous. The climate is marked by fog, rain, snow, and strong winds in the fall and winter. Most Coastal Tlingits live in Alaska and in the cities of the greater Northwest.

Interior Tlingits lived along the upper Taku River, although during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and in response to both the fur trade and the gold rush, most moved to the headwaters of the Yukon River. Many contemporary Interior Tlingits live in Teslin Village (Yukon Territory) and Atlin (British Columbia). Some also live in Whitehorse (Yukon) and Juneau (Alaska).

Animals and even natural features had souls similar to those of people. Thus they were treated with respect, either to win their help or to avoid their malice. Hunters engaged in ritual purification before the hunt, and during the hunt the hunter as well as his family back home engaged in certain formal rules of behavior. Shamans were very powerful. Most were men. Shamans could cure, control weather, bring success in hunting, tell the future, and expose witches, but only if they were consulted in time and not impeded by another shaman. Their powers came from spirits that could be summoned by a special song. A shaman underwent regular periods of physical deprivation to keep spiritually pure. Neither he nor his wife could cut their hair.

The basic political units were matrilineal clans of two divisions, Raven and Eagle. Each clan was subdivided into lineages or house groups. Thus, the tribes, or groups, listed above lacked any overall political organization and were really local communities made up of representatives of several clans.



*Tlingit native woman in full potlatch dancing costume, ca. 1906. (Library of Congress)*

All territory and property rights were held by the clans. Clan and lineage chiefs, or headmen, assigned their group's resources, regulated subsistence activities, ordered the death of trespassers, and hosted memorial ceremonies.

The two divisions served as opposites for marriage and ceremonial purposes. Some clans and lineages moved among neighboring groups such as the Haidas, Tsimshians, and Eyaks. A clan's crest represented its totem, or the living things, heavenly bodies, physical features, and supernatural beings associated with it. Crests were displayed on house posts, totem poles, canoes, feast dishes, and other items. All present members of an opposite division received payment to view a crest, because in so doing they legitimated both the display and the crest's associated privileges. All clan property could be bought and sold, given as gifts, or taken in war.

In general, spring brought hunting on the mainland, halibut fishing in deep waters, and shellfish and seaweed gathering. Seal hunting began in the late spring, about the time of the first salmon runs.





Summer activities generally included catching and curing salmon, berrying, and some sealing. Summer was also the time for wars and slave raids. Fall brought some sea otter hunting (land otters were never killed). In the late nineteenth century, the fall was also the time for more salmon fishing and curing, potato harvesting, and hunting in the interior. Winter villages were established by November. The winter was the season for potlatches and trading.

Individuals as well as lineages were ranked, from nobility to commoners. Slaves were entirely outside the system. (After the United States purchased Alaska, slaves were freed and brought into the social system on the lowest level.) Women had high status, probably because they controlled the food supply (not catching fish but the much harder and more laborious jobs of cutting, drying, smoking, and baling it). Any injury to someone in another clan required an indemnity. Clan disagreements were usually but not always settled peacefully. The three important feasts were the funeral feast, memorial potlatch feast, and childrens' feast.

All babies were believed to be reincarnations of maternal relatives. At about age eight, a boy went to live with his maternal uncle, who saw that he toughened and purified himself and learned the traditions and responsibilities of his clan and lineage. Girls were confined in a dark room or cellar for up to two years (according to rank and wealth) at their first period, at which time they learned the traditions of their clan, performed certain rituals, and observed behavior restrictions. At the end of this time their ears were pierced, high-status families gave a potlatch, and girls were considered marriageable.

Only people of opposite divisions but similar clans and lineages could marry. Marriage formalities included mutual gift giving. Southerners erected tall mortuary totem poles near their houses. Death initiated a mourning period and several rituals, including singing and the funeral. Cremation occurred on the fourth day, except possibly longer for a chief. Widows observed particularly restrictive mourning rituals. A person's slaves were sometimes killed. The evening after the cremation, mourners held a feast for their division opposites. Dead slaves were simply cast onto the beach. Burial was adopted in the late nineteenth century.

Tlingits usually lived in one main (winter) village and perhaps one or more satellite villages. In the early nineteenth century, the former consisted of a row of rectangular, slightly excavated, gable-

roofed planked houses facing the water. Each house could hold forty to fifty people, including about six families and a few unmarried adults or slaves. Each family slept on partitioned wooden platforms that could be removed to make a larger ceremonial space.

Other features included a central smoke hole and a low, oval front doorway. The four main house posts were carved and painted in totemic or ancestral designs. Palisades often surrounded houses or whole villages. Other village structures included smokehouses, small houses for food and belongings, sweat houses, and menstrual huts.

In the nineteenth century, Inland Tlingits lived in rectangular houses similar to those of the coastal people. They also built brush lean-tos that could shelter up to ten or fifteen people.

Fish was the staple, especially all five species of salmon, as well as eulachon (smelt), halibut, and herring. Fish was boiled, baked, roasted, or dried and smoked for winter. Whole salmon might be frozen for winter use. Other important foods included shellfish, seaweed, seal, sea lion, sea otter, and porpoise.

The people also ate land mammals such as deer, bear, and mountain sheep and goat. Dogs assisted in the hunt. Inland Tlingits hunted caribou, moose, and some wood bison. Beaver were speared or netted under ice. Migrating waterfowl provided meat as well as feathers, eggs, and beaks. Some groups gathered a variety of berries, plus hemlock inner bark, roots (riceroot, fern), and shoots (salmonberries, cow parsnips). They began cultivating potatoes after the Russians introduced the food in the early nineteenth century.

People sucked on cultivated tobacco mixed with other materials; they began smoking it when the Russians introduced leaf tobacco and pipes in the late eighteenth century.

Salmon were caught in rectangular, wooden traps, trapped behind stone walls, or impaled on wooden stakes in low water. Other fishing equipment included hook and (gut) line, harpoons, and copper knives. Men hunted with spears, bow and arrow, a whip sling, and darts. Raw materials included horn (spoons, dishes, containers), wool (blankets), and wood (fire drill, watertight storage and boiling boxes). Tlingits began forging iron in the late eighteenth century, although some iron was acquired from intercontinental trade or drift wreckage in aboriginal times. Some foods were baked in earth ovens.





Imports included walrus ivory from Bering Sea Eskimos, copper from interior tribes, dentalia shell from the south, Haida canoes, Tsimshian carvings, slaves, furs, skin garments decorated with porcupine quills, and various fish products. Exports included Chilkat blankets, seaweed, leaf tobacco, and fish oil. Intragroup trade was largely ceremonial in nature. When the whites came, Tlingits tried to monopolize that trade, even going so far as to travel over 300 miles to destroy a Hudson's Bay Company post. Inland Tlingit trade partners included the Tahltans, Kaskas, Pelly River Athapaskans, and Tagish.

Tlingits excelled at wood carving, especially ceremonial partitions in house chiefs' apartments, bent-wood boxes, chests, and bowls, house posts (usually shells fronting the structural posts), masks, weapons and war regalia, and utilitarian and ceremonial items used by nobles.

Chilkat Tlingit blankets were the most intricate and sought-after textiles of the Northwest Coast. They were really ceremonial robes, and the ceremonies, in which myth was dramatized through dance, were fully as artistic as the crafts themselves.

The weaving of shirts, aprons, and leggings may have come originally from the Tsimshians. Rock art probably served functions similar to those of totems. Beadwork was of very high quality. Shamans used many art objects, including carved ivory and antler and bone amulets. Baskets were also an important Tlingit art.

Tlingits preferred the great Haida canoes that were purchased by wealthy Tlingit headmen. The most common type of canoe was of spruce, except in the south, where they used red cedar. Styles included ice-hunting canoes for sealing, forked-prow canoes, shallow river canoes, and small canoes with upturned ends for fishing and otter hunting. Some Inland Tlingits also used skin canoes, but most used rafts or small dugouts when they could not walk.

Tlingits purchased Eyak and Athapaskan snowshoes. They carried burdens using skin packs with tumplines. Only a few coastal groups used Athapaskan-style sleds.

Russian explorers in 1741 were the first non-Natives to enter the region. Spanish explorers heralded the period of regular interracial contact in 1775. The Russians had established a regular presence in 1790. They built a fort at Sitka in 1799 that fell

to the Indians three years later. The Russians rebuilt it in 1805, however, and made it the headquarters of the Russian-American Company from 1808 until 1867. Although the Tlingits maintained their independence during the Russian period, they acquired tools and other items. Many fell to new diseases (a particularly severe smallpox outbreak occurred from 1835 to 1839), and some were converted to the Russian Orthodox Church.

In 1839, when the Hudson's Bay Company acquired trading rights in southeastern Alaska from the Russian-American Company, the region saw an influx of European-manufactured goods. The advent of steel tools had a stimulating effect on traditional wood carving. During this time, the Tlingits successfully resisted British attempts to break their trade monopoly with the interior tribes. By the 1850s, Tlingits were trading as far south as Puget Sound and had regular access to alcohol and firearms from the Americans.

Tlingits protested the U.S. purchase of Alaska in 1867, arguing that if anyone were the rightful "owner" of Alaska, they were, not the Russians. In any case, the soldiers, miners, and adventurers who arrived after the purchase severely mistreated and abused the Indians. For much of the last half of the nineteenth century, U.S. naval authorities persecuted shamans thought to be involved with witches. Although Tlingits owned southeast Alaska under aboriginal title, they were prevented from filing legal claims during, and thus profiting from, the great Juneau gold rush of 1880. The mines ultimately yielded hundreds of millions of dollars worth of gold, of which wealth the Tlingits saw little or none.

Commercial fishing and canning, as well as tourism, became established in the 1870s and 1880s, providing jobs (albeit at wages lower than those earned by white workers) for the Indians. The Klondike gold rush of 1898–1899 brought more money and jobs to the region. Meanwhile, Christian missionaries, especially Presbyterians, waged an increasingly successful war against traditional Indian culture.

By 1900 many Tlingits had become acculturated. They had given up their subsistence economy and abandoned many small villages. Many worked in canneries in British Columbia or picked hops in Washington. Potlatches began to diminish in number and significance, and many ceremonial objects were sold to museums. Despite this level of





acculturation, however, some midnineteenth-century Tlingit villages continued to exist into the twentieth century.

In 1915, Alaska enfranchised all “civilized” Natives, but severe economic and social discrimination continued, including a virtual apartheid system during the first half of the twentieth century. Some villages incorporated in the 1930s under the Indian Reorganization Act and acquired various industries. After World War II the issue of land led to the formation of the Central Council of Tlingit and Haida, which in 1968 won a land claims settlement of \$7.5 million (43 cents an acre).

Despite Tlingit efforts, Alaska schools were not integrated until 1949. The Alaska Native Brotherhood (ANB), founded in Sitka in 1912 by some Presbyterian Indians, was devoted to rapid acculturation; economic opportunity, including land rights; and the abolition of political discrimination. The Alaska Native Sisterhood (ANS) was founded soon after. Both organizations reversed their stand against traditional practices in the late 1960s.

*See also* Potlatch; Russians, in the Arctic/Northwest; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Totem Poles; Slavery and Native Americans.

## Tsimshian

“Tsimshian” is a Coast and Southern Tsimshian self-designation meaning “inside the Skeena River.” The Tsimshians were a group of linguistically and culturally related people. Their four major divisions were the Nishgas (Nass River), Gitksans (Upper Skeena River), Coast Tsimshians (Lower Skeena River and adjacent coast), and Southern Tsimshian (southern coast and islands). They were culturally similar to the Haidas and Tlingits. The Tsimshian population was about 8,000–10,000 in 1800. The various Tsimshian languages (Coast and Southern Tsimshian, Nishga, and Gitksan) and dialects were not all mutually intelligible.

Northwestern British Columbia, the home of the Tsimshians, is heavily forested, and the climate is wet, with coastal regions marked by numerous fjords and islands. Most villages were along the mouths of the Nass and Skeena Rivers. Some were in a subalpine zone, where drier land permitted more foot—as opposed to canoe—travel. Tsimshians live

in villages and towns in northwest British Columbia and in cities throughout the Northwest.

Potlatches, feasts, and secret society dances, all highly ritualistic, were held in winter. The dances were apparently borrowed from Haisla- and Heiltsuk-speaking people in the seventeenth or eighteenth century. House chiefs also served as religious leaders, ensuring that people showed the proper respect for animals and spirits. They also served as “power,” “real,” and “great” dancers, in which roles they dramatized and validated the powers of their ancestors and their house and initiated young people into ritual roles.

Religious specialists, called blowing shamans, complemented the chiefs’ activities. Their responsibilities included curing as well as controlling the weather. Witches worked in secret to harm people. They had no recourse to spiritual beings but used items such as bits of a corpse to make people unclean and thus unready for a supernatural encounter.

Each Tsimshian village was as autonomous from another as it was from a Haida or a Tlingit village. Local groups (twenty-six in the midnineteenth century) had permanent winter villages as well as spring and summer fishing villages and camps.

Houses (maternal extended families) were presided over by (usually male) chiefs, who, in addition to their religious responsibilities, managed the economic resources of the house. Other house members provided for their economic welfare.

Several houses made up a village. Each group of house chiefs had an established rank order, so that the village chief (a position not present in all villages) was the highest-ranking house chief in the village.

Wolf, Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish or Killer Whale constituted the four matrilineal clans, although traditionally most villages may have had a dual division. The house was the basic social unit. It controlled fishing camps and berry picking and hunting territories, and it also owned songs, crests, names, and other privileges. Tsimshian people belonged to one of the following groups: chiefs, named families of lesser rank, or free but unnamed people. Slaves were usually imported.

All important life cycle events necessitated ritual duties and wealth exchanges. Such events included birth, naming, ear (boy) and lip (girl) piercing at about age seven, second naming (and girls’ seclusion) at puberty, marriage (arranged with the





purpose of advancing social rank), house building, and death. Insults or mistakes, however inadvertent, were occasions for face- and rank-saving feasts or potlatches. At puberty, boys sought guardian spirits by bathing and fasting in remote places. Men purified themselves before hunting and fishing. There were also rituals connected with the first seasonal fish catch. Corpses, along with secret society regalia, were generally burned. Ghosts were regarded as possibly dangerous to the living.

Feasts, such as potlatches, were the glue that held society together; they expressed and maintained the social order, inheritance, and succession. They generally lasted for several days and included dancing, singing, and gift giving. Slaves were often given as gifts; as a wealthy people, the Tsimshian had many of them.

Winter longhouses were typical of the area. Post-and-beam structures constructed of red cedar timbers; gabled roofs covered their roughly 2,500 square feet of living space. Inside were central fireplaces and side platforms for sleeping. Cedar-bark mats provided insulation. The door, which occasionally consisted of holes in totem poles, faced the beach. Chiefs' dwellings became dance houses in the winter.

The chief and his immediate family occupied the rear of the house. House fronts were painted with crest designs. Other structures included menstrual huts, summertime houses, and sweat lodges.

People ate halibut, salmon, herring spawn, waterbirds and their eggs, seal, sea lion, sea otter, and shellfish. Eulachon (smelt) oil ("grease") was obtained by boiling rotting eulachon and skimming the fat. Other important foods included dried seaweed, the cambium of several trees, berries, crabapples, deer, elk, mountain goat, mountain sheep, bear, caribou, and moose.

Fishing equipment included traps, bent hook and line (of cedar-bark cord), harpoons, and porpoise lures. The *yagatl*, an underwater net controlled by a ring and pole, was used to catch eulachon. Women wove clothing and other items from the inner bark of red cedar trees. They also wove plaited and twined baskets from cedar (coast) and maple and birch (inland) bark. Men carved wooden items, including totem poles, storage boxes, chests, canoes, tools, cradles, and fishing and hunting gear. Other tools and implements included bark dishes, stone chisel, and goat horn arrow points. Native copper was used for some tools and ceremonial items.

The Tsimshians enjoyed a highly profitable monopoly on the grease (eulachon oil) trade. At a huge regional trade fair held every spring at the mouth of the Nass River, Coast Tsimshian peoples traded grease with interior Tsimshians (Gitksans) for furs, dressed deer and moose skins, and porcupine quill embroidery, which the latter had obtained from interior tribes such as the Carriers. From the Haidas the Tsimshians received canoes, carved boxes, dried halibut, and chewing tobacco. Foods, carved horn spoons, and slaves were also traded.

As relatively recent arrivals to the Northwest Coast, the Tsimshians began pushing the Tlingits farther north and the Haislas farther south and fighting the Heiltsuks for coastal areas around the mideighteenth century. They had already seen European goods when a Southern Tsimshian group met a British trade ship in 1787. Interracial contact remained sporadic until the Hudson's Bay Company founded Fort Simpson in 1831. Many Coast Tsimshians subsequently relocated near the fort to strengthen and protect their key role in the local fur trade.

The basic structures of Native culture remained intact until the arrival of Christian missionaries. William Duncan, an Anglican, appeared in 1857. Five years later, he and some Indian converts founded the Christian colony of Metlakatla, which grew until it moved in 1887 to Annette Island, Alaska, and was renamed New Metlakatla. Residents there had to renounce traditional life and accept Duncan's utopian principles. Congress established the Annette Island Reserve in 1891. This community prospered until it was beset by factionalism and decline until the 1930s, when it began to recover.

Shortly after the arrival of a Methodist missionary at Fort Simpson in 1874, that community became thoroughly Christianized. As missions spread in the area, Indians replaced many Native customs, such as the erection of totem poles, with Euro-Canadian styles and customs. The gold rush of 1867 also brought increased contact with non-Natives. Although Indians still practiced some subsistence activities, they also began the switch to a wage economy. The first local salmon cannery was established in 1876, for instance.

During the late nineteenth century, Tsimshian villages became official bands with unilaterally imposed reserves under the federal Indian Act. At the end of the century, most coastal bands had been converted to Christianity and the Nass people had





abandoned their villages and became largely assimilated into Canadian society; the Gitksan, however, maintained many aspects of traditional culture.

A federal and provincial school system replaced missionary schools in the midtwentieth century. The enforced enfranchisement of women, air links to the villages (1950s), television (1960s), and satellite-enabled communications (1980s) have generally strengthened the forces of secularization, urbanization, and democratization, although more traditional cultural elements were reestablished after the 1960s.

*See also* Hudson's Bay Company; Potlatch; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of.

## Tulalip

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

## Tututni

*See* Tolowa; Upper Umpqua.

## Twana

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

## Upper Coquille

*See* Upper Umpqua.

## Upper Skagit

*See* Salish, Southern Coast.

## Upper Umpqua

The Upper Umpquas were one of several Athapaskan-speaking groups of southwest Oregon. The word "umpqua" may have meant "high and low water," "thunder," or "boat over the water." Their self-designation was *Etnemitane*. Traditionally, five Umpqua bands lived in southwest Oregon, in the

valley of the south fork of the Umpqua River. Other groups lived to the west and south, including coastal areas. These included Upper Coquilles (Mishikhwutmetunnes), Chetcos, Chasta Costas, Tututnis (all four so-called Coast Rogue Indians), Galices, and Applegates. Most descendents of these people live on or near reservations in the same area. There were roughly 5,600 Oregon Athapaskans in the late eighteenth century. In 1990 there were roughly 3,000 Grande Ronde Indians as well as 850 Cow Creek Indians. Upper Umpqua, Galice-Applegate, the Tututni dialects (Mishikhwutmetunne, Tututni, Chasta Costa), and the Chetco dialect of the Tolowa language are all members of the Pacific branch of the Athapaskan language family.

The Umpquas celebrated numerous feasts and gift-giving occasions, such as birth, naming, first kills, puberty, war, death, and the make-doctor dance for new shamans. Feasts included both sacred and secular elements. Each village had a chief who had several wives and slaves. He acted as an arbiter and received a share of all financial transactions as well as a food tithe. The position of chief was generally inherited through the male line. Although they slept in sweat houses, men and boys ate in the family house, where their mothers or wives cooked for them. Women gathered firewood and plants, made baskets, prepared foods, and carried water. Men fished, hunted, tanned hides, tended tobacco, and made nets, planks, and canoes.

Although society was ranked according to wealth, the divisions were not as rigid as they were farther north. Slaves were usually acquired in raids, although a chief could enslave a villager for improper behavior.

Most shamans were women. They cured by extracting a pain, a small object filled with the patient's blood. Some groups also had common shamans, who blew smoke and waved a flicker feather over the patient. Unsuccessful cures sometimes led to the identification and murder of evil shamans (sorcerers). However, in such cases, a murder compensation had to be paid for the dead shaman. A shaman's fee was often paid to her husband. Shamans' powers derived from guardian spirits. Other powers conferred by certain spirits included the ability to cure rattlesnake bites, talk to herbs to receive remedies and love charms from them, and find lost objects.

Numerous rituals were associated with pregnancy and birth. Girls were secluded when they





reached puberty and were permitted neither to touch their hair or skin nor to eat anything except dry food for a year. They also had to swim twice a day, and their fathers also underwent certain restrictions. Women were purchased for marriage; children were illegitimate if their mothers were not paid for. Jealousy, meanness, and barrenness were acceptable reasons for divorce. Parents could also buy back their daughter, who then had considerable personal freedom.

The various death customs included the deathbed confession of wrongs, carriage of the corpse to the cemetery on a deerskin, and funeral orations. Mourners cut their hair and wore ashes and pitch on their heads and faces.

Non-Indian traders first arrived in the area in the late eighteenth century. The fur trade began around 1818, at which time a group of Umpquas was killed by traders, possibly Iroquois in the service of the North West Company. Hudson's Bay Company established Fort Umpqua in 1836. Around this time, previously unknown diseases began taking a serious toll on the Indians.

Sporadic, trade-based contact continued until the flood of settlers in the late 1840s and the Rogue River Valley gold rush of 1852. In 1851, the Tututnis traded 2.5 million acres of land for \$28,500. Their bitterness when they subsequently understood the deal fueled their desire to extract revenge. They soon began killing whites and burning settlers' houses. Two years later, when a group of whites attacked some Chetco Indians after persuading them to disarm, the Chetcos attacked some soldiers, and the fighting spread.

Upper Umpquas stayed out of the war, having signed a land cession treaty in 1854, and moved two years later to the Grand Ronde Reservation. Some Upper Umpquas, along with villages of different linguistic groups, signed a treaty in 1853; in exchange for a land cession of more than 700 square miles, it recognized the existence of and called for a reservation for the Cow Creek band of the Umpqua tribe. The Rogue River War of 1855–1856 provided an opportunity for whites to destroy game trails and hunting grounds and to appropriate and clear land for farms. Cow Creeks fled the area during this period, hiding in the mountains as refugees.

After the war, local Indians, once fiercely independent, were shattered. Some Upper Umpquas, Tututnis, Chetcos, Coquilles, Chasta Costas, and others were forced to walk over the mountains in

winter to the Grand Ronde Reservation. Other groups straggled in until 1857, when many Indians were moved to the Coast (or Siletz) Reservation, created two years earlier. On the way, and once there, several hundred died from exposure, starvation, and disease. Shamans who failed to cure the diseases were persecuted by their people, which gave the government an excuse to step in and disarm the Indians.

Meanwhile, the Grand Ronde Reservation was created in 1857. A school system designed to eradicate Indian culture was promptly set up. Many people left Grand Ronde for the Siletz Reservation or local communities. Those that remained worked as farmers or loggers.

Disparities between treaty and nontreaty Indians, as well as agents' promotion of alcohol and thievery, spread discord and exacerbated intertribal conflict. Many Indians escaped during this time but were rounded up by soldiers, who further abused them. Meanwhile, intermarriage further weakened tribal identities.

In 1865, a central strip was removed from the Siletz Reservation and opened for white settlement. The northern part then became the Siletz Reservation and the southern half (Coosans, Siuslawans, and Alseans) became the Alsea Reservation. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) turned all operations over to the Methodists, who worked to eradicate all vestiges of Indian culture. Indians danced the Ghost Dance in 1871; the variant Earth Lodge cult (locally known as the Warm House Dance) began in 1873. The Indian Shaker Church became popular beginning in the 1890s.

By 1894, most of the Siletz Reservation had been ceded to the public domain, and tribal languages had all but disappeared. The remaining residents worked in subsistence activities or in logging, cutting trees on their plundered reservation. By 1928, as a result of both widespread theft and the allotment processes, most of the land base was gone. Eighteen years later, the Confederated Tribes of the Siletz Reservation voted to accept termination of government recognition and services. The former reservation land base of 1.3 million acres had completely disappeared. Most of the allotments were lost shortly thereafter, due mainly to nonpayment of taxes. Tribal life for most of the former Siletz tribes virtually disappeared. At the same time, although 537 acres of land had been added to the Grand Ronde Reservation in 1936, it too was declared terminated.





Meanwhile, the Cow Creek band had intermarried extensively with other Indians as well as the French Canadian population. The group created a formal government around 1918. They pressed their case for land claims litigation, but by the time they learned of the existence of the Indian Claims Commission, they had missed the deadline for filing a claim. Officially terminated in 1956, they were formally restored in 1982. Later in that decade they accepted a land settlement of \$1.5 million and, over the objections of the BIA, placed the funds in a permanent endowment.

In 1973, the Siletz reservation Indians formed a new council to work for the restoration of tribal

status, which was obtained in 1977. The new 3,630-acre Siletz Reservation was created in 1980. Grand Ronde was restored in 1983, with all former rights save those pertaining to subsistence activities. A tribal council was formed the same year. Five years later, Congress gave the tribe 9,811 acres of timbered land, the income of which was used to purchase a one hundred-acre administrative land base.

*See also* Assimilation; Athapaskan Languages; Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Fur Trade; Ghost Dance Religion; Indian Claims Commission.



# *Native Americans of the Great Basin*



## **Paiute, Northern**

“Northern Paiute” includes a number of seminomadic, culturally distinct, and politically autonomous Great Basin groups. The name is a modern construction; aboriginally, these groups were tied together only by the awareness of a common language. “Paiute” may have meant “True Ute” or “Water Ute” and was applied only to the Southern Paiute until the 1850s. Their self-designation is *Numa*, or “People.” Non-Natives have sometimes called these people Digger Indians, Snakes (Northern Paiutes in Oregon), and Paviotso. The Bannock Indians were originally a Northern Paiute group from eastern Oregon.

Traditionally, the groups now known as Northern Paiute ranged throughout present-day southeast Oregon, extreme northeast California, extreme southwest Idaho, and northwest Nevada. Bannock territory included southeastern Idaho and western Wyoming (the Snake River region). The highly diverse environment included lakes, mountains, high plains, rivers, freshwater marshes, and high desert. Elements of California culture entered the region through groups living on or near the Sierra Nevada. Presently, Northern Paiutes live on a number of their own reservations, on other nearby reservations, and among the area’s general population. The Paiute population in the early nineteenth century was roughly 7,500, excluding about 2,000 Bannocks. Northern Paiute is part of the Western Numic (Shoshonean) branch of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic family.

Religious power among the Northern Paiute resided in any animate or inanimate object, feature, or phenomenon. Any person could seek power for help with a skill, but only shamans acquired enough to help, or hurt, others. A power source would expect certain specific behaviors to be followed. Most power sources also had mythological roles.

Shamans, male and female, were religious leaders. Their power often came in a recurring dream. They cured by sucking, retrieving a wandering soul, or administering medicines. Disease could be caused by soul loss, mishandling power, or sorcery. Some shamans could also control weather. Special objects as well as songs, mandated by the power dream, helped them perform their tasks. Power could also be inherited or sought by visiting certain caves.

The sun was considered an especially powerful spirit, and many people prayed to it daily. Some groups celebrated rituals associated with communal food drives or other food-related events.

The nuclear family, led (usually) by senior members, was the main political and economic unit. Where various families came together, the local camp was led by a headman who advised, gave speeches on right behavior, and facilitated consensus decisions. The position of the headman was often, although not strictly, inherited in the male line. Camp composition changed regularly. Other elders were selected to take charge of various activities such as hunts and irrigation projects.

The traditional headman system was replaced at least in part by the emergence of chiefs during the mounted, raiding years of the 1860s and 1870s.





*A Bannock family in Idaho during the nineteenth century. In the spring of 1878, settlers' livestock had destroyed much of the camas prairie of southeastern Idaho, an area favored by the Bannocks (originally a Northern Paiute group from eastern Oregon) for its abundance of camas roots, an important part of the tribe's diet. The conflict led to the Bannock War. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

Headmen returned during the early reservation years, however, followed by elected tribal councils beginning in the 1930s.

Dwelling style and type were marked by great seasonal and regional diversity. Wickiups, used mostly in the summer, were huts of brush and reeds over willow pole frames. The winter house in the north was a cone-shaped pole framework covered with tule mats and earth. Some western groups included a mat-covered entryway. All had central fires. In the mountains, people built semi-subterranean winter houses of juniper and pine boughs covered with branches and dirt. Dispersed winter camps consisted of two or three related families (roughly fifty people). In late prehistoric times, the Bannocks used buffalo skin teepees during the winter.

Diet also varied according to specific location. Plants supplied most food needs: roots, bulbs, seeds, nuts, rice grass (ground into meal), cattails, berries, and greens. Roots were either eaten raw or sun-dried

and stored. Pine nuts and acorns were especially important. Animal foods included fowl (and eggs), squirrel, duck, and other small game as well as mountain sheep, deer, buffalo, and elk. Rabbits were hunted in communal drives. Small mammals were either pit roasted, boiled, or dried for storage. Lizards, grubs, and insects were also eaten. Trout and other fish were crucial in some areas, less important in others. Fish were usually dried and stored for winter. Some groups cultivated wild seed-bearing plants. The Bannocks fished for salmon in the Snake River and hunted buffalo in the fall.

People later called the Bannocks, or Snakes, acquired horses as early as the mideighteenth century. They soon joined the Northern Shoshone in southern Idaho in developing fully mounted bands and other aspects of Plains culture, including buffalo hunting, extensive warfare, and raiding for horses.

Early Northern Paiute contacts with fur traders such as Jedediah Smith (1827) and Peter Skene Ogden (1829) were friendly, although a party led by Joseph Walker (1833) massacred about 100 peaceful Indians. When reached by whites, the Indians already had a number of non-Native items in their possession, such as Spanish blankets, horses, and Euro-American goods.

Most Northern Paiutes remained on foot until the late 1840s and 1850s. Around this time, heavy traffic on the Oregon and California Trails (in the late 1840s) and the gold rush of 1848 brought many non-Natives through their territory. These people cut down piñon trees for fuel and housing, and their animals destroyed seed-bearing plants and fouled water supplies. Mining resulted in extensive and rapid resource degradation. New diseases took a heavy toll during this period. Indians responded by moving away from the invaders or attacking wagons for food and materials. White traders encouraged thefts by trading supplies for stolen items and animals. Some Indians began to live at the fringes of and work at white ranches and settlements.

Gold and silver strikes in the late 1850s fueled the cycle of conflict and violence. Local conflicts during this period included the brief Pyramid Lake War in 1860, the Owens Valley conflicts in 1862–1863, and the Coeur d'Alene War (1858–1859), which grew out of the Yakima war over white treaty violations. In the Snake War (1866–1867), Chiefs Paulina and Weawea led the Indians to early successes, but eventually the former was killed and the latter surrendered. Survivors settled on the Malheur Reservation (Oregon) in 1871. Winnemucca, who represented





several hundred Northern Paiute in the 1860s and 1870s, participated in the Pyramid Lake War and, with his daughter Sarah, went on to serve as a negotiator and peacemaker. In 1873, he refused to take his band to the Malheur Reservation, holding out for a reservation of their own. The Bannocks, too, rebelled in a short-lived war over forced confinement on the Fort Hall Reservation and white treaty violations.

Beginning in 1859, the United States set aside land for Northern Paiute reservations. Eventually, a number of small reservations and colonies were created, but ultimately much of the designated land was lost to non-Indian settlers. Most Northern Paiutes, however, drifted between reservations, combining traditional subsistence activities with a growing dependence on local Anglo economies. Conflict on several reservations remained ongoing for decades (some issues are still pending) over issues such as water rights (Pyramid Lake, Walker River), white land usurpation, and fisheries destruction (Pyramid Lake). Refugees from the Bannock War were forced to move to the Yakima Reservation; from there many ultimately moved to the Warm Springs Reservation.

The government also established day and boarding schools from the late 1870s into the 1930s, including Sarah Winnemucca's school at Lovelock. Sarah Winnemucca, who published *Life Among the Paiutes* in 1884, also worked tirelessly, although ultimately unsuccessfully, for a permanent Paiute reservation. Northern Paiute children also attended Indian boarding schools across the United States. Most traditional subsistence activities ceased during that period, although people continued to gather certain foods. New economic activities included cattle ranching at Fort McDermitt, stock raising, haying, and various businesses.

In 1889, the Northern Paiute Wovoka, known to the whites as Jack Wilson, started a new Ghost Dance religion. It was based on the belief that the world would be reborn with all Indians, alive and dead, living in a pre-contact paradise. For this to happen, Indians had to reject all non-Native ways, especially alcohol, live together in peace, and pray and dance. The Ghost Dance followed a previous one established at Walker River in 1869.

Family organization remained more or less intact during the reservation period. By about 1900, Northern Paiutes had lost more than 95 percent of their aboriginal territory. Most groups accepted the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) and adopted tribal

councils during the 1930s. Shamanism has gradually declined over the years. The Native American Church has had adherents among the Northern Paiutes since the 1930s, and the Sweat Lodge Movement became active during the 1960s.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Ghost Dance Religion; Horse, Economic Impact; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Sweat Lodges; Wovoka.

## Paiute, Owens Valley

"Owens Valley Paiute" is the name given to a number of Paiute groups distinguished in part by their semisettled, cooperative lifestyle as well as their irrigation practices. They were largely responsible for bringing elements of California culture into the southern Great Basin. Non-Natives formerly included them with the Monache or Mono Indians. "Paiute" may have meant "True Ute" or "Water Ute" and was applied only to the Southern Paiute until the 1850s. Their self-designation is *Numa*, or "People."

Traditionally, the groups now known as Owens Valley Paiute controlled the Owens River Valley, more than eighty miles long and an average of seven miles wide. The fertile and well-watered region, east of the southern Sierra Nevada, contains a wealth of environmental diversity. Presently, Owens Valley Paiutes live on a number of their own reservations, on other nearby reservations, and among the area's general population. In the early nineteenth century there were about 7,500 total Paiutes (perhaps 1,500 to 2,000 Owens Valley Paiutes). The Owens Valley Paiutes' dialects of Mono are, with Northern Paiute, part of the Western Numic (Shoshonean) branch of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic family.

Religious observances were centered on round dances and festivities associated with the fall harvest. Professional singers in elaborate dance regalia performed in a dance corral. The girls' puberty ceremony was also important.

The cry was an annual Yuman-derived mourning ceremony for those who had died during the previous year. A ritual face washing (the first time since the death that the face was washed) marked the end of the official spousal year of mourning.

Male and female shamans were primarily doctors and religious leaders. Their power often came in a recurring dream. They cured by sucking, retrieving





a wandering soul, or administering medicines. Disease was caused by soul loss, mishandling power, or sorcery. Special objects, as well as songs mandated by the power dream, helped them perform their tasks. They might acquire a good deal of clandestine political power by making headmen dependent on them.

Owens Valley Paiutes lived in semipermanent base camps, or hamlets, named for natural features. The camps were semipermanent in that usually the same families occupied them intermittently throughout the year and from year to year. This level of social organization showed some similarities to California tribelets. Within the camps families were completely independent. Families might share or coordinate in subsistence activities, but doing so was informal and unstructured.

Hamlets in a given area cooperated in intermarriage, irrigation, rabbit and deer drives, funerals, and the use of the sweat house. The headmen or chiefs directed the communal activities. Their other duties included conducting festivals and ceremonies, overseeing construction of the assembly lodge, and determining the death penalty for a shaman accused of witchcraft. The position was hereditary, usually in the male line.

Although many people maintained the dams, an elected irrigator was responsible for watering a specific area. In the summer, most families pursued hunting and gathering activities. They generally occupied their valley dwelling places in the spring, the time of irrigation; in the fall, the time of social activities; and in the winter, unless the pine nut or Indian rice grass crops failed.

For irrigation, Owens Valley Paiutes used temporary dams and feeder streams of summer floodwaters. Their main tool was a long wooden water staff. They used nets to catch rabbits and fish. Fish were also speared or poisoned and often dried and stored for winter.

Hunting technology differed according to location, but usually featured a sinew-backed juniper bow, arrows, nets, snares, and deadfalls. Twined and coiled basketry included burden baskets with tumplines for distance (even transmountain) carrying and seed beaters. Fire was made with a drill, and smoldering, cigar-shaped fire matches were used to transport it. Roots were dug with mountain mahogany digging sticks. Nuts were ground and shelled with manos and metates or with wood or stone mortars and stone pestles. Some women made pottery, from the midseventeenth to the midnineteenth centuries.

Owens Valley Paiutes first saw non-Natives in the early nineteenth century (although they may have seen Spanish explorers earlier). These early explorers, trappers, and prospectors encountered Indians who were already irrigating wild crops.

Military and civil personnel surveyed the region in the late 1850s with an eye toward establishing a reservation for local Indians. The first non-Indian settlers arrived in 1861. These ranchers grew crops that fed nearby miners and other whites. As the white population increased, so did conflicts over water rights and irrigated lands. Whites cut down vital piñons for fuel. Hungry Indians stole cattle, and whites retaliated by killing Indians. As of early 1862, however, the Indians still controlled the Owens Valley, because they formed local military alliances.

Camp Independence was founded in July 1862 as a military outpost. Fighting continued well into 1863, until whites got the upper hand by pursuing a scorched-earth policy. Many Indians surrendered but were back in the valley in a few years. By this time, however, whites had taken over most of their best lands, and a diminished Indian population was left to settle around towns, ranches, and mining camps, working mostly as laborers. Indians on newly reserved lands, increasingly including Western Shoshone families, worked mainly as small-scale farmers.

Indian schools opened in the late nineteenth century, although formal reservations were not established until the twentieth. Too small for ranches, the early reservations supported small-scale farming as the main economic activity. However, many Indians still lived on nonreservation lands and on other, non-Paiute reservations.

From the early twentieth century through the 1930s, the city of Los Angeles bought most of Owens Valley, primarily for water rights. This development destroyed the local economy, eliminating the low-level Indian jobs. The city also proposed new ways to dispossess and consolidate the remaining Indians at that time. Ultimately, most Indian people approved of the series of land exchanges (those at Fort Independence rejected the plans). During the 1940s, the federal government built new housing and sewer and irrigation systems on the new Indian lands.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Economic Development; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Water Rights.





## Paiute, Southern

"Southern Paiute" is a designation for approximately sixteen seminomadic, culturally distinct, and politically autonomous Great Basin groups, such as Kaibabs, Kaiparowits, Panguitches, Shivwits, Moapas, Paranigets, and Panacas. Their self-designation is *Nuwu*, or "Person." The Chemehuevis were originally a Southern Paiute group. "Southern Paiute" is a modern construction and is more a linguistic than a cultural convention. "Paiute" may have meant "True Ute" or "Water Ute" and was applied to the Northern Paiute only after the 1850s. To the north and northeast, some Southern Paiute groups merged with the Western and Southern Utes. Numic-speaking Southern Paiutes came into their historic area around 1000, perhaps from around Death Valley. They gradually replaced Hopis in the south and may have learned agriculture from them.

Southern Paiutes lived and continue to live in southwest Utah, southern Nevada, northwest Arizona, and southeast California. The San Juan Paiutes lived east of the Colorado River. Southern

Paiute territory encompasses a great environmental diversity, including canyons and high deserts of the Colorado Plateau and the Great Basin. The entire early nineteenth-century Paiute population was roughly 7,500. Southern Paiute languages belong to the Southern Numic (Shoshonean) branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family. Their languages and those of the Northern Paiutes were mutually unintelligible.

Shamans provided religious leadership; they cured and conducted ceremonies such as the girls' puberty rite. They could be men or women, although women were more often considered evil. Power dreams, perhaps dreamed in a special cave, also provided instructions and songs.

Disease was attributed to sorcerers, a ghost-inspired poisonous object (necessitating the removal of the object by sucking), or soul loss (cured by the shaman's recapturing the soul). The mourning ceremony, or cry, was undertaken by wealthy relatives of a recently deceased person (in the past three months to a year) so they could eat and sleep well. It was a feast at which many items were destroyed.



*Southern Paiute posed in front of an adobe house in the early twentieth century. (Library of Congress)*





Camp groups were composed of one to ten or fifteen households, many of whom were related. They were led by a headman as well as by the best hunters and gatherers. Headmen served in an advisory capacity. This position tended to remain in the family and among men but did not necessarily pass from father to son (except for the Chemehuevis and Las Vegas).

The basic social unit was the nuclear family. Each group generally gathered food, hunted, and camped together. Each was associated with a specific though nonexclusive geographic territory.

People married early; girls might be pre- or postpubescent. Most marriages were monogamous. Gender-determined rituals over infants' navel stumps underscored the priority placed on hunting for men and industry in domestic chores for women. Both new parents observed postpartum behavior and food restrictions.

Meat that a boy killed was given away to the elderly until he reached puberty. Puberty rites for both sexes included bathing, body painting, hair trimming, and physical endurance. Relatives prepared a corpse, then underwent behavior and food restrictions. Most groups cremated their dead. The dead person's possessions were burned or buried, and his or her house was torn down and moved. Some groups occasionally killed a relative as company for the deceased. There was a permanent taboo on using the name of the dead.

Springs were considered inheritable private property. People commonly gambled on traditional hand and other games such as shinny (a variation of hockey), four-stick, hoop-and-pole (in which an arrow is shot through a rolling hoop), and target. Other games included ring and pin as well as athletic contests.

Southern Paiutes migrated seasonally, following the food supply. Their diet was based on hunting, gathering, and some agriculture (mostly corn, beans, and squash, using floodplain or ditch irrigation). Tobacco patches and grasslands were burned to encourage growth.

Women gathered wild plants, including golden-rod and grass seeds, roots, pine nuts, yucca dates, cactus fruit, agave, nuts, juniper berries, mesquite, and screwbean. Grasshoppers, caterpillars, ant larvae, and insect grubs were also eaten. Seeds were parched, ground, and eaten as mush or as bread. Men hunted small game, the major source of protein, with the assistance of spirits and/or shamans. Rabbits were especially important. They were hunted

individually or driven communally into 100-yard-long nets. Big game included deer, antelope, and mountain sheep. Some groups fished occasionally.

The Southern Paiutes encountered a Spanish expedition in 1776 but adopted neither horses nor much else of Spanish culture. However, diseases and some material items may have preceded actual contact. Some groups were practicing agriculture before 1800.

By 1830, the trail established by the first Spanish explorers was in heavy use. The increased traffic depleted the area's natural resources. The trail also facilitated raiding and trading parties by both Indian and non-Native peoples. Mounted Utes and Navajos, and later Spanish expeditions and American trappers were engaged in raiding for and trading in Southern Paiute slaves. Starving Southern Paiutes sometimes sold their children for food. One effect of this situation was the Paiutes' self-removal from areas that were economically productive but close to slave raiders. The loss of a significant percentage of their young also contributed to the population reduction that was well under way by this time.

Mormon settlers arrived in 1847. At first participants in the slave trade, they had it legally abolished by the mid-1850s (although they continued to "adopt" Indian children). However, their practice of establishing settlements and missions on the best land, thereby depleting Native resources and squeezing the Indians out, soon left the latter as beggars. Many Mormons alternated between seeing Indians negatively, as did most Americans, and positively, because of a perceived connection to biblical Israelites. About the same time, the Chemehuevis split off and moved down the Colorado River.

Some groups retaliated against whites by raiding their settlements. In a move to head off violence, six Mormon Southern Paiute headmen agreed in 1865 to move their people to the Uintah and Ouray Reservation, the home of their Ute enemies. The treaty remained unratified, however, and was later abandoned. By the 1870s roughly 80 percent of Southern Paiutes had died as a result of starvation and disease (Southern Paiute death rates exceeded birth rates well—in some cases, halfway—into the twentieth century). Survivors had begun the process of acculturation, gathering into larger camps and working in the new white towns.

By executive order, a reservation (Moapa) of roughly 3,900 square miles was established in Nevada for the Southern Paiutes in 1872. Although





few Indians moved there, it was expanded in 1874 with the idea that Southern Paiutes would be turned into farmers and ranchers. Soon, however, the reservation was greatly reduced in size. When promised federal support was not forthcoming, conditions began rapidly to deteriorate.

Meanwhile, Indians in southern Utah were either seeking wage work or trying desperately to hold on in their traditional locations. In the late 1880s, after a local white rancher persuaded the government to remove the Shivwits from their lands, the Shivwits Reservation was established in southern Utah. Though it was later expanded, the land was never good enough to support the population, even without the inevitable conflicts over water and range rights. Many residents eventually moved away. Several small Mormon-affiliated farming communities had also been established by 1885.

Several reservations were created for the Southern Paiutes in the twentieth century (although one, the San Juan Paiute Reservation, was returned to the public domain shortly after an oil company expressed interest in the parcel). In the mid-1950s, the Utah Paiutes (Shivwits, Indian Peaks, Koosharem, and Kanosh bands) were removed from federal control (terminated), although policy dictated that this would not happen until the people were ready and willing to take care of themselves. (The groups were restored in 1980.) The immediate effects of this action included a tremendous loss of the modest land base (through individual allotment sales and non-payment of taxes), greater impoverishment, exploitative leases to non-Indians, removal of health services, and greatly increased social problems. When people tried to hunt rabbits again for survival, they discovered that many animals had been poisoned by fallout from the Nevada nuclear test site. Perhaps not surprisingly, many people left the reservation during these years.

In 1965, Southern Paiutes were awarded \$8,250,000 (27 cents an acre) as official compensation for their aboriginal land. The bands used their shares in different ways, but nearly all provided for some direct per-capita payments as well as long-term concerns. New federal programs during this time also helped lift many Indians out of dire poverty and provide them with decent housing. During the 1960s, many people were poisoned with the insecticide DDT as a result of government and farmer spraying. Women basketmakers, who pulled willow twigs through their teeth, were especially hard hit.

*See also* Demographics, Historical; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Shoshone, Eastern or Wind River

Eastern, or Wind River, Shoshones make up a group grounded in Great Basin traditions who modified their culture to include elements from Plains and postcontact cultures. The Comanches broke away from the Eastern Shoshones about 1700 and moved south toward Texas. The term "Shoshone" is of dubious origin and is not a self-designation.

Beginning at least as early as 1500, the Comanche-Shoshones began expanding eastward onto the Great Plains and adopting wide-scale buffalo hunting. The Eastern Shoshones lived in present-day western Wyoming from at least the sixteenth century on, expanded into the northern Great Plains through the eighteenth century, and then retreated in the nineteenth century. They were loosely divided into two groups: Mountain Sheep Eaters to the north and west and Buffalo Eaters to the east and south. Most Eastern Shoshones now live on the Wind River Reservation, in Fremont and Hot Springs Counties, Wyoming. There were perhaps 3,000 Eastern Shoshones in 1840. The Eastern Shoshones spoke dialects of Shoshone, a Central Numic (Shoshonean) language of the Uto-Aztecan language family.

The Eastern Shoshones knew two basic kinds of religious practice. One was aimed at an individual's obtaining the assistance of supernatural powers from spirits. In exchange for power, such spirits, which could also be dangerous, demanded adherence to strict behavioral taboos. Power was gained either through dances or by sleeping in sacred places. Success in obtaining power was marked by a vision through which the power transferred skills or protections as well as songs, fetishes, and taboos. Power might also be transferred from one shaman to another by blowing. Should a person's power depart, a shaman had to recapture it lest the person die. Shamans did not so much control power as they were dependent on it.

The other kind of religious practice was designed to ensure the welfare of the community and nature as a whole by the observance of group ceremonials. The Father, the Shuffling (Ghost), and





the Sun Dances were all addressed toward beneficent beings. The first two, during which men and women sang sacred songs, often took place at night in any season except the summer. The Shuffling Dance was particularly important to Mountain Sheep Eaters.

The four-night and three-day Sun Dance was held in the summer and featured exhaustion owing to dancing and the lack of water. Introduced from the Plains around 1800, it symbolized the power and cohesion of the tribe and of the generations. It was an occasion for demonstrating virility, courage, and supernatural powers. Male dancers first participated in ritual sweats and other preparations, which began as early as the preceding winter. The ceremony itself, held around ten outer poles encircling a buffalo head mounted on a center pole, was followed by a great feast of buffalo tongues. Little boys were charged with grabbing the tongues.

Spirit places, things, and people were inherently dangerous and included ghosts, whirlwinds, old or menstruating women, death, and illness. Illness was seen as coming from either a breach of taboo or malevolent spirits. Sacred items and activities included sweating, burning certain grasses and wood, smoking wild tobacco, eagle feathers, paints, and certain songs. The peyote cult began on the reservation around 1900.

Centralization was the key to successful buffalo hunting and warfare and thus to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Eastern Shoshone survival. During prosperous times (for instance, during periods of strong chieftainships) and when they came together seasonally as a tribe (for instance, for the spring buffalo hunt and the summertime Sun Dance), the Eastern Shoshones numbered between 1,500 and 3,000.

A chief was at least middle-aged and of military or shamanistic training. He had authority over hunting, migration, and other issues. He and his assistants controlled the two military police societies. His several distinctions included possessing a painted teepee and a special feathered headdress. He also acted as chief diplomat for external disputes.

The Eastern Shoshones separated into between three and five bands in winter, camping mainly in the Wind River Valley. Each band had a chief as well as military societies. Bands were loosely identified with particular geographic regions. Membership fluctuated, with extended family groups joining different Shoshone bands or perhaps even bands of other tribes such as the Crows.

Shoshone women were in general subordinate to men, chiefly because menstruation was believed to set them apart as sources of ritual pollution. The younger wife or wives usually suffered in instances of polygyny. Widows were dispossessed. At the same time, women gained status as individuals through their skills as gatherers, crafters, gamblers, midwives, and child care providers. Particularly during the fur trade period, alliances with white trappers and traders were made with daughters and sisters, leading to important interethnic ties.

Social status positions were earned through the use (or nonuse) of supernatural power, except that age and sex also played a role. Infants and small children were not recognized as sexually different. Boys began their search for supernatural power around adolescence. "Men" were those who were married and members of a military society.

Girls helped their mothers until marriage, which was arranged shortly after the onset of puberty. Menstrual restrictions included gathering firewood (a key female chore) and refraining from meat and daytime sleeping. A good husband was a good provider, although he might be considerably older.

Wealth and prestige accrued to curers, midwives, good gamblers, hunters and traders, and fast runners. Property was often destroyed or abandoned at death. Generosity was a central value: Giveaways for meritorious occasions were common. Men cared for war and buffalo horses, women for packhorses. High-stakes gambling games included the traditional hand and four-stick dice game, double-ball shinny (a variation of hockey, for women), and foot races.

Beginning in the eighteenth century, the state of war was more or less continuous, and warfare took a great toll on the Eastern Shoshones. There were two military societies. About 100 to 150 brave young men were Yellow Brows. The recruitment ritual included backward speech (no for yes, for example). This fearless society acted as vanguards on the march. They fought to the death in combat and had a major role keeping order on the buffalo hunt. Their Big Horse Dance was a highly ritualistic preparation for battle. Logs were older men who took up the rear on the march. Both groups were entitled to blacken their faces.

Shamans participated in war by foretelling events and curing men and horses. As many as 300 men might make up a war party. Traditional enemies included the Blackfeet and later the Arapahos, Lako-





tas, Cheyennes, and Gros Ventres. During the mid- to late nineteenth century, the principal ally of the Shoshones was the U.S. Army.

The spring and especially the fall were the times for war. At these times the Eastern Shoshones generally fought as a tribe. Men made handle-held shields from thick, young buffalo bull hide. Rituals and feasting accompanied their manufacture. Each was decorated with buckskin and fringed with feathers. Weapons included sinew-backed bows, obsidian-tipped arrows, and clubs. Successful warriors were entitled to paint black and red finger marks on their teepees.

With the acquisition of horses about 1700, the Shoshones also began widespread raiding and developed a much stronger and more centralized leadership. It was roughly at this time that the Comanches departed for places south. Armed with firearms, the Blackfeet and other tribes began driving the Eastern Shoshones off the westward Plains beginning in the late eighteenth century. Major smallpox epidemics occurred during that period, and the Eastern Shoshones adopted the Sun Dance introduced around 1800. Extensive intermarriage also occurred with the Crows, Nez Percé, and Métis.

During most of the nineteenth century, the Eastern Shoshone, under their chief, Washakie, were often allied with whites and grew prosperous. During the peak of the fur trade, from 1810 to 1840, the eastern Shoshones sold up to 2,000 buffalo skins a year. When settlers began pouring into their territory in the 1850s, the Eastern Shoshones, under Washakie, tried to accommodate them. In the Fort Bridger Treaty of 1868 they received 44 million acres; this figure was later reduced to fewer than 2 million. During the next fifteen or so years they lived in a roughly traditional way on their reservation.

Because the Shoshone fought with the U.S. Army against the Lakotas on many occasions, they felt betrayed when the government placed the Arapahos, their traditional enemies, on their reservation in 1878. The disappearance of the buffalo in the 1880s spelled the end of their traditional way of life. From the late nineteenth century and into the midtwentieth century, the Eastern Shoshones, confined to reservations, experienced extreme hardship, population loss, and cultural decline. They had no decent land, hunting was prohibited, government rations were issued at starvation levels, and they could find no off-reservation employment because of poor transportation and white prejudice.

Disease, especially tuberculosis, was rampant. Life expectancy was roughly twenty-two years at that time. The Indian Service controlled the reservation.

A slow recovery began in the late 1930s. Land claims victories brought vastly more land as well as an infusion of cash (almost \$3.5 million). Concurrently, the tribal council, hitherto relatively weak, began assuming greater control of all aspects of reservation life. By the mid-1960s, the incidence of disease was markedly lower, owing in large part to the diligent efforts of women. Indicators such as housing, diet, economic resources (such as oil and gas leases), education, and real political control had all increased. Life expectancy had risen to forty to forty-five years. Traditional religious activity remained strong and meaningful. And yet severe and ongoing problems remained, including continuing white prejudice and a corresponding lack of off-reservation job opportunities, out-migration, slow economic development, and fear of the growing strength of the Arapaho.

*See also* Buffalo; Horse, Economic Impact; Sun Dance; Warfare, Intertribal; Women in Native Woodlands Societies.

## Shoshone, Northern

"Northern Shoshone" is a modern, anthropological term used to distinguish a region of Shoshone culture. The Northern Shoshones and Bannocks (originally a Northern Paiute group) shared a number of cultural traits with the Paiute and the Ute Indians as well as with so-called Eastern or Wind River Shoshones (there was no aboriginal distinction among Shoshone groups) and Northern Paiutes. Northern Shoshones incorporated elements of the Great Basin, Plateau, and Great Plains cultures. The term "Shoshone" first surfaced in 1805. Other Indians and non-Indians sometimes referred to some Shoshone and Northern Paiute groups, particularly mounted bands, as Snake Indians (sedentary Shoshones and Northern Paiutes were often referred to as Diggers), but their name for themselves is *Nomo*, or "People." Shoshone is part of the Central Numic (Shoshonean) division of the Uto-Aztecan language family. The Bannocks spoke Western Numic, also a Shoshonean language, although it was mutually unintelligible with Central Numic.

In the early nineteenth century, Northern Shoshones lived mostly in Idaho south of the





Salmon River or on the Snake River plains and the mountains to the north. This region, on the border of the Columbia Plateau, has a relatively dry climate. It contains the Sawtooth and Bitterroot Mountains, valleys, river highlands, and the Snake and other rivers and creeks. Today, most Northern Shoshones live in and around Bannock, Bingham, Caribou, and Power Counties in Idaho. The pre-contact population of up to 30,000 had been cut by 90 percent by the midnineteenth century, mainly by epidemics of European diseases.

Northern Shoshones used dreams and visions to acquire helping spirits. Such spirits instructed people on the use of medicines with which to activate their power. Certain food and other restrictions might also be imposed. Spirits might cure illness, protect an individual from arrows, or hurt other people.

Most or all men could cure, although there were also professionals. Their methods included herbs, charms, and sweats. They gained their supernatural power through dreams, visions, and visits to remote, spirit-dwelling places.

There was a concept of a creator, but creative agency was proscribed to mythological characters such as the wolf and coyote. Ceremonial occasions that featured round dances included the spring salmon return, the fall harvest, and times of adversity.

Loosely organized groups were characteristic of Great Basin culture. Traditionally, the Northern Shoshone were organized into seminomadic bands with impermanent composition and leadership. Some bands had chiefs; others, particularly in the west, had neither bands nor chiefs.

Life on the Plains called for higher forms of organization, both to hunt buffalo and to defend against enemies. In the fall, for instance, the bands in the area of the Snake and Lemhi Rivers came together for councils, feasts, and buffalo hunts. During these times, the more eastern bands were led by a principal chief and several minor chiefs. However, these offices were still nonhereditary, loosely defined, and somewhat transitory. Also, with more complex social organization, band councils arose to limit the power of the chiefs. Some "police" or soldier societies may also have existed to keep order during hunts and dances.

Equality and individual autonomy were cardinal Shoshone values. Just as social organization was fairly undeveloped, especially to the west, there was also little barrier to social interaction. Local groups

were named by the foods they ate, but the same band might have several names, and the same name might apply to several bands. Many groups often intermarried, visited, and shared ceremonies and feasts. Social networks were wide and strong. Most marriages were monogamous. Both marriage and divorce were simple and common. The dead were wrapped in blankets and placed in rock crevices. Mourners cut their hair, gashed their legs, and killed one of the deceased's horses. Some private property (such as tools and weapons) was recognized, but private ownership of land or subsistence areas was not.

As a source of sustenance, roots (such as prairie turnips, yampa root, tobacco root, bitterroot, and camas) were steamed in earth ovens for several days or boiled. Berries (such as chokecherries and service berries), nuts, and seeds were also important foods, as were grasshoppers, ants and other insects, lizards, squirrels, and rabbits.

Big game included antelope, deer, elk, and mountain sheep. Buffalo were Native to parts of the region but became especially important in the seventeenth century, when people would travel for the fall hunt to the Plains (east of Bozeman) and then back to the Snake River in the winter or early spring.

Salmon was the most important fish. In fact, the salmon fishery was one of the key distinguishing features between the Northern Shoshone and the Eastern Shoshone. People also caught sturgeon, perch, trout, and other fish on Columbia and Snake River tributaries.

The Paiute-speaking Bannock were among the first local groups to acquire horses, in the late seventeenth century. At that time, they migrated from eastern Oregon to Shoshone territory near the Snake River and organized fully mounted bands and engaged in group buffalo hunts. They and the Northern Shoshones also began to raid for horses and assumed many other aspects of Plains culture, such as teepees and warrior societies, yet the Bannock continued to interact with their Northern Paiute relatives. Sacajawea, a Shoshone woman, served as a guide on the Lewis and Clark expedition of 1804. Her diplomatic and navigation skills saved the party on more than one occasion.

Continuing their move east to the western extremity of the northern Plains, the Shoshone were soon (mid-eighteenth century) driven back by the gun-wielding Blackfeet. Some Northern Shoshone groups did not become mounted until the nineteenth century or used the horse only as a pack animal. Such groups, particularly those away from the cen-





ters in the Snake and Lemhi River Valleys (for example, the so-called Sheepeaters), lived in scattered settlements and remained sedentary and peaceful.

The Meriwether Lewis and William Clark party (1804–1806) may have been the first non-Indians in the area. Anglos soon opened trading posts at Pend Oreille Lake (British, 1809) and the Upper Snake River (Northwest Company, 1810). Throughout the 1810s and 1820s, white trappers ranged across Shoshone territory, destroying all beaver and buffalo west of the Rockies. Other game suffered as well, as did the traditional Northern Shoshone way of life. Indians also acquired much non-Native technology during this time, including firearms, iron utensils, and alcohol, and new diseases took a heavy toll.

By the 1840s, the fur trade had collapsed. Non-Indians began arriving en masse after the California gold rush and the opening of the Oregon Trail, further stressing the delicate local ecology. In 1847, the Mormons arrived. By the 1860s, the buffalo had all but disappeared. Relatively quickly, many Northern Shoshone groups faced starvation. They began to raid white settlements and wagons in retaliation, an activity that quickly brought counter-raids. This kind of conflict persisted throughout the 1860s and 1870s, although the Fort Hall Reservation (originally 1.8 million acres) was created by treaty in 1868.

The Bannocks, however, had resisted confinement to Fort Hall. Some peoples' resistance was a direct influence of the Dreamer Cult founded about 1860 by the Wanapum Smohalla. The continued destruction of their way of life—led by the wholesale slaughter of the buffalo, inadequate rations, white ranchers' crowding, and violence committed against them when they continued subsistence activities guaranteed by treaty—led to a major revolt in 1878. Its immediate cause was Anglo hog herding in a camas root area forbidden to them by treaty. The Bannocks and some Northern Paiute bands, under the Bannock chief Buffalo Born and the Paiutes Egan and Oytes, engaged the soldiers for several months that summer. Ultimately, the Paiutes were settled among the Yakima in Washington, and the Bannocks, held as prisoners of war for a while, were permitted to return to Fort Hall.

The Sheepeater War also took place in 1878, when roughly fifty central Idaho Bannocks and Shoshones, who lived primarily on mountain sheep, began raiding settlers who were encroaching on their subsistence area. At first eluding the army, they were eventually captured and placed at Fort Hall.

Other Shoshones, too, fought to retain their traditions; most ended up at Fort Hall.

The United States created the Lemhi Valley Reservation in 1875, but its people were moved to Fort Hall when the reservation was terminated in 1907. Meanwhile, the Fort Hall Reservation itself shrank by more than two-thirds as a result of encroachments by the railroads, timber, mining, highway, and other interests. Dawes Act (1887) allotments further reduced it in size. Life at Fort Hall was marked by irrigation problems; major projects in the early twentieth century benefited white farmers only. Other serious problems included the flooding of good bottomlands by the American Falls Reservoir. Major economic activities during that time included sheep and cattle ranching. A phosphate mine opened after World War II.

Fort Hall Indians acquired the Sun Dance from Plains Indians, via the Wind River Shoshone, during the 1890s. Some also adopted the Native American Church in 1915. The government awarded them a land claims settlement of more than \$8.8 million in 1964; another, smaller settlement was received in 1971 by the Lemhi Valley descendants.

*See also* Dreamer Cult; Fur Trade; Horse, Economic Impact; Smohalla; Sun Dance.

## Shoshone, Western

The Western Shoshone were a number of Shoshonean-speaking groups generally inhabiting a particular area. Many groups were known to whites as Diggers. Their self-designation is *Newe*. The Goshutes (Gosiutes) are ethnic Shoshones, despite considerable intermarriage with the Utes and the existence of a 1962 court ruling legally separating them from the Western Shoshone. Little pre-1859 scientific ethnographic data exist on the Western Shoshone. Their aboriginal population may have numbered between 5,000 and 10,000, although it had declined to roughly 2,000 by the early nineteenth century. The Western Shoshone spoke three central Numic languages—Panamint, Shoshone, and Comanche—all members of the Numic (Shoshonean) branch of the Uto-Aztecan language family.

Most Western Shoshone bands lived in harsh environments such as the Great Salt Lake area (Goshutes) and Death Valley (Panamints). Their territory stretched from Death Valley through central Nevada into northwestern Utah and southern Idaho.





*Rabbit-Tail, Shoshone member of Captain Ray's scout company, with bracelets and ornamented vest. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

Most Western Shoshones today live on a number of reservations within their aboriginal territory. They also live in nearby and regional cities and towns.

Apo, the sun, was a principal deity. Anyone could obtain supernatural powers through dreams and visions, although medicine men (*bugahant*) served as religious leaders. Most groups recognized three kinds of shamans: curers of specific ailments, general curers, and self-curers or helpers. Curing was effected by sucking and by the laying on of hands. In theory, men and women could both be shamans, although only men may have practiced curing. Shamans were also capable of capturing antelopes' souls and helping to drive them into corals. Some groups may not have had shamans at all.

People used several hundred herbal remedies to cure nonsupernatural ailments such as cuts and bruises. The round dance was basic to ceremonial

celebration. In some areas the dance was associated with courtship or rainmaking. Festivals were often held in times of plenty.

Groups in small winter villages were composed of family clusters and named for an important food resource or a local geographic feature. Thus, the territory and not the composition of the group was definitive. Group membership was not fixed and groups were not bands per se. Chiefs or headmen had little authority other than directing subsistence activity.

In general, the Western Shoshone adapted very successfully to a relatively harsh environment. They used sticks to beat grasses and dig roots, as well as using seed beaters of twined willow. Coiled and twined baskets were important in grass collection, as was a twined winnowing tray. Waterproof baskets allowed people to forage far from water.

Other tools and equipment included stone metates for grinding seeds; snares, traps, and dead-falls to hunt cottontails and rodents; bows of juniper and mountain mahogany; wildcat skin quivers; stone or horn arrow straighteners; and some pottery. Western Shoshones were first visited by non-Natives—the Jedediah Smith and Peter Skene Ogden parties—in the late 1820s. Other trappers and traders passed through during the next twenty years. Despite the willingness of some groups, such as the Walker party, to massacre Indians, the latter were relatively unaffected by early contacts with non-Natives.

The Mormons, who ultimately had a huge impact on the Goshute Shoshones, began arriving to stay in 1847. The white presence increased throughout the 1840s and 1850s, but the discovery of the Comstock Lode in 1857 turned the stream into a flood. By then, degradation of the natural environment was well under way. New diseases also stalked the region, severely affecting both human and animal populations. Indians responded by either retreating farther from white activity or, less often, by raiding, stealing, and begging.

The Pony Express, established in 1860, passed through the center of Western Shoshone country. Supply depots at important springs displaced Indians, which encouraged attacks and then Army reprisals. By 1860, Mormons had invaded Goshute territory, and miners and ranchers were closing in on the rest of Western Shoshone lands. Grazing, plowing, and woodcutting (piñon and juniper pine) destroyed subsistence areas and forage land. Indians began to work for settlers as wage laborers to fend





off starvation. Euro-American clothing, technology, and shelter quickly replaced the traditional variety.

Federal negotiations with the Great Basin tribes began in the 1850s, in part to check sporadic violence against settlers. The first treaties with Western Shoshone groups were signed in 1863. They called for Indians to give up hostilities, settle down eventually, and receive goods annually worth a total of \$50,000. In return, the settlers could stay. Significantly, the Indians never actually ceded any land.

The army soon began rounding up Indians. When no reservations near good land with water were established during the 1870s, some Shoshones joined Northern Paiutes and Bannocks in their wars of resistance. In 1879, the Shoshones refused an order to move to the Western Shoshone (Duck Valley) Reservation. Despite the extreme disruption of their lives, elements of traditional culture survived, such as religious beliefs (except among the Goshutes) and limited subsistence patterns. Most Shoshones still lived unconfined after 1900.

The percentage of Western Shoshones living on reservations peaked at fifty in 1927. Most carried out semitraditional subsistence activities combined with seasonal or other wage work in mines and on ranches and farms. In an effort to enlarge the reservation population, the United States encouraged Northern Paiutes to settle at Duck Valley. Finally, accepting the fact that most Western Shoshones did not and would not live at Duck Valley, the government created a series of "colonies" during the first half of the twentieth century.

In 1936, the Paiutes and most Shoshone groups organized the Paiute-Shoshone Business Council. Chief TeMoak and his descendents were considered the leaders of this effort. The U.S. government refused to recognize the traditional TeMoak council, however, and instead organized their own TeMoak Bands Council. This split culminated when the traditionalist-backed United Western Shoshone Legal Defense and Education Association (1974) argued that the TeMoak Bands Council did not represent Western Shoshone interests and further that the Western Shoshones never ceded their land. The courts rejected their claim in 1979 and ordered them paid \$26 million in compensation. In 1985, the Supreme Court ruled that the 1979 payment legally extinguished their title to the disputed 24 million acres.

*See also* Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Mormon Church; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Shoshone, Wind River

*See* Shoshone, Eastern or Wind River.

## Ute

The Utes consisted of roughly eleven autonomous Great Basin bands. In the eighteenth century, the eastern bands included the Uncompahgres (or Tabequaches), Yampas and Parusanuchs (or White River Band), Mouaches, Capotes, and Weeminuches, and the western bands included the Uintahs, Timpanogots, Pahvants, Sanpits, and Moanunts. The word "Utah" is of Spanish derivation, probably borrowed originally from an Indian word. Their self-designation is *Nunt'z*, "the People." With Southern Paiute, Ute is a member of the Southern Numic (Shoshonean) division of the Uto-Aztecan language family. All dialects were mutually intelligible.

Aboriginally, Utes lived in most of present-day Utah, except the far western, northern, and southern parts; Colorado west of and including the eastern slopes of the Rockies; and the extreme north of New Mexico. Today, the three Ute reservations are in southwest Colorado, the Four Corners area, and north central Utah. From roughly 8,000 in the early nineteenth century, the Utes declined to about 1,800 in 1920. In 1990 approximately 5,000 lived on reservations, and roughly another 2,800 lived in cities and towns.

The Utes and their ancestors have been in the Great Basin for as many as 10,000 years. They lived along Arizona's Gila River from about 3000 to about 500 BCE. At that time, a group of them began migrating north toward Utah, growing a high-altitude variety of corn that had been developed in Mexico. This group, who grew corn, beans, and squash and who also hunted and gathered food, is known as the Sevier Complex. Another, related group of people, known as the Fremont Complex, lived to the northeast.

In time, the Fremont people migrated into western Colorado. When a drought struck the Great Basin in the thirteenth century, the Fremont people moved into Colorado's San Luis Valley, where they later became known as the Utes. They became one of the first mounted Indian peoples when band members escaped Spanish captivity and brought horses home in the midseventeenth century. Communal buffalo hunts began shortly thereafter. Mounted





warriors brought more protection, and larger camps meant more centralized government and more powerful leaders as well as a rising standard of living. Utes also facilitated the spread of the horse to peoples of the Great Plains.

Utes believed that supernatural power was in all living things. Curing and weather shamans, both men and women, derived additional power from dreams. A few shamans, influenced by Plains culture, undertook vision quests.

One of the oldest of Ute ceremonies, the ten-day Bear Dance, was a welcome to spring. Bear is a mythological figure who provides leadership, wisdom, and strength. Perhaps originally a hunting ritual, the dance, directed by a dance chief and his assistants, signaled a time for courtship and the renewal of social ties. It was also related to the end of the girls' puberty ceremony. An all-male orchestra played musical rasps to accompany dancers. The host band sponsored feasting, dancing, gambling, games, and horse racing. The Sun Dance, of Plains origin, was held in midsummer.

Before the midseventeenth century, small Ute hunting and gathering groups were composed of extended families, with older members in charge. There may also have been some band organization for fall activities such as trading and hunting buffalo.

With the advent of horses, band structure strengthened to facilitate buffalo hunting, raiding, and defense. Each band now had its own chief, or headman, who solicited advice from constituent group leaders. By the eighteenth century, the autonomous bands came together regularly for tribal activities. Each band retained its chief and council, and within the bands, family groups retained their own leadership.

The Western Utes lived year-round in domed willow houses. Weeminuches used them only in the summer, and all groups also used brush and conical pole-frame shelters ten–fifteen feet in diameter, covered with juniper bark or tule. Sweat houses were of similar construction and heated with hot rocks. In the east, after the seventeenth century, people lived in buffalo (or elk) skin teepees, some of which were up to seventeen feet high. Bands generally regrouped into families to hunt and gather during the spring and summer. Important plant foods included seeds, pine nuts, yampa, berries, and yucca. Some southeastern people planted corn in the late prehistoric period. Some groups burned areas to encourage the growth of wild tobacco.

Buffalo were native to the entire area and were important even before the horse. Other important animal foods included elk, antelope (stalked or driven over cliffs), rabbit (hunted with throwing sticks or communally driven into nets), deer, bear, beaver, fowl, and sage hens. Meat was eaten fresh, sun-dried, or smoked. Coyote, wolf, and bobcat were hunted for their fur only.

Other important foods included crickets, grasshoppers, and locusts (dried with berries in cake form). Some western groups ate lizards and reptiles. Some bands also fished, especially in the west, using weirs, nets, basket traps, bow and arrow, and harpoons. Important fish included cutthroat trout, whitefish, chubs, and suckers.

Before the horse, warfare was generally defensive in nature. Utes became mounted raiders in the late seventeenth century. Their usual targets were Pueblo, Southern Paiute, and Western Shoshone Indians. Weapons included a three- to four-foot bow (chokecherry, mountain mahogany, or mountain sheep horn was preferred) and arrows. Eastern Utes also used spears as well as buffalo skin shields.

Some bands were allied with the Jicarilla Apaches and the Comanches against both the Spanish and the Pueblos. Utes had generally poor relations with the Northern and Eastern Shoshones, although they were generally friendly with the Western Shoshones and Southern Paiutes, especially before they began raiding these groups for slaves in the eighteenth century. Navajos were alternately allies and enemies. The eastern Utes observed ceremonies before and after raids.

Utes also raided Western Shoshones and Southern Paiutes for slaves (mostly women and children), whom they sold to the Spanish. Moreover, they were forced to defend some hunting territory against the Comanches (formerly allies) and other Plains tribes around that time. As a result of relentless Comanche attacks, the southern Utes were prevented from developing fully on the Plains. Driven back into the mountains, they lost power and prestige, and the northern bands, enjoying a more peaceful and prosperous life, increased in importance.

A Spanish expedition in 1776 was the first of a line of non-Native explorers, trappers, traders, slavers, and miners to make contact. Non-Natives established a settlement in Colorado in 1851, and U.S. Fort Massachusetts was built the following year to protect that settlement. Utes considered non-Native livestock grazing on their (former) land fair game. In the midst of growing conflicts, treaties





(which remained unratified) were negotiated in the mid-1850s.

The flood of miners that followed the 1858 Rockies gold strikes overwhelmed the eastern Utes. At the same time, the Utes were allied with the Americans and Mexicans against the Navajos. Mormons, fighting the western Utes for land since the late 1840s, had succeeded by the mid-1870s in confining them to about 9 percent of their aboriginal territory. The United States created the Uintah Reservation in 1861 on land the Mormons did not want. They made most Utah Utes, whose population had been decimated, settle there in 1864.

In 1863, some eastern bands improperly signed a treaty ceding all bands' Colorado mountain lands. Five years later, the Eastern Utes, under Chief Ouray, agreed to move west of the continental divide, provided about 15 million acres was reserved for them. Soon, however, gold discoveries in the San Juan Mountains wrecked the deal, and the Utes were forced to cede an additional 3.4 million acres in 1873 (most of the remainder was taken in 1880). The U.S. government considered Ouray "head chief of the Utes," paid him an annual salary, and supplied him with expensive goods.

The Southern Ute Reservation was established on the Colorado–New Mexico border in 1877. At that time, the Mouache and Capote bands settled there, merged to form the Southern Ute tribe, and took up agriculture. Resisting pressure to farm, the Weeminuches, calling themselves the Ute Mountain tribe, began raising cattle in the western part of the Southern Ute Reservation (the part later called the Ute Mountain Reservation).

In the late 1870s, a new Indian agent tried to force the White River Utes to give up their traditional way of life and "become civilized" by setting up a cooperative farming community. His methods included starvation, the destruction of Ute ponies, and encouraging the government to move against them militarily. When the soldiers arrived, the Indians made a defensive stand and a fight broke out, resulting in deaths on both sides (including Agent Nathan Meeker and U.S. Army Commander Thomas Thornburgh). Chief Ouray helped prevent a general war over this affair. The engagement, subsequently called by whites the Thornburgh ambush and the Meeker massacre, led directly to the eviction of the White River people from Colorado.

By 1881, the other eastern bands had all been forced from Colorado (except for the small Southern and Mountain Ute Reservations), and the other eight

bands, later known as the Northern Utes, were assigned to the Uintah and Ouray Reservation in northern Utah (the Uintah Reservation was expanded in 1882 to include the removed Weeminuche Band).

Government attempts to force the grazing-oriented Ute to farm met with little success, owing in part to a lack of access to capital and markets and in part to unfavorable soil and climate. Irrigation projects, begun early in the twentieth century, mainly benefited non-Indians who leased, purchased, or otherwise occupied Ute land. The government also withheld rations in an effort to force reservation Utes to send their children to boarding school. During the mid-1880s, almost half of the Ute children at boarding schools in Albuquerque died. In 1911, the Mountain Utes increased their acreage while ceding land that became Mesa Verde National Park.

The last traditional Weeminuche chief, Jack House, assumed his office in 1936 and died in 1971. Buckskin Charley led the Southern Utes from Ouray's death in 1880 until his own in 1936. His son, Antonio Buck, became the first Southern Ute tribal chair. During the 1920s and 1930s, Mountain Utes formed clubs to promote leadership and other skills. Disease remained a major killer as late as the 1940s.

By 1934, the Eastern Utes controlled about 0.001 percent of their aboriginal lands. In 1950, the Confederated Ute Tribes (Northern, Southern, and Mountain) received \$31 million in land claims settlements. During the 1950s, the Ute Mountain people began to assume greater control over their own money, and mineral leases provided real tribal income. Funds were expended on a per-capita basis and invested in a number of enterprises, mostly tourist related. The 1960s brought federal housing programs and more land claims money, but the effectiveness of tribal leadership declined considerably. A group of mixed-bloods, called the Affiliated Ute Citizens, were legally separated from the Northern Utes in 1954.

*See also* Buffalo; Mormon Church; Reservation  
Economic and Social Conditions; Sun Dance;  
Warfare, Intertribal.

## Washoe

Washoe is a word derived from *Washiu*, or "Person," their self-designation. Though lacking any formal institutional structures, the Washoes considered themselves a tribe, or a distinct people. Washoes





*Louisa, a Washoe woman, with her baskets, ca. 1899. (Library of Congress)*

lived and continue to live around Lake Tahoe, from Honey Lake in the north to about forty miles north of Mono Lake in the south, on both sides of the California–Nevada border. This mountainous and environmentally rich region was relatively compact (most groups lived within an area of 4,000 square miles, although their range exceeded 10,000 square miles). The Washoes shared many cultural traits of both California and Great Basin Indians. Washoe is a Hokan language. Ancestors of the Washoes arrived in the region roughly 6,000 years ago. Unbroken cultural continuity lasted from around 500 up to about 1800.

Spirits could be related to myths and legends as well as to death; those related to death were seen as sources of illness and bad luck. The Pine Nut Dance was the most important ceremony. It was a harvest ceremony that featured prayers, feasting, dances, and games. Other ceremonies were also related to communal subsistence activities.

Male and female shamans acquired supernatural powers through dreams and refined them through apprenticeships. The power imposed strict

behavioral and dietary regulations. Shamans used their powers to cure, often by sucking after singing and praying for four days. They also used certain paraphernalia, such as rattles, feathers, and whistles. Shamans collected a fee for curing and participated in hunting and warfare by using their powers. However, they were also regarded with suspicion as potential sorcerers and were regularly killed.

In general, the Washoes maintained a strong impulse toward egalitarianism. Small, autonomous, occasionally permanent settlements were composed of family groups. These settlements were fluid in composition, since families regularly moved from one group to another. Each family group was led by temporary headmen (occasionally headwomen) who exercised wider (settlement-wide) influence only occasionally and by dint of accomplishment. Their role as diplomats was assisted by having several wives who might remain with their relatives and establish various family alliances.

Hunt leaders also played leadership roles, and shamans might acquire unofficial influence. Although some concept of a regional community did exist (in the form of local groups that occasionally cooperated), there was probably no formal division into bands, even into the twentieth century when white-imposed leadership created such a perception.

Most people moved seasonally with the food supply, but the supply was generally abundant and in predictable locations. Washoes faced little regular hunger until non-Natives destroyed their way of life. Each unit made its own decisions about when and where to procure food. The only exceptions to this rule were foods taken collectively, such as acorns, pine nuts, fish, and some animals.

Fish, including trout, suckers, whitefish, and chub, was a staple. Ice fishing was practiced in winter. Fish were caught both individually and communally and were prepared either by pit roasting, stone boiling (in baskets), or drying. Other staples usually included acorns, which were shelled, leached, and ground into flour before being used to make dumplings. Pine nuts, gathered in late fall, were made into flour for soup.

Washoe women gathered a great variety of wild plants, including roots, grasses, seeds, nuts, berries, and bulbs, for food as well as medicine. Tule and cattails were especially important. Women gathered plants with digging sticks. Family groups had traditional harvesting areas. Some rituals were associated with gathering activities.





Deer, antelope, and rabbit were hunted communally in drives. Rabbits, the most important dietary animal, were driven into corrals or over cliffs. The people also hunted mountain sheep and other large and small game, birds, and waterfowl. They collected insects, especially locusts, grasshoppers, and grubs. Men and sometimes women smoked wild tobacco or used it for poultices. Golden eagles were never killed, bears only rarely.

Although Washoes may have met Spaniards in the late eighteenth century, they were fairly removed from contact with non-Indians until the 1848 California gold rush brought people through their lands. Anglos established trading posts and settlements, complete with fenced lands and water resources, in the 1850s. Indian demands for compensation were met with refusal and/or violence.

When Anglos blamed the Washoes for Northern Paiute resistance, the Indians were forced to turn for protection to the whites who were appropriating their lands. The 1858 discovery of the Comstock silver lode brought a flood of people to nearby Virginia City. Settlers cut the pine forests, and their cattle ate all the wild grasses and scared off the game. Barely ten years after their first substantive contact with white people around 1850, the Washoes' subsistence areas, and thus the basis for their traditional lives, had been virtually destroyed.

Commercial fishing began in Lake Tahoe by the 1860s. Washoes danced the Ghost Dance in the 1870s. The government repeatedly refused to grant them a reservation on the grounds that there was no good land to give them and that, in any case, their disappearance was imminent. The Washoes were pushed farther and farther into the margins, trying

to stay alive as best they could. By the late nineteenth century, whites thought of the "Washoe Tribe" as those groups around Carson City and the Carson Valley; other Washoe groups were unknown or ignored.

The Washoes eventually bought or were allotted some small plots of marginal land. Land for "colonies" was donated or purchased with government funds around 1917 and again in the 1930s. The land was always of poor quality, with little or no water. Some Washoe men worked as ranch hands, women as domestic laborers. Well into the twentieth century, desperate poverty was made even worse by white efforts to repress their culture. The Indians suffered severe discrimination and had no legal civil rights.

Some Washoes embraced the Peyote religion through the Native American Church in 1932. The strenuous opposition of whites and of some traditional shamans brought factionalism to the community. In 1935, the tribe accepted the Indian Reorganization Act and ratified a constitution and bylaws. However, tribal leadership remained ineffective through the 1960s. Throughout the period, most Washoes lived marginally in Carson Valley and around Carson City, although some small groups continued to live in their traditional territory. Public facilities, including schools, were desegregated in the 1950s. The Washoes were awarded a land claims settlement of \$5 million in 1970.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Ghost Dance Religion; Native American Church of North America; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Women in Native Woodlands Societies.



# *Native Americans of the Plateau*



## **Cayuse**

"Cayuse" (a word derived from the French *cailloux*, meaning "People of the Stones or Rocks") describes Indians who may have lived with the Molala Indians on the John Day River until the early eighteenth century. Their self-designation was *Waiilatpus*, "Superior People." At that time the Cayuses acquired horses, and by the nineteenth century they owned many horses and were disproportionately strong and dominating for the size of the tribe. They expanded northward and eastward, into the Grande Ronde and Walla Walla Valleys, subjugating the Walla Walla tribe in the process. They also regularly hunted buffalo on the Great Plains, adapting many Plains cultural attributes.

During the eighteenth century, Cayuse Indians lived along the headwaters of the Walla Walla, Umatilla, and Grande Ronde Rivers, in present-day Oregon and Washington. Today, most Cayuses live in Umatilla County, Oregon, and in regional cities and towns.

Largely because of their enormous herds of horses, the Cayuses became so wealthy during this period that they no longer bothered to fish, trading instead for fish and other necessities. They welcomed the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition in 1806 and welcomed as well the fur traders who entered their territory shortly after the explorers' coming. They were not especially interested in furs but rather in the manufactured goods of non-Indians that they might trade for. Their openness to non-Natives was also due in part to their luck at having so far escaped most of

the disease epidemics that ravaged other Indian peoples.

The first Presbyterian missions in the area opened in 1836. In 1843, the first emigrants traveled on the Oregon Trail. In 1847, relations between the Cayuses and whites, hitherto friendly, took a dramatic turn for the worse when a group of Indians destroyed the local mission and killed its founders, Marcus and Narcissa Whitman, and others. They blamed the missionaries for the disease epidemics that were destroying their people. They also resented the Whitmans for their intolerance to the Indians and their new wealth based on sales of former Indian land.

The Whitman "massacre" was the opening salvo in a constant struggle with non-Natives (the Cayuse War) that lasted until about 1850. Tiloukaikt, a band chief and former friend of non-Native traders, was a leader in this conflict. The tribe was ultimately defeated, and some of its members were hanged by the U.S. government. By this time, disease, warfare, and intermarriage with the Nez Percé had greatly reduced the tribe. Although the Cayuses kept up sporadic resistance into the 1850s, they were assigned by treaty to the Umatilla Reservation in 1855, and most were removed there in 1860. Some Cayuses took up farming on the reservation. Some joined the Yakimas (1855), Nez Percé (1877), and Bannocks (1878) in their various wars against the whites, but some also served with the U.S. Army during these wars.

*See also* Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Horse, Economic Impact; Trade.





## Coeur d'Alene

"Coeur d'Alene," derived from the French for "awl heart," is reportedly a reference by an Anglo trader to the trading skills of these Indians. Their self-designation was *Skitswish*, perhaps meaning "foundling." In the eighteenth century, the Coeur d'Alenes lived along the Spokane River upstream from Spokane Falls, including Lake Coeur d'Alene. The region of over 4 million acres is fertile and well watered. In the early nineteenth century the tribe lived in central Idaho, eastern Washington, and western Montana; the mountains in this area helped to protect their horses against raiders from the Plains. Today's Coeur d'Alene Reservation is located in Benewah and Kootenai Counties in Idaho.

Like all Salish peoples, the Coeur d'Alenes probably originated in British Columbia. They migrated to the Plateau during their prehistoric period, keeping some Pacific Coast attributes even after they adopted Plateau culture. They acquired the horse around 1760, at which time they gave up their semisedentary lives to hunt buffalo, Plains-style.

Their traditional antipathy toward outsiders made it difficult for trappers to penetrate their territory. A Jesuit mission was established in 1842, however, foreshadowing the significant role the Jesuits were to play in their later history. At this time, the Jesuits successfully influenced the Indians to give up buffalo hunting and begin farming.

In the meantime, intermittent warfare with Indians and non-Indians, plus disease and crowding, had dropped their population by about 85 percent by 1850. In 1858 they fought the ill-fated Coeur d'Alene War (1858) with the help of tribes such as the Northern Paiutes, Palouses, and Spokans. Although the immediate cause of this conflict was white treaty violations, it may be seen as an extension of the Yakima War (1855–1856) and the general Plateau Indian resistance struggle during that time.

The roughly 600,000-acre Coeur d'Alene Reservation was created in 1873, at which time the Indians ceded almost 2.4 million acres. However, pressure from miners soon forced the tribe to cede almost 185,000 more acres in the late 1880s. Most of the rest of their land was lost to the allotment process in the early twentieth century. In 1894, thirty-two Spokane families joined the reservation. Most Coeur d'Alene Indians became Catholics, farmers, and stockbreed-

ers. In 1958, the tribe was awarded over \$4.3 million in land claims settlements.

*See also* Buffalo; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Columbia

*See* Sinkiuse.

## Columbia River Indians

*See* Colville; Umatilla; Yakima (Yakama).

## Colville

"Colville" is a name derived from the Colville River and Fort Colville (a Hudson's Bay Company trading post), which in turn were named for Eden Colville, a governor of the company. Whites also called these Indians Basket People, after their large salmon fishing baskets, and Chaudière (kettles), after depressions in the rocks at Kettle Falls and a corruption of their self-designation, *Shuyelpsee*. They were culturally similar to the Okanagon and Sanpoil Indians. They spoke a Salishan language made up of elements from the constituent tribes.

In the eighteenth century, the Colville Indians lived in northeastern Washington, around the Kettle and Columbia Rivers. Today, most live in Ferry and Okanogan Counties, Washington, and in nearby cities and towns.

As early as 1782, a smallpox epidemic destroyed large numbers of Colville Indians. Colville Indians became involved with the fur trade shortly after the arrival in the area of the first non-Indians (early traders) around 1800. By the midnineteenth century they were suffering from a sharply declining population and a deteriorating way of life due to new diseases, anti-Indian violence, land theft, and the severe disruption of their subsistence habits. Missionaries arrived in 1838. Non-Indian miners flooded into the area in the mid-1850s. Colvilles did not participate in the wars of that time.

Traditionally, autonomous villages were each led by a chief and a subchief; these lifetime offices were hereditary in theory but were generally filled by people possessing the qualities of honesty, integrity, and diplomacy. The authority of chiefs to





serve as adviser, judge, and general leader was granted mainly through consensus. As judge, the chief had authority over crimes of nonconformity such as witchcraft, sorcery, and assault.

An informal assembly of all married adults confirmed a new chief and oversaw other aspects of village life. All residents of the village were considered citizens. Other village leaders included a messenger, a speaker, and a salmon chief (often a shaman, with the salmon as a guardian spirit, who supervised salmon-related activities). By virtue of their ability to help or hurt people, shamans also acquired relative wealth and power from their close association with chiefs, who liked to keep them friendly.

Two Colville reservations were established in 1872 for local nontreaty tribes. One, created in April, was considered by local whites to have too fertile lands, so another reservation with less desirable land was established in July. The early reservation years were marked by conflict with non-Indians and among the tribes. Many Colville Indians converted to Catholicism in the later nineteenth century. In 1900, they lost 1.5 million acres, over half of their reservation. Even so, non-Natives continued to settle on the truncated reservation in large numbers until 1935.

The Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation was formed in 1938. The government restored some land in 1956. The tribe divided over the issue of termination through the 1950s and 1960s but ultimately decided against it. The tribe won significant land claims settlements in the later twentieth century.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Flathead

*See* Salish.

## Kalispel

"Kalispel," or Camas People, is derived from the name of an important plant food. They are also known as the Pend d'Oreilles, French for "ear drops," a term referring to the Indians' personal adornment. These people were grouped aboriginally into two divisions: lower (Kalispel proper) and upper.

In the eighteenth century, the Kalispels lived around Pend d'Oreille Lake and River. Today, most live on their reservation in Pend Oreille County, Washington. Kalispels also live on the Colville and Flathead Reservations,

Like other Salish peoples, the Kalispels probably came from British Columbia. The upper division may have moved east and south onto the plains of Montana before the Blackfeet pushed them back, in the eighteenth century, to the Pend d'Oreille Lake region. After the introduction of the horse, they joined with other Plateau groups to hunt buffalo and to organize war and raiding parties.

In the eighteenth century there were two geographical divisions: Upper Pend d'Oreilles and Lower Pend d'Oreilles, or Kalispelems. The latter were further divided into Lower Kalispel (Kalispels proper), Upper Kalispels, and Chewelahs (perhaps a separate tribe). Each division was composed of related families and was led by a chief selected on the basis of merit. Later, a tribal chief presided over a council made up of the band chiefs.

The Kalispels were masters of their white pine canoes. The lower division had distinctive low-riding canoes to meet the winds on Pend d'Oreille Lake. Although they were excellent horsemen, they had relatively few horses, even in the midnineteenth century. Most clothes were made from rabbit skins or deerskins. Men wore breechclouts and shirts, and women wore dresses. Both wore moccasins, caps, robes, leggings, and shell earrings.

The North West Trading Company opened a trading post in Kalispel country in 1809. The first Catholic mission opened in 1846 and relocated in 1854 with the upper Kalispels to the Lake Flathead area. Kalispels were forced into a major land cession in 1855, and the upper division was assigned to the Flathead Reservation in Montana, but the lower division refused to relocate, asking instead for a reservation of their own. They remained relatively isolated until 1863, when the British Columbia gold rush brought many miners through their territory.

In 1887, one of the two Lower Kalispel bands moved to the Flathead Reservation. The other, under Marcella, remained in the Pend d'Oreille Valley. Their reservation was created by executive order in 1914: It consisted of 4,629 acres, of which only 150 acres of tribal land remained after individual allotments and white encroachments. The tribe was awarded \$3 million in land claims settlements in 1960, and another \$114,000 in 1981.





See *also* Buffalo; Canoes; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Klamath

"Klamath" is a word of uncertain derivation. The Klamaths' self-designation is *Maklak*, "People." The Klamaths were culturally similar to the Modocs and to other northern California Indian peoples. In the early nineteenth century, the Klamath people lived on 20 million acres in south central Oregon and northeastern California. The land included forests and mountains of the Cascade Range, highland lakes and marshes, and the headwaters of the Klamath River. Today the descendents of these people live mostly in Klamath County, Oregon, and in regional cities and towns. The Klamath language is a dialect of Lutuami, a Penutian language.

Traditionally, the Klamaths were organized into four to seven autonomous subdivisions or tribelets. Each tribelet may have consisted of about ten winter hamlets. Each had a chief (chosen either as a consequence of wealth or the ability to provide leadership in war), but shamans probably wielded more authority.

Permanent winter hamlets were generally built on lake shores and near marshes. Houses were semi-subterranean, circular multifamily structures, covered with earth on a wood frame. Entry was through the roof. Several nuclear families might have lived in one lodge. Circular, mat-covered wood-frame houses served in summer or on hunting trips. Winter and summer sweat lodges were built in a style similar to that of the dwellings.

Fish, mostly freshwater whitefish and suckers, was the food staple. The Klamaths also ate waterfowl. In the summer, women gathered roots, berries,



*Klamath woman seated in front of house thatched with rush mats, ca. 1923. (Library of Congress)*





and other plant foods, and men hunted deer, antelope, and small game. Wild waterlily seeds (*wokas*) were harvested in the late summer; they were eventually ground into flour.

The Klamath Indians were probably spared direct contact with non-Natives until the arrival in 1829 of Peter Skene Ogden. The white invasion of the 1850s also brought disease and scattered the game, destroying traditional subsistence patterns. In an 1864 treaty, the Klamath and Modoc people ceded over 13 million acres of land for a 1.1-million-acre reservation on former Klamath lands in southern Oregon. In addition to the Klamaths and Modocs, the reservation included Pit River Indians, Shastas, Northern Paiutes, and other groups. These Indians agreed to end the practice of slavery at that time.

Some Modocs left the reservation in 1870 because of friction between themselves and the Klamaths. The latter remained aloof from the 1872–1873 Modoc War. By the end of the nineteenth century, all Indians on the Klamath Reservation were known as the Klamath tribe. In 1901, the government agreed to pay the tribe \$537,000 for misappropriated lands. Other land claims settlements, for millions of dollars, followed during the course of the century.

In 1958 the U.S. government terminated the Klamath Reservation. Although the government had long coveted the timber-rich reservation, many Klamaths were strongly against termination, but it was hastened by the then tribal leader. In 1958, 77 percent of the tribe voted to withdraw from the collective entity and take individual shares of the land proceeds. In 1974, the remaining 23 percent agreed to sell the rest of the reservation for per-capita shares. At that time, the Klamaths lost the last of their land base. Termination has had a profoundly negative effect on members of the tribe.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions; Termination.

## Klikitat

"Klikitat" is derived from a Chinook term meaning "beyond" (the Cascade Mountains). Their self-designation was *Qwulh-hwai-pum*, "Prairie People." The Klikitats were culturally similar to the Yakimas. The Klikitats lived and continue to live in the vicinity of Mount Adams in south central Washington. Klikitat

was a member of the Sahaptian division of the Penutian language family.

The Klikitats may have originated south of the Columbia River, moving north in the prehistoric period to become skilled horsepeople and fighters after they acquired horses around 1700. The 1805 encounter with Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, on the Yakima and Klikitat Rivers, was friendly all around.

Nomadic bands were led by nonhereditary chiefs with advisory powers. Before the historic period, the tribe created two divisions, eastern and western, of which the latter mixed with Cowlitz Indians west of the Cascades to become Taitnapams.

Skilled with firearms, the Klikitats sometimes acted as mercenaries for other Indian tribes, taking women and horses as pay. Their effort during the 1820s to expand south of the Columbia was repulsed by the Umpquas. Later, the Klikitats had their revenge by helping whites conquer the Umpquas. They also scouted for the U.S. Army in the 1850s.

In 1855, the United States asked the Klikitats and other local Indians, including the Yakimas, to cede 10.8 million acres of land. Most tribes accepted a 1.2-million-acre reservation in exchange. Although Indians retained fishing and gathering rights at their usual off-reservation places and were given at least two years to relocate, the governor of Washington declared their land open to non-Indians twelve days after the treaty council ended.

Angered by this betrayal, a few Yakimas killed some whites. When soldiers arrived, a large group of Indians drove them away. In retaliation for the treacherous murder of a Walla Walla chief and negotiator, the Walla Walla, Klikitat, Cayuse, and Umatilla Indians joined the Yakimas in fighting non-Indians. After the war ended and twenty-four of their number were executed, the Yakimas agreed to settle on a reservation in 1859. The future Yakima Indian nation included, in addition to Yakima bands, the Klikitats, Wanapams, Wishrams, Palus (Palouse), and the Wenatchis.

Reservation Yakimas entered a brief period of prosperity but were soon pressured to sell land; most people were forced into poverty, obtaining some seasonal work at best. In 1891, about one-third of the reservation land had been allotted to individuals, but the Yakima nation, under Chief Shawaway Lotiahkan, was able to retain the "surplus" usually sold to non-Indians in such cases. Still, many of the individual allotments, including some of the best irrigated land, were soon lost. Around the turn of the





century as much as 80 percent of the reservation was in non-Indian hands.

As a result of twentieth-century dam construction (Bonneville in 1938, Grand Coulee in 1941, Dalles in 1956), the number of salmon and steelhead that returned to spawn in the Yakima River declined 98–99 percent. The issue of fishing rights remained an important and controversial one from the beginning of the reservation period through its resolution in 1974. Well into the twentieth century, Yakima nation people continued much of their traditional subsistence and ceremonial activities.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Kootenai

The Kootenais are a nomadic people geographically divided into upper and lower divisions after their exodus from the northern Great Plains. The Upper Kootenais remained oriented toward the Plains, whereas the Lower Kootenais assumed a more Plateau-like existence. Their self-designation was *San'ka*, "People of the Waters." Kutenaiian is unrelated to any language family except possibly Algonquian.

The Kootenais may once have lived east of the Rockies, perhaps as far east as Lake Michigan. In the late eighteenth century, they lived near the borders of British Columbia, Washington, and Idaho. Today, most live on the Kootenai Reservation, Boundary County in Idaho; on the Flathead Reservation, Flathead, Lake, Missoula, and Sanders Counties in Montana; and on several reserves in British Columbia.

Each of roughly eight autonomous bands was led by a chief and an assistant chief, such as a war, fish, and hunting chief. The chieftainship was hereditary into the historic period, when leadership qualities began to assume the most importance. A council of shamans chose the upper division chief. Decision making was by consensus.

Although they lived in the mountains west of the continental divide, upper division Kootenais subsisted on the Great Plains buffalo, whereas the lower division ate mostly fish (trout, salmon, and sturgeon), small game, and roots. Both divisions also hunted big and small game, and both gathered roots and berries, especially bitterroots. Most foods were dried and stored for the winter.

Men fished using weirs, basket traps, and spears. Women made a variety of baskets, including ones that could hold water. Hunting equipment included cherry and cedar wood bows, clubs tipped with antler points, stone knives, and slingshots. Buffalo were hunted with a bow and arrow or by driving them off cliffs. Leather items were prominent, especially among the upper division, whereas the lower division primarily made items of Indian hemp and tule. Kootenais also made carved wood bowls, clay pots, and stone pipes.

During the eighteenth century, the Kootenais acquired the horse and began hunting buffalo on the Plains, adopting much of Plains culture. Shortly after initial contact around 1800, Canadian traders built Kootenai House, a trading post. More traders, including Christianized Iroquois, as well as missionaries soon followed. Despite the Kootenais' avoidance of much overt conflict with whites, they suffered dramatic population declines during these years, primarily as a result of disease and alcohol abuse. The formal establishment of the international boundary in 1846 divided the tribe over time.

The Flathead Reservation was established in 1855 for the Salish and Kootenai people. Some Kootenais refused to negotiate the loss of their land, however, and did not participate in these talks. Some moved to British Columbia rather than accept reservation confinement. When the Kootenai Reservation was established in 1896, about a hundred Kootenai Indians moved to the Flathead Reservation. Of the ones who refused to move, those near Bonners Ferry were granted individual allotments in 1895. The tribe won a \$425,000 land claims settlement in 1960, and the Kootenai Reservation was officially established in 1974.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Horse, Economic Impact; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Lake

*See* Okanagon.

## Lillooet

"Lillooet," a name meaning "wild onion" or "end of the trail," was once applied only to the lower division of the tribe. The Lillooets exhibited marked





characteristics of the Northwest Coast culture. Most lived traditionally and continue to live in southwest British Columbia, Canada. Lillooet is an Interior Salish language.

Indian groups of the Plateau, including Interior Salishan speakers, have been living in their historic regions for a long time, probably upward of 9,000 years.

Lillooets were organized into upper and lower divisions, with each division composed of named bands of one or more villages. In aboriginal times, each village represented a single clan with one hereditary chief. Other leaders included war chiefs, hunting chiefs, orators, and wealthy and generous men.

Adolescents prepared for adulthood by fasting and engaging in feats of physical endurance. They also sought guardian spirits through vision quests or dreams to give them luck and skills. Girls were isolated at the time of their first menstrual periods. Like coastal groups, the Lillooets observed a caste system and kept slaves. Potlatches commemorated special life cycle events, at which the host enhanced his prestige by giving away gifts. The dead were wrapped in woven grass or fur robes and placed in painted grave boxes or in bark- or mat-lined graves. Graves were often marked with mortuary poles carved with clan totems (spiritual and mythological associates).

Men built circular winter lodges of cedar bark and earth on a wood frame. Lodges were excavated to a depth of around six feet and ranged between twenty and thirty-five feet in diameter. The floor was covered with spruce boughs. The clan totem was carved on the center pole or on an outside pole (lower division). Larger log and plank dwellings housed between four and eight families. Oblong or conical mat-covered houses served as shelter in the summer.

Salmon and other fish were the food staples. Men hunted both large and small game, including bear, beaver, rabbit, raccoon, and mountain goat. Hunters rubbed themselves with twigs to disguise their human scent. Women gathered assorted roots and berries and dried the foods for storage.

Men were known for their skill at wood carving. Stone, often soapstone, was also carved for artistic purposes, most often in the shape of a seated person holding a bowl. Women decorated clothing with porcupine quillwork. They also made excellent coiled baskets decorated with geometric motifs and colorful dyes.

Early (ca. 1809) intercourse with non-Native traders was generally friendly, although some non-native diseases had struck the people even before the beginning of the actual contact period. The people were able to live in a relatively traditional way until they were devastated by smallpox epidemics accompanying the gold rushes of the midnineteenth century. To make matters worse, famine followed the disease epidemics, striking with particular severity in the mid-1860s. Survivors gradually resettled on reserves delineated by the government of British Columbia.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Worldviews and Values.

## Modoc

"Modoc" comes from *Moatokni*, or "Southerners" (Klamath). Their self-designation was *Maklaks*, or "People," as was that of their neighbors and linguistic cousins, the Klamaths. Traditionally, Modocs lived around Goose, Clear, Tule, and Klamath Lakes in northern California and southern Oregon. Today, Modocs live mostly around Oregon and in Northwest cities as well as in Oklahoma. With the Klamaths, the Modocs spoke a dialect of the Lutuami division of the Penutian language family.

Each of about twenty-five Modoc villages was led by a civil and a war chief. Civil chiefs were selected on the basis of their wealth as well as their leadership and oratory skills; there were also some hereditary chiefs. An informal community assembly decided most legal matters.

Winter dwellings were permanent, semiexcavated lodges made of willow poles covered with tule mats and earth. Width averaged between twelve and twenty feet. People entered through a smoke hole in the roof. Temporary mat-covered structures were used at seasonal camping sites. Sweat houses were heated with steam; they were a place for cleansing as well as for praying.

Modocs followed the food supply in three seasons. They ate fish, especially salmon, trout, perch, and suckers. Men hunted a variety of large animals as well as rabbits and other small game. Antelope were driven into brush corrals. Fowl were taken with nets and decoys. Women gathered camas and other roots, greens, berries, and fruits. Seeds, especially those of the waterlily (*wocus*), were also





*Toby Riddle, also known as "Winema," standing between an Indian agent and her husband, Frank (left), with four Modoc women in front, ca. 1873. Riddle, whose husband was white, acted as an interpreter during negotiations in the Modoc War. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

important; they were gathered in the fall and ground into flour.

Fishing equipment included nets, spears, hook and line, and basket traps. Many items were made of tule or bulrushes, such as twined baskets, mats, cradles, rafts, and moccasins. The people used stone mullers and metates for grinding seeds, stone arrow straighteners, and basketry seed beaters. Modoc Indians also were actively involved in the regional trade. They especially obtained horses for slaves and plunder at the Dalles.

Modocs obtained horses early in the nineteenth century, about the time they encountered non-Natives, and by the 1830s they were aggressively raiding their neighbors for horses, slaves, and plunder. Major disease epidemics in 1833 and 1847 reduced their population considerably. Wagon trains began coming through their territory during the late 1840s, scaring the game away and disrupting their natural cycles. Hungry now, as well as anxious and resentful, they began attacking the intruders and neighboring Indians for slaves. When gold was found near their territory in 1851, miners flocked in and simply appropriated Native land, killing Indians as they liked.

The 1860s Ghost Dance brought them little comfort, and they, especially the women, drifted into debauchery during this period. In 1864, the Modocs and Klamaths ceded most of their land and moved to the Klamath Reservation. The Modocs were never comfortable there, however, and matters became worse when a food scarcity exacerbated the level of conflict with the Klamaths. They petitioned several times for their own reservation, but to no avail. In 1870, about 300 Modocs under Kintpuash (Captain Jack) reestablished a village in their former homeland on the Lost River. Increasing conflict with white settlers soon led to a military confrontation, after which the Indians escaped to the nearby lava beds.

Meanwhile, another group of Modocs under Hooker Jim also fled to the lava beds south of Tule Lake after attacking several ranches in revenge for an unprovoked army attack on their women and children. In a confrontation early in 1873, about eighty Indians held off 1,000 U.S. soldiers and irregulars. At a peace parley later that year, the Modocs killed the U.S. general and one of his negotiators. Later, another white attack was repulsed, but the Indians killed some soldiers during the negotiations. However, Modoc unity was failing, and their food was running out. Hooker Jim was captured and betrayed his people, leading troops to the hideout of Kintpuash, who was forced to surrender. At his trial, Hooker Jim provided testimony against Kintpuash and others, resulting in their being hanged. Most surviving Modocs were sent to the Quapaw Reservation in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma).

The Oklahoma Modocs became farmers and ranchers, and many adopted Christianity. Modoc tribal land ownership in Oklahoma ended in 1890 when their land was allotted to individuals. A group of forty-seven Modocs returned to the Klamath Reservation around 1905, but the reservation was terminated in 1954. Its lands were sold in 1964 and 1971. The Oklahoma Modocs lost their tribal status in 1956 as well, but they were restored in 1978.

*See also* Captain Jack; Ghost Dance Religion; Hooker Jim; Relocation.

## Nespelem

*See* Sanpoil.





## Nez Percé

"Nez Percé," French for "pierced nose," was a name used by non-Indian traders in the nineteenth century. Ironically, the Nez Percé did not generally pierce their noses as many other local Indians did. Their Salishan neighbors called them Sahaptin or Shahaptin. Their self-designation was *Nimipu*, "the People," or *Tsoop-Nit-Pa-Loo*, "the Walking Out People." Their early historic culture also contained Great Plains and Northwest Coast elements. Nez Percé is a member of the Sahaptian division of the Penutian language family.

Before contact with non-Indians, the Nez Percé lived on about 17 million acres between the Blue and the Bitterroot Mountains in southeast Washington, northeast Oregon, and southwest Idaho. Today, most live in the counties of Clearwater, Idaho, Lewis, and Nez Percé in Idaho; Ferry and Okanogan Counties in Washington; and in regional cities and towns.

Small, local bands each had one or more villages and fishing areas. Civil chiefs led the bands, although war chiefs exercised temporary power during periods of conflict. Chiefs were generally elected, although sons often followed fathers, and wealth (in horses) became more important in the early contact period. They had no power in purely personal matters. Women could neither be nor elect chiefs. Chiefs and old men made up the village and tribal councils; decisions were made by consensus. Ultimately, tribal cohesion grew out of the necessity to defend against fighters from the Great Plains.

Bands were called by the names of streams. Each group contained at least one permanent winter village and a number of temporary fishing camps. Some subsistence areas were considered tribal property. All handmade items were the property of the maker, except that the male was entitled to all property in unusual cases of separation or divorce.

Menstruating and late-term pregnant women were strictly segregated. Young, unmarried men slept in the sweat lodges. Young men and women, especially the latter, were married by about age fourteen. Brides were commonly purchased, and polygamy was common. Abortion was rare, as was birth out of wedlock. Adultery was a capital crime. Women did most of the domestic work, including dressing skins; men's work revolved around hunting and war.

Permanent settlements were located along rivers. Winter dwellings were semisubterranean, circular wood-frame structures covered with cedar



Four Nez Percé dressed for dance on Colville Indian Reservation, ca. 1910. (Library of Congress)

bark, sage, mats, grasses, and earth. The roof was flat or conical. Mats covered the floors. There were also teepee-like communal longhouses, up to 150 feet long, of similar construction. These houses held up to fifty families. People slept along inner walls and shared fires along the center.

Older boys and unmarried men slept and sweated in grass- and earth-covered sweat lodges; others were built for men and women to sweat in. Circular, underground menstrual huts were about twenty feet in diameter. In summer, people built temporary brush lean-tos. Some groups adopted hide teepees in the eighteenth century.

Nez Percé were seminomadic, moving with the food supply. Fish, especially salmon, was a staple, along with trout, eel, and sturgeon. Salmon was either broiled, baked, or boiled fresh or dried, smoked, and stored. Animal food included elk, deer, moose, mountain sheep, rabbits, and small game. After the Nez Percé acquired the horse, parties traveled to the Plains to hunt buffalo. Some meat was jerked for winter. Deer were run down or shot, as were other game, with a bow and arrow or killed with a spear. Some animals were hunted with the use of decoys.

Women gathered plant foods such as camas, kouse, bitterroot, wild carrot, wild onion, and





berries. Camas, dug in the midsummer, was peeled and baked in a pit oven. Most berries were dried and stored for winter. Other food included fowl, eggs, and birds. People ate horses, lichens, and tree inner bark when there was nothing else to eat. Most food was either boiled, steamed in pits, or roasted in ashes.

Fish were speared from platforms and caught using nets, spears, small traps, and weirs. Men used various nooses, snares, nets, and deadfalls for hunting as well as bows made of mountain sheep horn. Women made a range of woven and coiled baskets, some watertight, as well as woven reed bags. They also made cups, bowls, winnowing baskets, women's caps, and mats of cattails and tule. Many baskets were made of Indian hemp, bear grass, and other grasses.

Other important raw materials included bone, horn, and wood. Many tools and items, such as mortars, pestles, knives, and mauls, were made of chipping and flaking stone and also obsidian. Mattresses were cottonwood inner bark or dry grass, blankets were elk hides, and folded skins served as pillows.

Nez Percé Indians also used a fire-hardened digging stick, a fire drill, and board and buckskin cradles. Musical instruments included rattles, flageolets, whistles, and drums. They also used a twelve-month calendar and named four seasons.

In general, raiding and war, for booty, glory, and revenge, were very important to the Sahaptians. By virtue of their being the most powerful Plateau tribe, the Nez Percé played a central role in regional peace and war. At least after the late eighteenth century, they fought with the Flatheads, Coeur d'Alenes, and Spokans against the Blackfeet, Gros Ventres, Crows, and other Plains tribes. They also sometimes fought against these allies. The Cayuses, Umatillas, Yakimas, and Walla Wallas were also allies against the Shoshones, Bannocks, and other northern Great Basin tribes.

Men held intertribal dances before wars and buffalo hunts. Weapons included cedar, ash, or mountain sheep horn bows; obsidian or jasper-tipped arrows, sometimes dipped in rattlesnake venom; and spears. Elk skin shields, helmets, and armor were used for defense. The eagle feather war bonnet may or may not have come originally from the Plains. Men and horses were painted and decorated for war.

Somewhere around 1730, the Nez Percé acquired horses and began their dramatic transformation from seminomadic hunters, fishers, and

gatherers to Plains-style buffalo hunters. They quickly became master horse riders and breeders. Several decades of peaceful hunting and trading ended around 1775, when the Blackfeet Indians, armed with guns they received through the fur trade, began a long period of conflict in western Montana. By 1800 or so, the Nez Percé Indians had been exposed to Euro-American technology and had heard rumors of a very powerful people to the east.

Their first encounter with non-Indians was with the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition (1805). The Indians welcomed these white people as well as the hundreds of traders, missionaries, and others who poured in subsequently. The Nez Percé were involved in the fur trade during the 1820s and 1830s; they even helped to outfit settlers in the 1840s. Meanwhile, epidemics were taking a tremendous toll on their population.

In 1855, the Indians ceded several million acres of land but kept over 8 million acres for a reservation. Non-Indian miners and other intruders ignored the restrictions and moved in anyway, precipitating a crisis among the Indians over the issue of loyalty toward whites. Following gold strikes in 1860, whites wanted the Wallowa and Grande Ronde Valleys, land that equaled more than 75 percent of the reservation. In 1863, only one chief, with no authority to sell Nez Percé land, signed a treaty. The United States then used that document as an eviction notice, ending years of friendship and cooperation between the Nez Percé and whites. In the meantime, the Dreamer religion had begun influencing the Nez Percé, among others, to resist non-Native imperialism.

In 1877, the Wallowa band were unilaterally given thirty days to leave their homeland. In response to this ultimatum, some younger Indians attacked a group of whites. Young Joseph, chief with his brother, Ollickut, reluctantly sided with the resisters. When soldiers came, firing on an Indian delegation under a flag of peace, the Indians fired back. Joseph's band, about 450 Indians under the leadership of Looking Glass, knew that they could never return home or escape punishment at the hands of the United States. They decided to head for Canada.

During their two-month flight, the group traveled 1,700 miles, constantly evading and outwitting several thousand U.S. Army troops. They did fight several battles during their journey but never were defeated. They also passed through Yellowstone National Park at one point, encountering tourists but





leaving them in peace. Joseph was just one of the leaders of this flight, but he became the most important and well-known. Many Indians died along the way.

Tired, hungry, and cold, the group was forced to surrender in early October just thirty miles from Canada. Joseph and other Nez Percé were never allowed to return to their homeland. Those who survived were exiled to Kansas and the Indian Territory (Oklahoma), where many died of disease, and finally to the Colville Reservation in Washington.

The sharply rising death rate among the Nez Percé from tuberculosis after the 1870s stemmed largely from the replacement of their traditional mat houses by “modern” wooden ones. Heavy missionization had by the end of the nineteenth century resulted in factionalism and considerable loss of tribal heritage. In 1971, the Nez Percé received land claims settlements of \$3.5 million.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Fur Trade; Joseph, Yonger; Long March; Women in Native Woodlands Societies.

## Okanagon

“Okanagon” means “seeing the top, or head.” Another self-designation is *Isonkva’ili*, “Our People.” The Okanagons were the main tribe of a culturally related group of Indians that also included the Senjextee (Lake), Colville, and Sanpoil Indians. They are occasionally known today as the northern Okanagons (Canada) and the Sinkaietks (United States). Okanagon Indians spoke a dialect of interior Salish.

Okanagons traditionally lived in the Okanagon and Similkameen River Valleys, including Lake Okanagon, in Washington and British Columbia. Today, most Okanagons live on the Colville Reservation, on reserves in British Columbia, and in regional cities and towns.

Two geographical divisions, the Similkameen and the Okanagon proper, were each composed of between five and ten autonomous bands. Each band was led by a (usually hereditary) chief with advisory powers. The true locus of authority was found in a council of older men. War, hunt, and dance chiefs were selected as needed.

Winter dwellings were of two types. One was a conical, semisubterranean, pole-frame lodge covered

with earth. This type was about ten to sixteen feet in diameter, and entry was through the roof. The people also built rectangular, mat-covered, multifamily lodges. In summer they used conical, tule mats on pole frames and, later, skin teepees. Men and women used domed sweat houses for purification; the structures were also used as living quarters for youths in spirit training.

Salmon was the main staple. Large and small game, including elk, bear, bighorn sheep, and marmot, was also important. Dogs sometimes assisted in the hunt, in which animals were often surrounded and/or driven over a cliff. Meat was roasted, boiled, or dried. Buffalo was always part of the diet but became more important when groups began using horses to hunt the herds on the Great Plains. Important plant foods included camas, bitterroot, berries, and nuts.

Men caught fish with dip nets, seine nets, traps, weirs, spears, and hook and line. Stone, bone, and antler provided the raw material for most tools. Women made cedar-bark or woven spruce root baskets with geometric designs. Some baskets were woven tight enough to hold water. Women also specialized in making woven sacks. They sewed tule mats with Indian hemp.

Okanagons undertook a gradual northward expansion following their acquisition of horses in the mideighteenth century. They first encountered non-Native traders in the early nineteenth century and Catholic Indians and missionaries shortly thereafter. The tribe was artificially divided when the United States–Canada boundary was fixed in 1846. The Sinkaietks did not participate in the Yakima War (1855–1856), although some joined in fighting the United States later in that decade.

A gold strike on the Fraser River in 1858 brought an influx of miners and increased the general level of interracial conflict. Most U.S. Okanagons settled on the Colville Reservation in 1872. The Canadian Okanagons were assigned to several small reserves.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Horse, Economic Impact; Women in Native Woodlands Societies.

## Pend d’Oreille

*See* Kalispel.





## Salish

“Salish” or Flathead, comes from the fact that they did not, like many neighboring peoples, shape their babies’ foreheads (they left them “flat”). Their self-designation was *Se’lic*, or “People.” Traditionally, the Salish lived in western Montana, around the Rocky Mountains and Little Belt Mountains. Today, most live in the Flathead, Lake, Missoula, and Sanders Counties in Montana. The Salish spoke a dialect of Interior Salish.

All Salish-speaking Indians probably originated in British Columbia. From their base in western Montana, the Salish may have moved farther east onto the Plains before being pushed back around 1600 by the Blackfeet. The Salish continued moving westward, into north central Idaho, throughout the following two centuries.

Various bands were formed of several related families. Each band was led by a chief, possibly hereditary in earlier times, and an assistant chief, both chosen by merit. Beginning in the late prehistoric period, as tribal cohesiveness increased, the band chiefs formed a tribal council to advise a tribal chief, and later the band chiefs themselves were relegated to the status of minor chiefs or subchiefs. In addition, individuals were selected as needed to lead various activities such as hunting and war.

Rule- or lawbreakers were punished by public whipping and/or ridicule. Premarital sexual relations were frowned on; the woman could be whipped if discovered. Although some people eloped, marriage was arranged by families and formalized by cohabitation and a formal ceremony. Polygamy was common. Women were responsible for all domestic tasks.

Winter dwellings were of two types. One was a partially excavated, conical mat (cedar bark, hemp) house on a wooden frame; the other was a long communal and ceremonial lodge. Brush shelters sufficed during camping and mountain hunting trips. Bark or skin teepees gained popularity after horse ownership turned the Salish into buffalo hunters.

Beginning in the eighteenth century, buffalo, hunted on the Great Plains, became a key food item. Before this period, however, the Salish ate a number of animals including elk, deer, antelope, and small game. Fish, including trout, salmon, and whitefish, formed an important part of their diet. Plant foods included camas, bitterroot, other bulbs, roots, and berries.

Men used hook and line, nets, traps, and weirs to catch fish. Women made birchbark and woven skin containers as well as coiled cedar baskets. They also made twined grass spoons.

Around 1700 the Salish acquired horses and assumed a great deal of the culture of Plains Indians (including buffalo hunting, stronger tribal organization, and raiding). Ongoing wars with the Blackfeet as well as several smallpox epidemics combined in the eighteenth century to reduce their population significantly. They also encountered Christian Iroquois Indians during this time.

Although disease preceded their physical arrival, non-Indians began trading in Salish country shortly after the 1805 visit of the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition. The missionary period began in 1841. In 1855, a major land cession (the Hellgate Treaty) established the Flathead, or Jocko, Reservation, but most Salish Indians avoided confinement until at least 1872, in part owing to their friendliness with the Americans. During these years, other tribes were placed on the reservation, and the buffalo herds diminished rapidly. Charlot, the leader of one Salish band, held out in the Bitterroot Mountains until 1891, when his people finally joined the Flathead Reservation.

The government considered terminating the reservation in the 1950s but was successfully opposed by tribal leaders. In 1960, the tribe won roughly \$4.4 million in land claims settlements.

*See also* Buffalo; Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Horse, Economic Impact.

## Sanpoil

“Sanpoil” or “San Poil” is derived from a Native word possibly referring to what may have been their self-designation, *Sinpauelish* (*Snpui’lux*). They were culturally and linguistically similar to the neighboring Nespelem Indians. Late eighteenth-century Sanpoils lived near the Columbia and the Sanpoil Rivers, in north central Washington. The environment is one of desert and semidesert. Today, most Sanpoils live in Ferry and Okanagon Counties in Washington and in regional cities and towns. With the Nespelem, the Sanpoil spoke a particular dialect of Interior Salish.

Autonomous villages were each led by a chief and a subchief; these lifetime offices were hereditary





in theory but who were generally filled by people possessing the qualities of honesty, integrity, and diplomacy. Unlike some other Plateau groups, only men could be chiefs. The authority of Sanpoil chiefs to serve as adviser, judge, and general leader was granted mainly through consensus. As judge, the chief had authority over crimes of nonconformity such as witchcraft, sorcery, and assault. His penalty usually consisted of a fine and/or lashes on the back.

An informal assembly of all married adults confirmed a new chief and oversaw other aspects of village life. All residents of the village were considered citizens. Village size averaged about thirty to forty people, or roughly three to five extended families, although some villages had as many as 100 people. Other village leaders included a messenger, a speaker, and a salmon chief (often a shaman, with the salmon as a guardian spirit, who supervised salmon-related activities). By virtue of their ability to help or hurt people, shamans also acquired relative wealth and power from their close association with chiefs, who liked to keep them allied.

Local villages had associated, nonexclusive territories or subsistence areas. Any person was free to live anywhere she or he wanted; that is, family members could associate themselves with relatives of their settlement, relatives of a different settlement, or a settlement where they had no relatives. The winter was a time for visits and ceremonies. During that season, women also made mats and baskets, made or repaired clothing, and prepared meals while men occasionally hunted or just slept, gambled, and socialized.

People rose at dawn, in the winter and summer, and began the day by bathing in the river. In spring, groups of four or five families left the village for root-digging areas; those who had spent the winter away from the main village returned. The old and the ill generally remained in camp.

Pacifism, generosity, and interpersonal equality and autonomy were highly valued. Girls fasted and were secluded for ten days at the onset of puberty, except for a nighttime running regime. The exchange of gifts between families constituted a marriage, a relationship that was generally stable and permanent. Corpses were wrapped in tule mats or deerskin and buried with their possessions. The family burned the deceased's house and then observed various taboos and purification rites. The land of the dead was envisioned as being located at the end of the Milky Way.

Sanpoil Indians used the typical Plateau-style winter houses. One was a single-family structure, circular and semisubterranean, about ten to sixteen feet in diameter, with a flat or conical roof. People covered a wood frame with planks or mats and then a layer of grass, brush, and earth. Entry was gained through the smoke hole, which could be covered by a tule mat. The interior was also covered with a layer of grass.

They also built communal houses consisting of a pole framework covered by grass, earth, and tule mats. These houses were about sixteen feet wide, between twenty-four and sixty feet long, and about fourteen feet high, with gabled roofs. Entry was through matted double doors. Each family had an individual tule-covered section, but they shared a number of fireplaces in the central passage.

Summer houses were similar in construction, but they were smaller, single-family structures. Some more closely resembled a mere windbreak. Some groups built adjoining rectangular, flat-roofed summer mat houses/windbreaks. Mat houses were always taken down after the season. Men also built sweat lodges of grass and earth over a willow frame.

Food was much more often acquired by the family than by the village. Fish was a staple. Men caught four varieties of salmon as well as trout, sturgeon, and other fish. They fished from May through October. Although women could not approach the actual fishing areas, they cleaned and dried the fish. Dried fish and sometimes other foods made up much of the winter diet. People generally ate two meals a day in summer and one in winter.

Women gathered shellfish, salmon eggs, bulbs, roots, nuts, seeds, berries, and prickly pear. Camas was eaten raw, roasted, boiled, and made into cakes. A short ceremony was performed over the first gathered crop of the season. Men hunted most large and small game in the fall. They prepared for the hunt by sweating and singing. Women came along to help dress and carry the game. Men also hunted birds and gathered mollusks. Venison and berries were pounded with fat to make pemmican.

Fish were caught using traps, nets, spears, and weirs. Spearing required the construction and use of artificial channels and platforms. Utensils were carved from wood. Women made woven cedar, juniper, or spruce root baskets, including water containers and cooking pots. Women also made the all-important mats of tule and other grasses, whose uses included houses, bedding (skins were also used), privacy screens, waterproofing, holding food, and





wrapping corpses. There was also some sun-dried pottery covered with fish skin.

Severe epidemics in the late eighteenth century and in the late 1840s and early 1850s depleted the Sanpoil population considerably. Sanpoils were among the Indians who visited Catholic missionaries at Kettle Falls in 1838. By avoiding the wars of the 1850s and by consciously eschewing contact with non-Indians, they managed to remain free until 1872, when they were moved to the Colville Reservation. Even after confinement, the Sanpoils refused government tools, preferring to hunt, fish, and gather by traditional means and to conduct small-scale farming.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power ; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Women in Native Woodlands Societies; Worldviews and Values.

## Shuswap

“Shuswap” means “to know, recognize” or “to unfold, spread.” The word may also refer to relationships between people. They may once have called themselves *Xatsu’l*, “on the cliff where the bubbling water comes out.” The people currently refer to themselves as the Great Secwepemc Nation. Shuswaps continue to live in and near their aboriginal territory in the Fraser and North and South Thompson River Valleys, British Columbia. Shuswap is a dialect of the Interior division of the Salishan language family.

The Interior Salishan people settled in their historic areas roughly 9,000 years ago. Hudson’s Bay Company posts were established in the early nineteenth century. The people soon became active in the fur trade. Intertribal warfare ended in the early 1860s. About that time, the Shuswaps were decimated by epidemics, in part brought by gold miners flooding the region. Non-Natives squatted on and then claimed the land of the ailing Shuswaps. A Shuswap reserve of 176 square miles was created in 1865; it was soon reduced to one square mile. A second reserve was created in 1895. In 1945, with the Chilcotin and other groups, the Shuswaps founded the British Columbia Interior Confederation to try to persuade provincial and federal officials to be more responsive to their needs.

The Shuswaps were divided into about seven autonomous bands. All had hereditary chiefs who advised, lectured on correct behavior, and coordi-

nated subsistence activities. There were also specialized chiefs for war, hunt, dance, and other activities.

Bands were more or less nomadic, according to their food sources. By the nineteenth century, the northern and western bands had adopted the Northwest Coast pattern of social stratification. The nobility belonged to hereditary crest groups, and commoners belonged to nonhereditary associations. Slaves were generally acquired in battle or trade. At puberty, boys undertook guardian spirit quests, whereas girls were secluded and practiced basket-making and other skills. They also fasted and prayed, and they went out at night to run, exercise, and bathe.

Men built circular winter lodges of cedar bark and earth on a wood frame. Lodges were excavated to a depth of around six feet and ranged between twenty and thirty-five feet in diameter. The floor was covered with spruce boughs. The clan totem was carved on the center pole or on an outside pole (lower division). Larger log and plank dwellings had several rooms and housed between four and eight families. Oblong or conical mat-covered houses served as shelter in the summer.

Fish, especially salmon, was the staple in some areas. People away from rivers depended on large and small game and fowl. All groups ate roots and berries. Men caught fish with nets, basket traps, spears, weirs, and hooks. Hunting equipment included bow and arrow, traps, and spears. Utensils and some baskets were made of birchbark, coiled baskets were fashioned from cedar or spruce roots, and many tools were made of stone. People also made skin or woven grass bags. Digging sticks had wood or antler cross-handles.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Reservation Economic and Social Conditions.

## Sinkaietk

*See* Okanagon.

## Sinkiuse

“Sinkiuse” means “between people,” and the Sinkiuses were also known as the Columbia, Isle de Pierre, and Moses band. In late pre-contact times, the Sinkiuses lived mainly along the east bank of the





*Sinkiuse-Columbia on the Colville Reservation in Washington play a game of chance in 1911. (Library of Congress)*

Columbia River, although they ranged throughout the plateau south and east of the river. Today, their descendents live on the Colville Reservation, in Ferry and Okanogan Counties in Washington, and in cities and towns around central Washington. The Sinkiuses spoke a dialect of Interior Salish.

The Sinkiuses may have come either from the lower Columbia River area or from a more northerly location. They encountered non-Indians and joined the fur trade in 1811. They fought the United States in the 1850s under their chief, Moses, but adopted a peaceful stance after the war. The Columbia Reservation was established in 1879 and was abolished several years later. Four bands followed Chief Moses to the Colville Reservation; others accepted allotments and lost their geographic identity.

Autonomous villages were each led by a chief and a subchief; these lifetime offices were hereditary in theory but were generally filled by people possessing the qualities of honesty, integrity, and diplomacy. The authority of chiefs was granted mainly through consensus.

An informal assembly of all married adults confirmed a new chief and oversaw other aspects of village life. All residents of the village were considered citizens. Other village leaders included a messenger, a speaker, and a salmon chief (often a shaman, with the salmon as a guardian spirit, who supervised salmon-related activities). By virtue of their ability to help or hurt people, shamans also acquired relative wealth and power from their close association with chiefs, who liked to keep them allied.

The Sinkiuses were seminomadic for nine months a year; during the other three they lived in permanent wintertime villages. Winter was a time for visits and ceremonies. During that season, women also made mats and baskets, made or repaired clothing, and prepared meals; men occasionally hunted or just slept, gambled, and socialized.

In spring, groups of four or five families left the village for root-digging areas; those who had spent the winter away from the main village returned. People rose at dawn, in the winter and summer, and began the day by bathing in the river. The men's





realm was toolmaking, war, hunting, fishing, and, later, horses.

Pacifism, generosity, and interpersonal equality and autonomy were highly valued. Girls fasted and were secluded for ten days at the onset of puberty, except for a nighttime running regime. The exchange of gifts between families constituted a marriage, a relationship that was generally stable and permanent.

The Sinkiuses built typical Plateau-style, semi-excavated, cone-shaped wood-frame houses covered with woven matting and/or grass. Longer, lodge-style structures of similar construction were used for communal activities. Villages also contained mat-covered sweat lodges. Temporary brush shelters served as summer houses. Later, skin teepees replaced the aboriginal structures.

They also built communal tule-mat houses consisting of a pole framework covered by grass, earth, and tule mats. These houses were about sixteen feet wide, between twenty-four to sixty feet long, and about fourteen feet high, with gabled roofs. Entry was through matted doors. Each family had an individual tule-covered section, but they shared a number of fireplaces in the central passage.

Food was much more often acquired by the family than by the village. Fish was a staple. Men caught four varieties of salmon as well as trout, sturgeon, and other fish. They fished from May through October. Women cleaned, dried, and stored the fish. Dried fish and sometimes other foods made up much of the winter diet. People generally ate two meals a day in the summer and one in the winter.

Women gathered shellfish, salmon eggs, bulbs, roots, nuts, seeds, and berries. Camas was eaten raw, roasted, boiled, and made into cakes. A short ceremony was performed over the first gathered crop of the season. Men hunted most large and small game in the fall. They prepared for the hunt by sweating and singing. Women came along to help dress and carry the game. Men also hunted birds and gathered mollusks.

Men caught fish with nets, weirs, traps, and hook and line. Utensils were carved of wood. Women made coiled baskets of birchbark and/or cedar root; they also wove wallets and bags of woven strips of skin, and they sewed tule mats and other items.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Women in Native Woodlands Societies; Worldviews and Values.

## Spokan

The Spokans were a Plateau tribe having three geographic divisions: upper, lower, and middle. They have also been known as Muddy People, as well as Sun People, probably after a faulty translation of their name. Their self-designation was *Spoqe'ind*, "round head." The Spokans lived along the Spokane River in the mideighteenth century, in eastern Washington and northern Idaho. Today they live on reservations in Washington and Idaho as well as in regional cities and towns. Spokan is a dialect of the interior division of the Salishan language family.

The Spokans probably originated in British Columbia along with other Salish groups. Each division of Spokans was composed of a number of bands, which were in turn composed of groups of related families. Bands were led by a chief and an assistant chief, who were selected on the basis of leadership qualities. The office of band chief may once have been hereditary. Several bands might winter together in a village and at that time select an ad hoc village chief. Decisions were made by consensus. In the historic period, as authority became more centralized, there was also a tribal chief.

The Spokans were seminomadic for nine months a year; during the other three they lived in permanent winter villages. The men's realm consisted of toolmaking, warring, hunting, fishing, and, later, caring for horses. The dead were covered with skins and robes and buried after spending some time on a scaffold. A pole marked the grave site.

The Spokans built typical Plateau-style, semi-excavated, cone-shaped wood-frame houses covered with woven matting and/or grass. Longer, lodge-style structures of similar construction were used for communal activities. Villages also contained mat-covered sweat lodges. Temporary brush shelters served as summertime houses. Later, skin teepees replaced the aboriginal structures.

Fish, especially salmon, was the staple. Trout and whitefish were also important. These were mostly smoked, dried, and stored for the winter. Men hunted local big game and, later, buffalo on the Plains. A favorite hunting technique was for many men to surround the animal. Important plant foods included camas, bitterroot and other roots, bulbs, seeds, and berries.

Men caught fish with nets, weirs, traps, and hook and line. Women made coiled baskets of birchbark and/or cedar root; they also wove wallets and





bags of woven strips of skin, and they sewed tule mats and other items.

After they acquired horses from Kalispel Indians, around the mideighteenth century, they began hunting buffalo on the Great Plains. This was especially true of the upper division. By the time they encountered the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition in 1805, their population had already declined significantly as a result of smallpox epidemics.

Following the Lewis and Clark visit, the North West, Hudson's Bay, and American Fur Companies quickly established themselves in the area. Missionaries arrived in the 1830s: They found the Spokans to be reluctant converts, and the influence of Christianity acted to create factionalism within the tribe. Interracial relations declined sharply in the late 1840s with the Whitman massacre and the closing of the Protestant mission. Severe smallpox epidemics in 1846 and again in 1852 and 1853 helped spur the rise of the Prophet Dance and the Dreamer Cult.

After miners had effectively dispossessed the Spokans from their territory, they joined with Coeur d'Alenes, Yakimas, Palouses, and Paiutes in the short-lived 1858 Coeur d'Alene, or Spokane, War. Spokane Indians then remained on their land as best they could or settled on various reservations. Despite pleas from Chief Joseph, they remained neutral in the 1877 Nez Percé War. In that year, the lower division agreed to move to the Spokane Reservation (officially declared a reservation in 1881, 154,898 acres). Ten years later, the other two divisions, as well as some remaining lower Spokans, agreed to move to either the Flathead, Colville, or Coeur d'Alene Reservation. The local fort, Fort Spokane, became an Indian boarding school from 1898 to 1906. There were also conflicts over land with non-Natives in and around the city of Spokane at this time.

In the early twentieth century, much tribal land was lost to the allotment process as well as to "surplus" land sales to non-Indians. Dams built in 1908 (Little Falls) and 1935 (Grand Coulee) ruined the local fishery. Uranium mining began in the 1950s. The Spokane tribe successfully fought off termination proceedings begun in 1955. In 1966, the tribe received a land claims settlement of \$6.7 million.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Fur Trade; Termination; Women in Native Woodlands Societies.

## Thompson

The Thompson Indians are also known as Ntlakya-pamuk. The Thompson Indian homeland is the Fraser, Thompson, and Nicola River Valleys in southwest British Columbia. The Thompson language is a dialect of the Interior division of the Salishan language family.

Several trading companies became established in Thompson country following the initial visit of non-Indians in about 1809. Miners flooded in after an 1858 gold strike, taking over land, disrupting subsistence patterns, and generally forcing the Indian population to the brink of ruin. Disease, too, took a heavy toll during the nineteenth century, killing as many as 70 percent of the pre-contact Indian population. The government of British Columbia confined the Thompson Indians to reserves in the late nineteenth century.

The Thompson Indians recognized two geographical divisions, located downstream and upstream of approximately the location of Cisco on the Fraser River. Within the divisions, bands were autonomous, consisted of related families, and were led by hereditary chiefs whose powers were largely advisory. A council of older men wielded real authority.

In the winter, people lived in circular, earth-covered pole-frame lodges built in pits. Each lodge was about twenty to forty feet in diameter and could hold between fifteen and thirty people. Entry was via a notched ladder inserted through the smoke hole. In the summer, people used oblong or circular lodges consisting of rush mats over a pole frame. Both men and women used domed sweat houses for purification. Sweat houses were also homes for youths during their spirit quest period.

The Thompson Indians subsisted on the typical Plateau diet of fish, especially salmon; some large and small game; and plant foods that included many roots, berries, and nuts (especially camas and bitter-root).

Men caught fish by using weirs, seine nets, traps, dip nets, and hook and line. They also carved soapstone (steatite) pipes. Bows were often made of juniper. Women made cedar-root or birchbark baskets decorated with geometric designs, as well as birch and spruce bark containers. Some were woven tight enough to hold water. Women also wove blankets of goat wool or strips of rabbit fur, and they sewed tule mats with Indian hemp cord. Digging sticks featured antler or wood cross-handles. Other





tools and utensils were also made of stone, antler, and bone.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Women in Native Woodlands Societies; Worldviews and Values.

## Umatilla

"Umatilla" is a name derived from a village name meaning "many rocks." This group is culturally similar to other Sahaptian people, such as the Klikitats, Nez Percé, Walla Wallas, and Yakimas. The Umatilla homeland was located along the lower Umatilla River and the Columbia River west of the mouth of the Walla Walla River. Today, most Umatillas live in Umatilla and Union Counties in Oregon and in regional cities and towns. The Umatilla language is a member of the Sahaptian division of the Penutian language family.

Small, local bands each had one or more villages and fishing areas. Civil chiefs led the bands, although war chiefs exercised temporary power during periods of conflict. Chiefs were generally selected by a combination of merit, heredity, and wealth. Chiefs and old men made up the village and tribal councils; decisions were made by consensus. The bands came together under a single chief in times of celebration and danger.

Each band contained at least one permanent winter village and a number of temporary fishing camps. Some subsistence areas were considered tribal property.

Permanent settlements were located along rivers. Winter dwellings were semisubterranean, circular wood-frame structures covered with cedar bark, sage, mats, grasses, and earth. The roof was flat or conical. Mats covered the floors. These houses, up to sixty feet long, held up to fifty families. People slept along inner walls and shared fires along the center. In summer, people built temporary brush lean-tos. Some groups adopted hide tipis in the eighteenth century.

Umatillas moved with the food supply. Fish, especially salmon, was the staple, along with trout, eel, and sturgeon. Salmon was broiled, baked, boiled, or dried, smoked, and stored. Animal food included elk, deer, moose, mountain sheep, rabbits, and small game. Parties also traveled to the Plains to hunt buffalo. Some meat was jerked for winter. Deer were run down or shot, as were other game, with a

bow and arrow or killed with a spear. Some animals were hunted with the use of decoys.

Women gathered plant foods such as camas, kouse, bitterroot, wild carrot, wild onion, and berries. Camas, dug in the midsummer, was peeled and baked in a pit oven. Most berries were dried and stored for winter. Other food included shellfish, fowl, eggs, and birds. People ate horses, lichens, and tree inner bark when there was nothing else to eat. Most food was either boiled or steamed in pits, or roasted in ashes.

Fish were speared from platforms and caught using nets, spears, small traps, and weirs. Men used various nooses, snares, nets, and deadfalls for hunting as well as bows made of mountain sheep horn. Women made a range of woven and coiled baskets, some watertight, as well as woven reed bags. They also made cups, bowls, winnowing baskets, women's caps, and mats of cattails and tule. Many baskets were made of Indian hemp, bear grass, and other grasses.

Other important raw materials included bone, horn, and wood. Many tools and items, such as mortars, pestles, knives, and mauls, were made of chipping and flaking stone and also obsidian. Mattresses were cottonwood inner bark or dry grass, blankets were elk hides, and folded skins served as pillows. The ubiquitous digging stick was fire-hardened with a wood or antler cross-handle.

The relatively early acquisition of horses gave the Umatillas a trade advantage, although they also traded widely before they had the horse. They acquired items made as far away as British Columbia and the Mississippi Valley. Abalone was among the items they acquired from coastal Indians, along with carved wooden items, dried clams, dentalium shells, and wapato root.

As with other regional Indian groups, the Umatillas first encountered non-Natives when the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition passed through their territory around 1805. Fur traders quickly moved in shortly thereafter. Severe epidemics began in the midnineteenth century, about the same time Catholic and Protestant missionaries flocked to the region.

The Umatillas enjoyed a peaceful relationship with non-Indians until the late 1840s. In 1851 a Catholic mission, previously established in 1847 and then abandoned, was rebuilt. At that time the Umatillas sent warriors to support the Cayuses in their war against whites from the Willamette Valley. In the mid-1850s they were forced, with the Walla





Wallas and the Cayuses, to cede over 4 million acres and accept the creation of a reservation. The Umatillas joined the Yakima War from 1855 to 1856. However, two decades later, they fought against the Indians in the Bannock War (1878). Umatillas were responsible for the death in that war of the Paiute Chief Egan. Despite the Indians' possible hopes for better treatment at the hands of the whites, the original reservation of over 245,000 acres was quickly pared to under 100,000 by the process of allotment and the sale of "surplus" to non-Indians.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Fur Trade; Worldviews and Values.

## Walla Walla

*See* Umatilla.

## Warm Springs Reservation, Confederated Tribes of the

*See* Paiute, Northern; Umatilla; Wishram.

## Wasco

*See* Wishram.

## Wishram

The Wishrams, or Tlakluits, were a Plateau group, with many cultural attributes of Northwest Coast Indians. They were culturally similar to the neighboring Wasco people. Wishram Indians lived along the north bank of the Columbia River, several miles above and below The Dalles. Today, their descendants live on local reservations, especially the Yakima, and in regional cities and towns. Each of several villages was led by a hereditary chief. Wishram was a member of the Chinookan (Kiksht) division of the Penutian language family.

Wishram Indians observed the system of social stratification typical of Northwest Coast Indians: There were nobles, a middle class, commoners, and slaves. The slaves were acquired in war or trade, but slavery was also hereditary. Marriage was formalized by an exchange of gifts and family visits. Infants

were occasionally betrothed for purposes of creating or cementing family alliances. Corpses were wrapped in buckskin and interred in plank burial houses. Remarriage to the dead spouse's sibling was common. Fishing areas were privately owned and inheritable by groups of families.

Wishrams probably built plank houses characteristic of the coastal style. Beginning about the eighteenth century, they also built circular winter houses, holding between one and six families. These were built of a pole framework over a six-foot pit, covered with mats of grass and dirt or cedar bark. Entry was through the smoke hole. Bed platforms were located around the walls. In the summer, people built gabled-roof mat lodges with several fireplaces. Hunters and mourners purified themselves, and the sick were healed, in sweat lodges.

Fish, especially salmon, pike, eels, sturgeon, and smelts, was the most important food. Salmon eggs were also eaten. Fish were either eaten fresh or dried or smoked and ground for long-term storage. Important plant foods included roots, bulbs (especially camas), wild onions, wild potatoes, acorns, and various nuts and berries. Men hunted game to supplement the diet. In addition to nets, weirs, traps, and spears for fishing, men made a variety of carved wood tools and utensils. Women made twined baskets and bags decorated with geometric figures.

The Dalles, or Five Mile Rapids, in Wishram territory was the most important trading location in the Northwest; several thousand Northwest Coast and Plateau Indians traded there during various trade fairs. The Wishram and Wasco people acted as intermediaries in the trade of a huge amount and variety of items, including blankets, shells, slaves, canoes, fish and animal products, dried roots, bear grass, and, later, horses. Trade connections stretched from Canada to Mexico and from the Rocky Mountains west to the ocean.

Owing to their very important location at The Dalles, the Wishrams traditionally enjoyed favorable trade relations with many neighboring tribes. In the early nineteenth century, however, non-Indian traders threatened this position while the Wishram population was declining rapidly due to disease. Conflict with traders was one result. Ongoing intertribal warfare also took a population toll.

In 1855, the Wishrams and Wascos were forced to sign treaties ceding most of their land (roughly 10 million acres); the treaties established the Warm Springs Reservation in north central Oregon. Wishram Indians also became part of the Yakima





Indian nation on the Yakima Reservation. A key treaty provision allowing the Indians to fish “at all . . . usual and accustomed stations in common with the citizens of the United States . . .” served as the basis for a landmark legal ruling in 1974 that protected the Northwest Coast Indian fishery. In the 1860s members of the Warm Springs Reservation organized informally into linguistic and cultural divisions: There were Sahaptian-speaking people (Warm Springs Indians); Upper Chinookan-speaking Wasco and Wishrams; and Northern Paiutes after 1879.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Trade; Women in Native Woodlands Societies; Worldviews and Values.

## Yakima (Yakama)

“Yakima,” meaning “runaway,” is the common name for the people who called themselves *Waptailmim*, “People of the Narrow River.” The Yakima people may have originated from members of neighboring tribes such as the Palouses and Nez Percé. The Yakima homeland is located along the Columbia, Wenatchee, and Yakima Rivers in southern Washington. It includes lands from the Cascade summits to the Columbia River. Yakima is a member of the Sahaptian division of the Penutian language family.

Leaders of autonomous bands were selected partly by merit and also by heredity. The bands came together under a head chief in times of celebration and danger.

Groups of families lived together in permanent winter villages, where they raced, gambled, and held festivals. During the rest of the year individual families dispersed to hunt, fish, and gather food. Corpses were buried in pits where they were sometimes cremated as well. Graves were marked by a ring of stones. More than one individual may have been buried and cremated at a time. Burials also occurred in rock slides, where they were marked with stakes.

The winter lodge consisted of a semisubterranean, rectangular, pole-frame structure covered with mats and earth. Skin-covered teepees were adopted during the eighteenth century.

Fish, especially five kinds of salmon, steelhead trout, eel, and sturgeon, was the staple. Fish was eaten fresh or dried, ground, and stored. People also ate game, roots, berries, and nuts. Men fished using platforms, weirs, dip nets, harpoons, and traps. They



*Yakima woman with papoose in the early 1900s. (Library of Congress)*

hunted using bow and arrow and deadfalls. Other technological items included skin bags, baskets (some watertight), and carved wooden utensils.

Yakima bands acquired horses by the early eighteenth century and began hunting buffalo on the Great Plains. Horses brought them wealth, but, even though the people acquired certain aspects of Plains culture, they did not become wholesale buffalo hunters, as some other Plateau tribes did. In 1805 the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition arrived, soon followed by many trappers, missionaries, and traders. The missionaries found reluctant converts. By the early to midnineteenth century, the Yakimas had suffered dramatic population reductions owing to disease as well as to warfare with the Shoshone.

In 1855, the governor of Washington forced local Indians to cede 10.8 million acres of land. Most





tribes agreed to accept a 1.2-million-acre reservation. Shortly thereafter, gold was discovered north of the Spokane River. Although Indians retained fishing and gathering rights at their usual off-reservation places and were given two to three years to relocate after they signed the 1855 treaty, the governor declared their land open to non-Indians twelve days after the treaty council.

Friction was inevitable at this point. Miners killed some Yakimas, and the Indians retaliated in kind. When soldiers arrived, a large group of Indians drove them away. In response to the treacherous murder of a Walla Walla chief and negotiator, the Walla Walla, Palouse, Cayuse, and Umatilla Indians joined the Yakimas in fighting non-Indians. The war spread in 1856. Seattle was attacked, and southern Oregon tribes joined the fighting; that part of the conflict was called the Rogue River War (1855–1856). The Coeur d'Alene War of 1858, in which the Yakimas also participated, was essentially another part of the same conflict.

In 1859, following the end of the fighting and the execution of twenty-four Yakimas, the Indians agreed to settle on a reservation. The future Yakima Indian Nation included, in addition to the Yakima bands, the Klickitats, Wanapams, Wishrams, Palus (Palouse), and the Wenatchis. Reservation Yakimas entered a brief period of relative prosperity under a worthy Indian agent. Soon, however, facing the usual pressures to sell their land, most Indians were forced into poverty, mitigated in part by some seasonal work.

By 1891, about one-third of the reservation land had been allotted to individuals, but the Yakima

Nation, under Chief Shawaway Lotiahkan, retained the “surplus” usually sold to non-Indians in such cases. Still, much land that had been allotted to Indians was soon lost, including some of the best irrigated. Around the turn of the century as much as 80 percent of the reservation was in non-Indian hands. Some Indians also established homesteads on original village sites off the reservation. Despite government attempts to eradicate it, Indians retained their Wáashat (Longhouse) religion.

Dams (Bonneville in 1938, Grand Coulee in 1941, Dalles in 1956) destroyed the Native fisheries. During the course of the twentieth century, the number of salmon and steelhead that returned to spawn in the Yakima River declined by about 99 percent. The issue of fishing rights remained an important and controversial one from the beginning of the reservation period through its resolution in the Boldt decision of 1974.

Well into the twentieth century, Yakimas continued much of their traditional subsistence and ceremonial activities. In the 1950s, their long-standing fishing place, Celilo Falls, was lost to a dam. A tribal renaissance began around that time, however. It included the development of several tribal industries such as a furniture factory, clothing manufacturers, and a ceramic center as well as an all-Indian rodeo.

*See also* Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Fishing Rights; Women in Native Woodlands Societies; Worldviews and Values; Yakima.



# *Native Americans of the Great Plains*



## **Alabama-Coushatta**

See Alabama.

## **Apache, Plains**

Plains Apaches have also been known to non-Natives as Kiowa Apaches, Prairie Apaches, Plains Lipans, and possibly Catakas, Palomas, Wetapahatos, and Paducas. Their self-designation is *Na-i-shan Dine*, "Our People." (See also Kiowa.) Plains Apaches spoke an Athapaskan language.

Ancestors of the historic Plains Apaches may have lived in northeastern Wyoming and western South Dakota as early as the twelfth century. They may also have entered the Yellowstone Valley from Canada by 1600. In the early eighteenth century, the Comanches on the west and the Pawnees on the east forced Apaches living on the central Plains to the south and southwest. Cut off from their fellow Apacheans around 1720, the people known as Plains Apaches may have joined the Kiowa for protection. Although they functioned effectively as a Kiowa band and were a Plains tribe in all senses, they maintained a separate language and never came under the jurisdiction of the Kiowa tribal council.

Sacred bundles, with their associated ceremonies, were a focus of Kiowa religious practice. Plains Apaches adopted the Sun Dance in the eighteenth century, although they did not incorporate elements of self-mutilation into the ceremony. Young men also fasted to produce guardian spirit visions.

In general, wealth remained in the family through inheritance.

Corpses were buried or left in a teepee on a hill. Former possessions were given away. Mourners cut their hair and mutilated themselves. Before the people acquired horses, they hunted nearby buffalo and ate local roots, berries, seeds, and bulbs. Buffalo became a staple after the mideighteenth century. Men also hunted other large and small game. They did not eat bear at all and fish rarely. Women gathered a variety of wild potatoes and other vegetables, fruits, nuts, and berries. Plains Apaches ate dried, pounded acorns and also made them into a drink. Cornmeal and dried fruit were acquired by trade. The buffalo and other animals provided the materials for the usual items such as parfleches and other containers. Points for bird arrows came from prickly pear thorns. The cradle board was a bead-covered skin case attached to a V-shaped frame. Women made shallow, coiled basketry gambling trays and built skin teepees.

During the eighteenth century, Plains Apaches traded extensively with the upper Missouri tribes. There was also regular trade with New Mexico, where they exchanged meat, buffalo hides, and salt for cornmeal and dried fruit. During the nineteenth century they traded Comanche horses to the Osages and other tribes. Calendric skins and beadwork were two important Native artistic traditions.

Plains Apaches are probably the Apaches del Norte named in the historical record as the group of Apaches who arrived in New Mexico by the late eighteenth century. They moved back and forth between New Mexico and the upper Missouri area





during the early nineteenth century, serving as trade intermediaries between New Mexico and the upper Missouri tribes, such as the Mandans and Arikaras. By the early 1850s, they and the Kiowas were spending more time south rather than north of the Arkansas River. They settled on the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache Reservation in 1868. In 1901, this reservation was allotted in 160-acre parcels to individual tribal members, with the “surplus” opened to non-Native settlement.

*See also* Na-Dene Peoples; Trade.

## Arapaho

“Arapaho” is probably from the Pawnee *tirapihu* (“trader”) or the Kiowa and Spanish word for “tattered and dirty clothing.” “Kanenavish” (various spellings), a term in use around 1800, was a corruption of the French *gens de vache* (“Buffalo People”). The Arapahos originally called themselves *Inuna-ina*, “Our People.” Arapaho is an Algonquin language.

At least 3,000 years ago the Arapahos, possibly united with the future Gros Ventres and other peoples, probably lived in the western Great Lakes region, where they grew corn and lived in permanent villages. They migrated by the eighteenth century to the upper Missouri River region, acquiring horses about that time.

Medicine bundles, containing various sacred objects, were said by the people to have magical powers. Medicine men (shamans or priests) used their bundles in ceremonies; other bundles belonged to secret societies or to the whole tribe. A flat pipe some two feet long, wrapped in a bundle, was the most sacred object for the tribe. Tobacco was smoked in it only as part of the most sacred ceremonies and occasions.

Each of four bands had a chief, but there was no principal chief. Bands wintered separately, along streams, and came together in the summer to hunt buffalo and celebrate ceremonies. Although menstruating women were avoided, and the subject was taboo, there was no formal girls’ puberty ceremony or menstrual seclusion. Men could marry more than one woman. Marriage was generally matrilineal. Blood relative and in-law taboos were strict. Extended family members, such as uncles and aunts, had specific responsibilities concerning their nieces and nephews.

Arapahos played the hoop-and-pole game and the cup-and-ball game and held athletic contests. Curing techniques included sweating in the sweat lodge and fumigation with roots, twigs, or herbs. There was one women’s society in addition to the men’s societies. The dead lay in state in fine clothing before being removed by horse and buried in a nearby hill. A favorite horse was killed. Mourners cut their hair, wore old clothes, and cut their arms and legs.

Buffalo had become a staple by the nineteenth century. Women made buffalo skin teepees. Willow-framed beds covered with skins lined the interior walls. There were no permanent villages, because the tribe migrated with the buffalo herds. Men also hunted elk, antelope, deer, and small animals. Meat was boiled in a hole in the ground filled with water and hot rocks. To preserve it for the winter, women dried it and sometimes mixed it with fat and chokecherries to make pemmican. They also gathered wild mountain fruits, roots, berries, and tobacco.

Arapahos may once have made ceramics. Most raw materials came from the buffalo or other animals. They carved items such as bowls from wood, some of which had artistic and/or religious significance. They smoked black stone pipes and made shallow basketry trays. Mandan villages along the Knife River (North Dakota) were a primary regional trading center. By the early nineteenth century the Arapaho traded buffalo robes with Mexicans and Americans for items not provided by the buffalo. They also served as intermediaries in trade between northern and southern Plains Indians.

Women decorated clothing, teepees, and other items with beautiful porcupine quill embroidery and painting. Designs often included legends and spiritual beings. Designs, which often represented natural and celestial features, included diamonds with appendages such as forked trees (triangles atop a line). The Arapahos probably acquired horses in the early eighteenth century. Babies were carried on the back in a U-shaped, wood-framed buckskin cradle board. The people used oval snowshoes in the winter.

Eight military societies were graded according to age. One, the Crazy Dog Society, was noted for its extreme bravery and valor. Traditional enemies included the Shoshones, Utes, Pawnees, Crows, Lakotas, Comanches, and Kiowas. The latter three tribes had become allies, with the southern Cheyennes, by the 1840s. Counting coup, or touch-





*Buffalo meat dries at an Arapaho camp near Fort Dodge, Kansas, in 1870. Once an agricultural people, the Arapaho migrated from Minnesota to the Great Plains in the late 1700s, when they began to hunt buffalo. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

ing the enemy with the hand or a stick, was highly prestigious, much more so than killing an enemy. Up to four people could count coup, in descending order of prestige, on the same enemy.

In the nineteenth century, the groups separated and divided into northern and southern Arapahos. The northern branch settled around the North Platte River in Wyoming and the southern branch in the area of Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River in Colorado. The two groups remained in close contact. By this time, the Arapahos had adopted the classic Great Plains culture: They were master horse riders, buffalo hunters, and raiders.

Early Anglo traders found the Arapahos very friendly and disposed to trade. Although fur traders entered the area in the 1730s, they merely observed intertribal trade of items of European manufacture, especially knives and guns but also metal tools and other items. Furs were not an important trade commodity until around the turn of the century. Traders also brought alcohol and disease into the region,

both to devastating effect. Still, powerful chiefs like Bear Tooth, favorably disposed to non-Indians, kept the peace in the early nineteenth century.

In 1837 a major war broke out, with the southern Arapahos and southern Cheyennes fighting against the Comanches. Peace was established in 1840, largely on Arapaho–Cheyenne terms. However, the opening of the Oregon Trail brought more non-Indians to the Plains and encouraged growing conflict, based on ignorance of Indian customs, land hunger, and race hatred.

Arapahos played a major role in the nineteenth-century wars for the Plains. The northern branch fought along with the Lakotas and the southern branch with the southern Cheyennes and occasionally with the Comanches and Kiowas. Although Arapahos signed the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, major gold finds in 1858–1859 caused further friction between Indians and non-Natives. Despite the existence of the treaty, in 1864 a group of southern Arapahos and Cheyennes, mostly





women and children, were attacked, massacred, and mutilated by U.S. Army troops at Sand Creek, Colorado, as part of a successful campaign to drive all Indians out of Colorado. Cut off from the rich Colorado buffalo herds and under further pressure from the United States, the Cheyennes and Arapahos in 1867 signed the Medicine Lodge Treaty, under which they formally ceded their lands north of the Arkansas River and were placed on a reservation in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Little Raven, a skilled orator and diplomat, represented his people in these negotiations.

By the terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty (1868), the northern Arapahos were supposed to settle with the Lakotas on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota. Holding out for their own reservation, the northern Arapahos remained in Wyoming, refusing also to settle with the southern Arapahos in the Indian Territory. They finally agreed in 1878 to become part of the eastern Shoshones' Wind River Reservation.

In the eighteenth century, the annual Sun Dance became the most important single ceremony. Its purpose was the renewal of nature and tribal prosperity. Some Arapahos adopted the Peyote religion in the 1890s. Many Arapahos, especially those on the Wind River Reservation, adopted the Ghost Dance religion in the late 1880s. By this time the enormous buffalo herds had been virtually wiped out. In 1890, the Arapahos and southern Cheyennes agreed to exchange their 3.5-million-acre reservation for allotments of 160 acres each. The group formally organized in 1937 as the Cheyenne–Arapaho Tribe.

*See also* Buffalo; Fort Laramie Treaty (1868); Sand Creek Massacre; Sun Dance; Trade.

## Arikara

"Arikara" means "horn," referring to a traditional hairstyle. Their self-designation is *Tanish*, "Original People." The Arikaras migrated from the central Plains into central South Dakota in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Arikara is a Caddoan language.

The Arikaras believed in a supreme deity who shared power with four lesser gods. Most religious festivals were associated with corn, which they originally acquired from the south and southwest. Medicine men possessed particularly fine,

generations-old ears of corn, within which resided the spirit of "mother corn." Religious activity included fasting, acquiring visions, and the possession and use of personal sacred bundles. Certain religious positions, such as the priesthood and the keeper of the sacred tribal medicine bundles, were hereditary within families.

Political centralization was weak among the Arikaras. Villages combined in a loose confederation of named bands. Village chiefs made up the band council, which assisted the head chief. The Arikaras were excellent swimmers; hauling trees out of the Missouri River provided them with firewood in an area short of trees. The game of shinny (a variation of hockey) was particularly popular, as were feats of dexterity, skill, and magic.

Families owned farms and dogs as well as dwellings. There were a number of mens' societies, focused on the hunt and on keeping order, as well as women's societies. Men hunted and provided protection; women were in charge of vegetable foods (garden plots), preparing hides for clothing as well as baskets and pottery, and caring for the lodge. Descent was matrilineal, and residence was matrilocal. Social rank was hereditary to a significant degree. The dead were buried sitting, wrapped in skins, their faces painted red. A year of mourning followed a death.

Arikaras located their villages on bluffs over the Missouri River. Partially excavated earth lodges measured about forty feet in diameter and held two or more extended families. A wooden framework supported woven willow branches and grass covered with earth. A lodge might last up to twenty years. Skin teepees served as temporary field dwellings. Later villages were strongly reinforced by wooden stockades and ditches.

Women grew corn, squash, beans, and sunflowers, fertilizing their crops and rotating their fields. They also cultivated tobacco. Men hunted buffalo and other large and small game. They also fished and gathered berries and other plants. Material items included willow weirs (fish traps); farm equipment, weapons, and utensils from buffalo parts; stone mortars; pottery cooking vessels; a variety of baskets; and leather pouches and other containers.

Women traded surplus crops, pots, and baskets to the Cheyennes, Kiowas, Lakotas, and other groups for buffalo and other animal products. There was also some cultural and material exchange among the Arikaras, the Mandans, and the Hidatsas. People used boats constructed of buffalo hide stretched over





a willow frame (bull boats) to cross the Missouri. They also wore snowshoes and used dogs and later (mid-eighteenth century) horses to pull travois. Women made blankets, robes, and moccasins of buffalo hide. They also made clothing of white weasel or ermine skin and made winter turbans of various animal skins.

Around the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Arikaras separated from the Skidi Pawnees in Nebraska and moved north along the Missouri River, spreading knowledge of agriculture along the way. They arrived in the Dakotas in the late eighteenth century.

Contact with French traders was established in the 1730s. During the early to mid-eighteenth century they acquired horses and ranged even farther west, to eastern Montana, to hunt buffalo. In the 1780s the people suffered a smallpox epidemic but continued to live relatively well, despite harassment by the Teton, Dakota, and other bands.

As a result of wars with the United States, the Arikaras retreated south to join their Pawnee relatives on the Loup River in Nebraska from the early 1820s through about 1835. A devastating smallpox epidemic in 1837 brought them to the verge of extinction. About 1845, the weakened Arikaras moved farther north and occupied land formerly under Mandan control (the latter having recently moved up the Missouri River with the Hidatsa).

In 1862, the Arikaras also moved up the Missouri to the Mandan/Hidatsa village of Like-a-Fishhook and joined politically with those two tribes. Like-a-Fishhook Village was a center of trade and commerce at that time. The Fort Laramie Treaty of 1851 recognized tribal holdings of more than 12 million acres.

In 1870, the United States established the 8-million-acre Fort Berthold Reservation for the tribes. This land was reduced, mostly by allotment, to about a million acres during the 1880s. By this time, Like-a-Fishhook had been abandoned, the people scattering to form communities along the Missouri River. The Arikaras lived in Nishu and Elbowwoods, on the east side of the river.

In the 1950s, against the tribes' vehement opposition, the United States built the Garrison Dam on the Missouri. The resulting Lake Sakakawea covered much of their land, farms, and homes. This event destroyed the tribes' economic base and permanently damaged their social structure.

*See also* Agriculture; Trade.

## Assiniboine

"Assiniboine" means "those who cook with stones" (Algonquin). Canadian Assiniboines are also known as Stoneys. Their traditional self-designation is unknown. (*See also* Nakota.) Assiniboines/Yanktonais speak the Nakota dialect of Dakota, a Siouan language. The Siouan people probably originated in the lower Mississippi Valley and moved north through Ohio and into the Lake Superior region (northern Minnesota/southwestern Ontario). In the seventeenth century, the Assiniboines lived near Lake Winnipeg. Since the eighteenth century, they have lived in present-day Montana and Saskatchewan.

Male and female specialists provided religious leadership. In the eighteenth century, the annual Sun Dance became the people's most important religious ceremony, although the custom of self-torture was not generally present. Wakonda was worshiped as a primary deity, although the Assiniboines also recognized natural phenomena such as sun and thunder. Sweat lodge purification was an important religious practice. Spirit visions could be obtained through quests or in dreams. Some ceremonies featured masked clowns.

The Assiniboines were composed of up to thirty bands, each with its own chief. The chieftainship was based on leadership skills and personal contacts rather than heredity. Each band also had a council, whose decisions were enforced by the *akitcita*, or camp police. The people valued hospitality highly. There were a number of men's and women's dance societies with various social and ceremonial importance. There may have been clans.

The dead were placed on tree scaffolds with their feet to the west. When the scaffolds fell through age, the bones were buried and the skulls placed in a circle, facing inward. Cremation was also practiced. All burial areas were treated with great respect. Dead warriors were dressed in their finest clothes. Their faces were painted red, their weapons placed beside them, and one of their horses was killed for use in the next life. Women's tools, such as those used for dressing skins, were placed beside them.

Pubescent girls were secluded for four days, during which time they observed dietary and behavioral restrictions. Brides were purchased. Marriage consisted of a simple gift-giving ceremony between parents. The people played lacrosse and games of skill and dexterity, such as shinny (a variation of hockey) and the cup-and-ball game, and held





athletic competitions. Most games were accompanied by gambling.

A village might contain up to 200 skin lodges or teepees. The average, which held two to four families, had roughly a thirty-foot circumference and was constructed of about twelve sewn buffalo hides. Assiniboiné teepees had a three-pole foundation. A temporary brush field shelter was also used.

Assiniboinés on the high plains lived mainly on game such as buffalo, elk, and antelope. Women often accompanied hunters to butcher the animals and cut the meat into strips to dry. Fresh meat was usually roasted on a spit, although it was sometimes boiled with hot rocks in a skin-lined hole. Other foods included wild berries, roots (turnip), fruits (grapes, plums), and nuts. The buffalo was the basis of all technology. Most items, such as clothing, tools, and utensils, were made of buffalo and other animal products. The flageolet (flute) was used in part to convey surreptitious messages between young lovers. Assiniboinés also played the rasp and the drum.

The people were known as shrewd traders. Before trade began with non-Indians, they generally traded pelts and meat with farming tribes for agricultural products. Significant art included decorative beaded quillwork (nineteenth century) and designs on tree bark. Dogs (later horses) carried saddlebags and travois. The people acquired horses in about the 1730s. They also used snowshoes.

The Plains Crees were traditional allies, with whom the Assiniboinés regularly fought the Dakotas, Crows, Gros Ventres, and Blackfeet. The Assiniboinés were recognized as highly capable warriors. Counting coup was more important than killing an enemy; four people might count coup on the same enemy, in descending order of prestige. Weapons included war clubs (a stone in a leather pouch attached to a stick), bow and arrow, and buffalo hide shields.

Assiniboinés separated from the northern Yanktonais by perhaps the late sixteenth century, moving north from the Ohio Valley through Wisconsin and Minnesota, along the edge of the Woodlands into southern and southwestern Ontario. They became involved in the French fur trade in the early seventeenth century.

By later in that century they had made peace with the Plains Crees, joining them near Lake Winnipeg, and were trading with Hudson's Bay Company posts there. Assiniboinés ranged over an extremely wide territory during that period, from

near the Arctic Circle to the upper Missouri River and from James Bay to the Rocky Mountains. When trade with the Hudson's Bay Company declined in the late eighteenth century, the Assiniboinés became fully nomadic, continuing the westward migration and hunting around the Saskatchewan and Assiniboiné Rivers and across much of the northern Plains.

Major smallpox epidemics struck the people in 1780 and 1836, and alcohol and venereal disease also took a heavy toll. During that period, the Assiniboinés divided into a lower and an upper division. Decimation of the buffalo herds as well as their own sharp population decline forced them to sign the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, limiting Assiniboiné lands to parcels in western Montana.

Some Assiniboinés worked as scouts for the U.S. and Canadian Armies in their Indian wars. In 1887, upper division Assiniboinés (and the Gros Ventres) were confined to the new Fort Belknap Reservation; Fort Peck, which they shared with the Yanktonais, was created in 1873. Several hundred Assiniboinés died of starvation at Fort Peck in 1883–1884.

Meanwhile, in Canada, unregulated whiskey sales were taking a great toll on Indian people. In 1877, as a result of national police intervention in the whiskey trade, the Stoneys and some other tribes signed Treaty 7, exchanging their traditional territory for reserves in Alberta and Saskatchewan, although some groups attempted to maintain their autonomy. Much of the reserve land was alienated in the early twentieth century owing to allotting and permitting of non-Indian homesteads.

*See also* Buffalo; Counting Coup, Trade.

## Atsina

*See* Gros Ventres.

## Blackfeet

The Blackfeet are a confederacy of three closely related Plains tribes: the Pikunis (known as Peigans in Canada, where the Blackfeet are also known as "Blackfoot"), meaning "small robes" or "poorly dressed robes"; the Kainahs, "blood" or "many chiefs"; and the Siksikas, the Blackfeet proper. "Siksika," a Cree word meaning "Blackfeet People," may have referred to their moccasins, blackened by dye





or by the ashes of prairie fires. All three tribes were called the *Sakoyitapix*, "Prairie People," or the *Nitsitapix*, "Real People." The Piegans were further divided into northern and southern branches. The Blackfeet Confederacy also included the Sarcees and, until 1861, the Gros Ventres. The Blackfeet groups spoke Algonquin languages.

The Blackfeet envisioned a world inhabited by spirits, some good and some evil. Deities included sun and thunder as well as all animals. Prayers were offered regularly throughout the day. Some people had visions to benefit the tribe as a whole. Medicine bundles, including sacred pipes, were owned by individuals, societies, and bands. They were thought to ensure a long, happy, successful life and thus could be quite valuable if sold.

Ceremonies included the Sun Dance, probably acquired from the Arapahos or the Gros Ventres around the mid-eighteenth century. Unlike most Plains tribes, women participated in the Blackfeet Sun Dance. Religious societies were responsible for healing and curing. Individual religious activity focused on the acquisition of guardian spirits through prayerful vision quests in remote places. Sweating was considered (for men) a religious activity as well as a preparation for ceremonials.

The constituent tribes of the confederacy were completely autonomous, although all were closely related and occasionally acted in concert. The tribes were in turn organized into autonomous bands of between twenty and thirty families (200 people) before the early eighteenth century. Each band had a civil headman, or chief, chosen on the basis of acts of bravery and generosity. Each band also had a war chief, who exerted power only during military situations. All headmen together constituted a tribal council, which in turn selected a temporary tribal chief when the bands came together. All decisions were made by consensus.

Men were members of one of seven age-graded military societies. In addition, men and women could belong to numerous other religious, dance, and social societies, each with its own symbols and ceremonies. There was also a society exclusively for women. Membership in all societies was drawn from all bands and functioned mainly when the tribe came together in the summer.

Virginity in women was held in high esteem. Depending on his wealth, a man might have more than one wife. Residence after marriage was generally patrilocal. Wedding formalities centered on gift giving. Divorce was possible on the grounds of



*Blackfeet man painting on skin stretched on frame as a boy watches in 1912. (Library of Congress)*

laziness or infidelity (men) or cruelty or neglect (women).

Names were sometimes given by the mother but more often by a male family member based on his war experiences. Boys usually earned a new name around adolescence. Despite beliefs about the danger of contact with menstruating women, there was no particular ceremony when a girl reached puberty.

Public ridicule was generally an effective deterrent to socially unacceptable behavior. Winter nights might be filled with storytelling, gambling, or all-night smokes during which people sang their religious songs. Childrens' games included hide and seek, archery and other contests, throwing balls, playing with toys, or sledding.

The dead were placed on scaffolds in trees or in teepees if death took place there; horses were generally killed to help in the journey to the next world. Women mourners cut their hair, wailed ritualistically, and slashed their limbs. Men cut their hair and left the band for a while.

Women constructed teepees from twelve to fourteen buffalo skins over pine poles. Teepee entrances always faced east. Larger teepees, of up to





thirty buffalo skins, were a sign of wealth. Teepees were smaller when dogs pulled the travois. Food was generally abundant, although droughts or blizzards could bring hunger or even starvation. Plains Blackfeet ate mostly buffalo but also other large as well as small game. Buffalo were driven over cliffs, surrounded on foot and shot, communally hunted with bow and arrow (the most common approach after the Blackfeet acquired horses), and individually stalked. The Indians also ate waterfowl and the eggs. They did not eat fish or dog. In addition to the usual wild fruits, nuts, and berries, Blackfeet women gathered camas roots, which they steamed in an underground oven. Some tobacco was grown for ceremonial purposes.

Early, pre-Plains Blackfeet may have made pottery. The buffalo provided more than sixty material items, which the Blackfeet traded as far south as Mexico in all seasons save the winter. Skin containers were often decorated with painted designs. Musical instruments included a rattle of skin around wood as well as a flageolet (flute). The people also used stone pounding mauls and war clubs attached to wooden handles, chipped stone knives, and brushes of porcupine bristles or horsehair bound with rawhide. They also made backrests of willow sticks tied with sinew and supported by a tripod.

Men painted teepees and other leather items with stars and designs such as battle events. Women made beaded quillwork, usually on clothing. In general, the people were known for the high quality of everyday items such as clothing, tools, teepees, and headdresses. Women wore long, one-piece skin dresses, later fringed and beaded, and buffalo robes in the winter. Men dressed in skin shirts, leggings, and moccasins, as well as buffalo robes in the winter.

All men were members of age-graded military societies known as All Comrades. Blackfeet Indians were considered among the best fighters, hunters, and raiders. Although the three divisions were politically autonomous, they acted in unison to fight their enemies. Weapons included three-foot horn, sinew-backed bows, stone clubs, arrows, and buffalo hide shields. Rather than counting coup with a stick, Blackfeet warriors gathered high war honors by wresting a gun or other weapon from an enemy. Taking a horse or a scalp merited honors but of relatively low caliber.

The Blackfeet people may have originated in the Great Lakes region but had migrated to between the Bow and North Saskatchewan Rivers well before the seventeenth century. During the eighteenth century

they completed their move southward into Montana, displacing the Shoshones.

Like many aboriginal peoples, the Blackfeet were transformed by the horse and the gun, both of which they acquired during the early to mideighteenth century. One result was that they had surplus buffalo products to offer for trade. Raiding, especially for horses, became an important activity. They joined in alliance with the Assiniboinés, Arapahos, and Gros Ventres and were frequently at war during the historic period.

Blackfeet people first felt the influence of non-Indians in the seventeenth century. By the late eighteenth century they were engaged in the fur trade and were known as shrewd traders, playing American and British interests against each other. The people experienced severe epidemics in 1781–1782, 1837, 1864, and 1869–1870. After one of their number was killed by a member of the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition in 1804, the Blackfeet fought all Americans whenever possible until they began trading with them again in 1831.

The 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty gave the Blackfeet lands south of the Missouri River, although their traditional lands had all been north of the Missouri. Still, in various treaties between 1851 and 1878 they ceded land to the United States and Canada. Epidemics, the decline of the buffalo, and, later, whiskey hurt the Blackfeet more than anything, although in 1870 they were the victims of a U.S. Army massacre in which 173 peaceful Indians, mostly women and children, were killed.

The Blackfeet Reservation was established in 1855 in northern Montana. In exchange for the northern Montana plains, the southern Piegiens received fixed hunting grounds bordered by the Canadian, Missouri, and Musselshell Rivers and the Rocky Mountains; they also received promises of payments and annuities. From the 1870s into the 1890s, the United States took away much of the huge Blackfeet Reservation. In Treaty 7 (1877), the Blackfeet (and others) ceded much of southern Alberta for a number of small reserves. Roughly 600 Blackfeet, mostly southern Piegiens, died of starvation in 1883 after the last great buffalo herd was destroyed.

After a farming experiment failed, the Piegiens began a program of stock raising around 1890, on land individually assigned by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. A few Indians became prosperous, but the majority leased their land to non-Indians, who often did not pay. A combination of events in 1919 left the people in dire poverty and dependent on





government rations. During this period, over 200,000 acres of Indian land were lost through the nonpayment of taxes and allotments that were sold to fend off starvation. Blackfeet on both sides of the United States–Canadian border were also subject to having their children kidnapped and sent to missionary boarding schools. Log houses replaced teepees during this time. Most Canadian Blackfeet lost large portions of their reserves from 1907 to 1921.

Stock raising returned during the 1920s, accompanied by grain farming and some subsistence gardening. U.S. Blackfeet adopted an Indian Reorganization Act constitution in 1930s. Income rose as the government provided credit for ranching enterprises. After World War II, up to one-third of the population was living off-reservation. Conditions on the reservations began to improve at that time, a trend that accelerated during the 1960s. Among most people, English replaced Blackfeet as the daily language in the 1970s. At the same time, many traditions severely declined.

*See also* Blackfeet Confederacy; Buffalo; Economic Development; Fort Laramie Treaty (1868); Horse, Economic Impact; Sun Dance; Welch, James.

## Blood

*See* Blackfeet.

## Cheyenne

“Cheyenne” is a word of Lakota origin meaning “red talkers” or “foreign talkers.” Their self-designation is *Tse-tsehese-staestse*, “People.” In the early nineteenth century, Cheyennes lived from the Yellowstone River to the upper Arkansas River. Cheyenne is an Algonquin language.

The Cheyennes conceived of a universe divided into seven major levels, each with resident spiritual beings that were also associated with earthly plants and animals. They also believed in a creator of all life. Through fasting and prayer, both men and women sought visions in remote places to acquire guardian spirit helpers, whose associated songs, prayers, and symbols would provide special skills or protection in times of crisis. Priests and doctors

(shamans) used plants to cure disease. Annual ceremonies included the Renewal of Sacred Arrows, the Sun Dance (New Life Lodge), and the annual, five-day Sacred Buffalo Hat ceremony.

On the Plains, traditional government consisted of the Council of Forty-Four: a group of forty exceptionally wise, generous, brave, and able men, four from each of the ten bands, plus four elders/religious authorities held over from the previous council. The latter four men, plus a tribal chief chosen by them, were known as the five sacred chiefs. Council terms were ten years. Each band also had its own chief. Six military societies helped to carry out council directives and maintain strict internal discipline.

Bands lived separately in the winter so as to hunt more effectively in a wider space. In the summer, the bands came together for the communal buffalo hunt and for sacred ceremonies. At these times, the camp consisted of a large circle, within which each band had a designated position. Murder was considered among the most reprehensible of crimes as well as a sin; murderers were ostracized for life or exiled. Bravery was highly valued, as was female chastity. Games, generally accompanied by gambling, included lacrosse and the cup-and-ball game. In addition to the men’s military societies, the highly prestigious buffalo society was open only to women who had embroidered at least thirty buffalo hides. Corpses were dressed in their best clothing, wrapped in robes, and placed on a scaffold, usually in a tree. While still in the northern Mississippi Valley, Cheyennes lived in bark lodges and, in North Dakota (Shyenne River area), in earth lodges. By the late eighteenth century they had begun living in buffalo hide teepees.

The Cheyennes grew corn, beans, and squash; gathered wild rice; fished; and hunted in the northern Mississippi and Shyenne valleys. From the late eighteenth century on, as the tribe became nomadic hunters, their diet depended largely on the buffalo. Cheyennes also ate other large game as well as dog. The Plains diet was supplemented by wild turnips, berries, and prickly pear cactus. The Cheyennes made pottery prior to their move to the Plains. Once there, the buffalo provided most of their clothing, dwellings, tools, containers, and utensils. They also made small, shallow basketry trays, primarily used for gambling. Cheyennes traded at both pre-contact trade centers of the northern Plains: Mandan villages on the Knife River and the Arikara villages in present-day South Dakota.





*An Edward S. Curtis photo from 1910 shows Cheyenne scouts riding horses. (Library of Congress)*

Traditional artists worked with leather, wood, quills, and feathers. They also carved pipes. Women dressed the skins for clothing. They made moccasins, leggings, breechclouts, shirts, and robes for men, and for themselves they made two-piece dresses and moccasins with leggings and robes in the winter. Clothing was usually decorated with beaded quillwork.

During the late eighteenth through the midnineteenth centuries, the Cheyennes were great warriors and raiders. Six interband military societies, such as the prestigious Dog Soldiers, selected a war chief. As Plains dwellers, counting coup in battle by touching an enemy counted for more prestige than killing him. Weapons included the horn bow, arrows, clubs, shields, and spears.

The Algonquin people may have come north from the lower Mississippi Valley shortly after the last ice sheet receded. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Cheyennes lived in the upper Mississippi

Valley in permanent villages and grew corn, beans, and squash. They also fished and hunted game, including buffalo.

Some bands encountered René-Robert de La Salle in 1680, on the Illinois River. The French fur trade in the Great Lakes region was responsible for arming local Indian groups such as the Ojibwas with guns; these groups began attacking Cheyenne villages, eventually forcing them to abandon the region and undertake a slow migration westward throughout the eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century, well armed Ojibwas (Anishinabes) had destroyed a main Cheyenne village. The surviving Cheyennes moved farther west, to the upper Missouri River, joining some of their number who had gone there several years earlier.

By the early nineteenth century, raids from Siouan tribes forced the Cheyennes completely out onto the Plains, where they gave up farming entirely, becoming nomadic buffalo hunters as well as fierce





fighters. Allied with the Arapahos, they settled primarily near the Black Hills and then in the upper Platte–Powder River area, where they eventually became allied with Lakota bands. About 1832, some bands moved south, attracted by trade centered around Taos, New Mexico, as well as Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River in southern Colorado. The move precipitated a tribal split into northern and southern Cheyennes. In alliance with the southern Arapahos, the southern Cheyennes controlled most of the buffalo country between western Kansas and eastern Colorado and the Platte River.

In 1837 a major war broke out, with the southern Arapahos and southern Cheyennes fighting against the Comanches; peace was established in 1840, largely on Arapaho–Cheyenne terms. The Cheyennes signed the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, which reaffirmed their right to land between the North Platte and Arkansas Rivers. The treaty also formalized the separation of the Cheyenne groups. Meanwhile, non-Indian leaders of territorial Colorado had decided to force all Indians from that region. Pressure against the southern Cheyennes was increased, especially after the Pike's Peak gold rush of 1859. Under Chief Black Kettle (Moketavato), the southern Cheyennes repeatedly compromised in an effort to avoid war. However, the 1864 massacre and mutilation of several hundred of their people at Sand Creek, Colorado (where they had been told to camp under the protection of the U.S. Army and met the soldiers flying a white surrender and an American flag), forced the southern Cheyennes to cede their lands in Colorado.

Black Kettle continued to seek peace but was shot down with his tribe, who offered no resistance, in the Washita Valley, Oklahoma, in 1868. At this point, the Cheyennes divided again. One group went north to the Powder River Country, and most of the rest settled on the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho Reservation, established in 1869 in Indian Territory. This roughly 4-million-acre reservation was eliminated through allotment and non-Indian settlement by 1902. Some southern Cheyennes continued to fight with the Kiowas, Comanches, and Arapahos, until the few survivors were forced to surrender in 1875.

In the meantime, the northern Cheyennes tried to resist the onslaught of the gold seekers and land grabbers who invaded their lands, ignoring the terms of the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty. Formerly among the tribes who held out for peace, they turned to war following the Sand Creek massacre.

The resulting Fort Laramie Treaty (1868) affirmed the exclusion of non-Indians from the Powder River region of Montana. In 1876, the northern Cheyennes joined with other Plains Indians in defeating the United States in the Battle of the Little Bighorn.

Shortly thereafter, however, the U.S. Army caught and defeated the northern Cheyennes, rounding up almost 1,000 of them and forcing them south to the Cheyenne–Arapaho Reservation in Indian Territory. Though exhausted after their forced march, sick and dying from malaria, and starving, roughly 300 desperate northern Cheyennes under Dull Knife and Little Wolf escaped and headed toward home north of the North Platte River. Fighting valiantly for their freedom, they were pursued by soldiers and had to cross lands now inhabited by white farmers and ranchers. The people were recaptured with much loss of life and relocated to the Pine Ridge area of South Dakota in 1881. Three years later, the Tongue River Reservation in eastern Montana was established for this now decimated people. Although this land was never opened to non-Indian purchase, allotments fragmented the reservation, causing long-term legal and cultural problems.

Christian missionaries, especially Mennonites, Catholics, and Southern Baptists, became active among the Cheyennes toward the end of the nineteenth century. Around the same time, the Peyote religion and the Ghost Dance became popular among the northern Cheyennes. Following confinement to reservations, most Indians lived on government rations (often inadequate at best) and marginal gardening and wage labor. In 1911, the United States organized a fifteen-member Northern Cheyenne Business Council, largely under its control. The tribe adopted an Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) constitution in 1935. In 1918, southern Cheyennes were among those who formally incorporated the Peyote religion into the Native American Church.

*See also* Black Kettle; Buffalo; Dull Knife; Horse, Economic Impact; Fort Laramie Treaty (1868); Native American Church of North America; Sand Creek Massacre; Sun Dance.

## Comanche

"Comanche" is a name derived from either the Ute *Komantcia*, "People Who Fight Us All the Time," or the Spanish *camino ancho*, "broad trail." Their





*Comanche camp ca. 1890. (Library of Congress)*

self-designation was *Numinu*, "People." The Comanches lived in the Rocky Mountain regions of Wyoming and northern Colorado until the mid- to late seventeenth century, when the people moved into the central and southern Great Plains. Today, most Comanches live in Oklahoma. Comanche is part of the Uto-Aztecan language.

Comanche deities included numerous celestial objects such as the sun and moon. The Eagle Dance and Beaver ceremony were important, but Comanches did not adopt the Sun Dance until 1874. Young men undertook vision quests in remote places, hoping to attract a guardian spirit helper. When they returned, shamans helped them to interpret their visions and to prepare their personal medicine bundles.

Membership was fluid in each of the roughly thirteen bands, including four major ones. Each

band had a chief or headman, who was assisted by a council of the leading men of the band. In contrast to most other Plains Indians, the fiercely independent Comanches maintained virtually no police to keep order in the camp. Leaders for buffalo hunts maintained authority for that hunt only. Men might have more than one wife. Corpses were dressed in their best clothing, face painted red and red clay on the eyes, and buried in a flexed position in a cave or shallow grave. Mourners cut their hair, arms, and legs. They gave away the dead person's possessions, burned his or her teepee, and never mentioned his or her name again.

Buffalo was the main staple on the Plains. They were driven over cliffs, stalked individually, or, most commonly after the people acquired horses, surrounded on horseback. Men also hunted other large and small game. Women gathered wild potatoes,





fruit (plums, grapes, and currants), nuts, and berries. Babies were cradled in beaded skin pockets attached to V-shaped frames. Comanches also made shallow basketry gambling trays.

Comanches frequented both northern Plains aboriginal trade centers: Mandan villages on the Knife River and the Arikara villages in present-day South Dakota. By the early eighteenth century, Comanches were trading at Taos and Santa Fe, New Mexico, although they also raided these areas mercilessly. Having acquired horses during the late sixteenth century, probably from the Utes, the Comanche became among the most highly skilled horse riders on the Plains. They were excellent breeders and trainers as well as raiders and maintained some of the largest horse herds on the Plains. Both boys and girls began riding around age five.

Women made moccasins, leggings, breechclouts, shirts, and robes for men, and for themselves they made two-piece dresses and moccasins with leggings and robes in the winter. Clothing was often decorated with beaded quillwork. Comanches used red paint for battle on their horses' heads and tails as well as themselves. Other battle gear included buffalo horn headdresses, high buffalo hide boots, and horsehair extensions to their already long hair. Weapons included feathered lances, buffalo hide shields, and bows, mainly of Osage orange wood. The people adopted military societies beginning in the eighteenth century as well as many other features of Plains warrior culture.

The Comanches were originally part of the eastern Shoshones, who had lived along Arizona's Gila River from about 3000 BCE to about 500 BCE. At that time, a group of them began migrating north toward Utah, growing a high-altitude variety of corn that had been developed in Mexico. When a drought struck the Great Basin in the thirteenth century, these people, known then as Shoshones, spread out north of the Great Salt throughout much of the Great Basin.

By about the late seventeenth century, some Shoshone bands, from the mountainous regions of Wyoming and northern Colorado, later known as Comanches, had acquired horses. The bands began migrating into New Mexico and toward the Arkansas River on the central Plains. They adopted the cycle of buffalo hunting, raiding, and fighting characteristic of Plains life. By about 1750 they had acquired vast horse herds and dominated the central high plains.

In 1780–1781 the Comanches (as well as most other Plains tribes) lost a large number of their peo-

ple, perhaps as many as half, to a smallpox epidemic. In about 1790, several thousand northern Comanches and Kiowas joined in a lasting alliance. The Comanches continued southward throughout the eighteenth and into the early nineteenth century, pressured from the north by the Dakota/Lakota and other tribes and drawn by trade and raiding opportunities in the Southwest and beyond in New Spain/Mexico. During this period they continued to drive Apachean groups from the Plains. They also prevented the Spanish from colonizing Texas extensively, and they acted as a brake to French trade expansion into the Southwest.

By the midnineteenth century, Comanches were roughly separated into three divisions. The southern group lived between the Red and Colorado Rivers in Texas. The middle group wintered in Texas but followed the buffalo in the summer north toward the Arkansas River. The northern group wintered on the Red River and wandered widely during the summer. In 1840, the northern Comanches made peace with the southern Cheyennes and Arapahos, after the latter had staged several successful raids against them. As part of this agreement, the Comanches gave up land in western Kansas north of the Arkansas River.

A cholera epidemic in 1849–1850 took a heavier toll on the Comanche population than had all the battles to date. During the 1840s and 1850s, the Comanches fought bitter wars with the Texans, the latter bent on exterminating all Indian groups. The Comanches defeated Kit Carson in 1864, but they and the Kiowas signed a treaty in 1865 that reserved much of western Indian Territory (Oklahoma) for them and their allies. When the U.S. government failed to keep non-Indians out of these lands, the Indians rebelled. In the ensuing 1867 Medicine Lodge Treaty, some Comanche bands agreed to accept a reservation in southwestern Indian Territory with the Kiowa and Kiowa Apaches. Hostilities over non-Indian squatters and the difficulties of life in captivity continued for another eight years. However, by the late 1860s the Comanches were in serious trouble. The great buffalo herds had been hunted to near extinction and the U.S. Army was pursuing Indians relentlessly.

After the 1868 Battle of the Washita, in which the United States massacred a group of Cheyenne Indians, a few Comanche leaders surrendered their bands at Fort Cobb, Oklahoma; these roughly 2,500 people were later moved to Fort Sill, Oklahoma, and began farming corn. Several bands, however, remained on the Plains, holding on to the free life for





several more years. The Comanches adopted a modified version of the Sun Dance in 1874. At about the same time, a short-lived religious movement led to an unsuccessful battle against the United States at Adobe Walls.

In 1874, War Chief Quanah Parker led the last free Comanche bands, along with some Kiowa and Cheyenne refugees from Fort Sill, into Palo Duro Canyon, Texas, site of the last great buffalo range. There they lived traditionally until the Army found and destroyed their camp and horses. In 1875, Parker surrendered to mark the end of Comanche resistance.

Parker continued as an important leader on the reservation, overseeing favorable land leases and playing a major role in bringing the Peyote religion to the Comanche and many other Indian tribes after 1890. Reservation lands were allotted beginning in 1892. Nonallotted lands were sold to non-Indians, and nothing remained of the reservation by 1908.

*See also* Buffalo; Horse, Economic Impact; Parker, Quanah; Trade.

## Cree, Plains

Plains Crees belong to a division of the Cree Indians of central Canada. The name comes from the French *Kristenaux*, a corruption of a Cree self-designation. (*See also* Cree.) Early in the seventeenth century, Crees inhabited the forests between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay. By the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, groups of Crees had moved into western Saskatchewan and eastern Alberta and south to northern Montana. These were the northernmost of the Plains Indians. All nine Cree dialects belong to the central division of the Algonquin language family.

Cree shamans used their spirit powers to cure illness. In midsummer, bands (either individually or collectively) celebrated the Sun Dance. There were from eight to twelve bands of fluid composition among the Plains Cree, each with a headman and a loosely defined hunting territory. The leadership position required excellent hunting and speaking skills, as well as the traits of bravery and generosity, and it could be hereditary. Each band also had a warrior society.

A child's name was associated with the name givers' spirit vision. Most people also had nicknames. Girls were secluded for four nights at the

onset of puberty, when they often acquired their spirit visions; a feast followed this initial period of seclusion. Married women also withdrew when menstruating. There were no male puberty ceremonies, except that boys were encouraged to fast and undertake a vision quest. For marriage gifts, the bride's family gave the couple a fully equipped teepee. The groom received a horse from his father-in-law as well as moccasins from his new wife. Plains Cree sons-in-law observed the taboo of not speaking directly to their mothers-in-law.

Corpses were dressed in their best clothing, and their faces were painted. They were taken out the side of the teepee, not the door, and buried in the ground, in log chambers, or in tree scaffolds. Some eastern bands built gabled-roof grave houses. Bundles containing ancestral locks of hair were considered extremely important and were carried by the women when the camp moved. The possessions of the dead were given away.

Plains Crees lived in buffalo hide teepees with three-pole foundations. Buffalo was the staple food. Men hunted in small groups during the winter and communally in the summer. Buffalo were driven into brush impoundments or, in the winter, into marshes or deep snow. Men also hunted other large game. Women snared a variety of small game, fished, and caught birds (and gathered their eggs). They also gathered roots, berries, fruits, and tubers. Most of these were dried and stored for the winter. At least as early as the early nineteenth century, some Plains Crees maintained gardens and even kept cattle to help ensure a constant food supply.

Crees acted as intermediaries between non-Indian traders and Indian tribes such as the Blackfeet in the late seventeenth century. Like many Plains Indians, the Crees made beaded quillwork and painted hides. Dogs carried extra goods with the help of a strap across the chest before the advent of the travois. After about 1770, horse-drawn travois were used to transport goods. The Crees also used snowshoes and canoes, which they abandoned during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in favor of crude, temporary buffalo hide rafts. In general, the upper body remained bare except for a robe or ceremonial garments. The people also wore one-piece moccasins as well as rawhide visors against the sun. Unlike many Plains tribes, the Cree placed a high value on scalping. One customarily gave away much of the booty captured in a raid. Weapons included sinew-backed bows and war clubs consisting of a stone in a bag on the end of a stick.





The earliest Algonquins may have come north from the lower Mississippi Valley shortly after the last ice sheet retreated from the Great Lakes and Saint Lawrence River regions. Their population grew until a large number of them lived north and west of the Great Lakes. Crees probably originated in central and northern Manitoba around 1100. By 1500 they were located at the forest's edge along and south of the Saskatchewan River. Cree bands began acquiring guns and other goods from the French in the mid-seventeenth century, trading furs, especially beaver, for them. Hudson's Bay Company opened a post in Cree territory in 1667.

During the period of the French fur trade, many Crees and French intermarried. During the later seventeenth century, the quest for furs, as well as their own growing population, pushed the Crees on toward the west until they stretched from near Labrador in the east to the Great Slave Lake and south to Alberta, northern Montana, and North Dakota in the west. During these migrations they displaced their ancient enemies to the west, the Athapaskans, and pushed Dakota bands westward as well.

Crees formed a close alliance with the Assiniboines in the late seventeenth century. They experienced severe smallpox epidemics in 1737 and 1781, particularly in the Lake Winnipeg area. By the early eighteenth century, the Crees were roughly divided into Woodland (eastern and western) and Plains divisions, having reached Lake Winnipeg and beyond. During this period they still retained much of their old Woodland culture.

Plains Crees acquired horses in the mid- to late eighteenth century and adopted much of classic nomadic Plains Indian culture. Some also intermarried with Mohawk Indians who were serving as guides for non-Indian fur trading companies, which the Crees were provisioning with buffalo meat. By the early nineteenth century, Plains Crees controlled the area north of the Missouri River and were pressuring the Blackfeet to the west and south.

A sharp decline set in during the 1850s, however, owing primarily to smallpox epidemics and warfare with the Blackfeet. Canadian officials created Cree reserves in the 1870s, on which Crees were theoretically encouraged to turn to the agricultural life. In fact, the Indians themselves were aware that the buffalo-oriented life was soon to end and wanted help in making the change to agriculture. Though they might well have adapted to this change, most were denied access to key resources, such as imple-

ments and livestock (both promised in treaties). Such items, if they were issued at all, were generally inappropriate and/or of poor quality.

Despite these obstacles, some bands made a relative success of farming, to the extent that non-Indian farmers were complaining toward the end of the 1880s about unfair competition from Native Americans. In 1890, the Canadian government turned to a policy of peasant farming, in which the reserves were subdivided. Land was allotted in severalty, "surplus" land was sold to non-Indians, and mechanized farm equipment was taken away. With this policy, Canadian officials succeeded in dramatically reducing total land under Indian cultivation, as well as the number of Indian farmers, and in keeping the reserves in poverty. Indian protests were routinely ignored or repressed.

In 1885, Poundmaker and Big Bear led the Crees in the Second Riel Rebellion (Louis Riel was a Métis nationalist leader). They and the Métis joined forces to try to stem the flow of non-Indian settlers to the vicinity of the Canadian Pacific Railway line in Saskatchewan and to create a Native state. The Crees were not defeated but surrendered shortly after their Métis allies did. One group of Crees became associated at that time with Little Shell's band of Chippewas in Montana. Big Bear, a leader of the rebellion, escaped with 200 Crees to the United States, where they wandered for three decades in Montana until joining with a band of Chippewas under the leadership of Stone Child, or Rocky Boy. In 1916, the U.S. government created the Rocky Boy Reservation in the Bearpaw Mountains of Montana for these people. Little Shell's band eventually settled in nearby towns and reservations.

*See also* Canada, Indian Policies of; Horse, Economic Impact; Riel, Louis.

## Crow

The Crow self-designation is *Absaroke*, after a bird once native to the region. (*See also* Hidatsa.) The Crows' traditional homeland was south of Lake Winnipeg. Crow/Hidatsa is a Siouan language.

Like other Plains Indians, the Crows placed great importance on supernatural guardian helpers acquired in dreams or during vision quests. Their main ceremonies included the Sun Dance, the Medicine Lodge ceremony, and the triennial Tobacco





*Eight Crow prisoners under guard at the Crow agency in Montana, 1887. Crow were relocated to the Montana reservation in 1851. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

Society ceremony, performed by both men and women in honor of the tribe's sacred plant.

The existence of the Tobacco Society conferred benefits on both planters and the tribe as a whole. Planting was followed by a dance and then a feast. In a subsequent ceremony, new members were adopted into the society; this ceremony was also highly ritualized and included fees paid for various honors, painting, dancing, singing, and sweating as well as the acquisition of medicine bundles. Members observed various behavior restrictions during the year. The harvest was also accompanied by ritual.

Each of about thirteen matrilineal clans was led by a headman selected on the basis of his war record. A council of chiefs governed the tribe; one member of the council was head of the camp. Each spring,

one of the men's military societies was appointed camp police force, which was charged with maintaining internal order, supervising the buffalo hunt, and regulating war parties.

Generosity was highly valued among the Crows, as with most Plains tribes. Most girls married before puberty to men outside the clan, and most men purchased their wives. Premarital or extramarital sex was not punished, but female chastity was valued. Wives were also gained by inheritance and capture. Sons-in-law did not speak directly to their mothers-in-law and fathers-in-law.

Parents spent a great deal of time nurturing, teaching, and encouraging their children to prepare for life as adults. There were no orphans, because orphans were immediately adopted by aunts or





uncles. Children rarely, if ever, received corporal punishment. Instead, “joking relatives” used pointed humor to keep people in line.

When Crows lived near Lake Winnipeg and with the Hidatsa along the Missouri River, they built earth lodges. Later, women made four-pole, twenty-five-foot-high (or higher) skin teepees of between seven and twenty buffalo skins. The larger teepees could house as many as forty people, but the average was about twelve. The teepee owner or a special guest slept at the rear (opposite the door). A draft screen around the lower inside was painted with pictures of the owner’s war feats.

Pre-Plains Crows raised corn and other crops. Buffalo were hunted by driving them into impoundments or over cliffs or by means of the mounted surround. Men also hunted deer, antelope, and other large game, sometimes by wearing the skin of such an animal and stalking it. The Crows grew their ceremonial tobacco but traded for the everyday variety.

Pottery predated the move to the Plains. In addition to the usual buffalo-based items, material goods included fire drills; bows from hickory, ash, or even elk antler; and stone scrapers and other tools. With regard to trade, the Crows played the role of intermediary between the Mandans and Hidatsas to the east and Great Basin and Plateau tribes such as the Shoshones, Salish (Flatheads), Nez Percé, and Utes. The Crow–Mandan trade continued until the early nineteenth century. Weapons were extremely finely made, as were clothing, blankets, and leather items such as decorated parfleches.

Dogs carried movable goods and pulled travois. After the people acquired horses in the mideighteenth century, they became highly skilled horse riders and perhaps the best horse thieves on the Plains. Typical Plains clothing included, for men, a shirt, hip-high leggings, moccasins, and a buffalo robe. Women wore a long dress, knee-high leggings, and moccasins. Both used rawhide visors against the sun.

The various men’s societies were voluntary and not age-graded, although some were more important than others. Most or all had military, hunt, or police-related functions. The Crazy Dogs were dedicated to unusual bravery in combat. Dog Soldiers were the camp police. Some societies occasionally engaged in annual wife capturing. Traditional enemies included the Shoshones, Lakotas (after ca. 1800), and Blackfeet. Allies included the Mandans, Salish (Flatheads), and Nez Percé. Crows preferred to count coup rather than to scalp.

The Hidatsa-Crows lived originally in the Ohio country. From there, they moved to northern Illinois, through western Minnesota and into the Red River Valley, south of Lake Winnipeg. There they remained for at least several hundred years, beginning around the twelfth or thirteenth century, growing gardens and hunting buffalo.

Pressured by newly armed bands of Ojibwas and Crees, the group moved southwest to Devil’s Lake in the midsixteenth century and then again toward the upper Missouri River, north of the Mandans, where they continued to hunt and grow corn. In the late seventeenth century, the Crows struck out on their own toward southwestern Montana and northern Wyoming and the vicinity of the Yellowstone, Powder, and Mussellshell Rivers. During this period, they separated into mountain (southern Montana and northern Wyoming) and river (lower Yellowstone region) divisions.

The Crow acquired horses, probably from the Shoshone, and became full-fledged nomadic Plains Indians during the mideighteenth century. Major smallpox epidemics struck the people in 1781 and 1833. Crow boundaries under the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty included about 38.5 million acres, mostly in the Yellowstone region. The Powder River country remained in dispute between them and the Lakota. However, their lands were drastically reduced in 1868 and again in subsequent years. During that period the Crows became seminomadic, building wintertime camps that included a few log cabins. In much of the 1860s and 1870s, Crows served the United States as scouts in the Indian wars, especially against the Lakotas and the Nez Percé.

Despite their help to the United States, the U.S. government treated the Crows no differently than it did any other Indians. By the late 1880s the Crows had been forced to cede most of their remaining land. Catholic missionaries and boarding schools had made inroads into the reservation and into Crow culture. Many aspects of traditional Crow culture, such as giveaways and the Sun Dance, had been outlawed in 1884. It was also illegal to leave the reservation without permission and to sell a horse to another Indian. In the seven years from 1914 to 1921, Crow horse herds declined from roughly 35,000 to less than 1,000. Some leaders, like Chief Plenty Coups, urged accommodation, especially in the area of education.

Meanwhile, the Crows developed a tribal council that managed to keep the Bureau of Indian Affairs staff at arm’s length and provide them with





a semi-independent decision-making body. In the 1950s, the government coerced the Crow into selling their rights to the Bighorn Canyon, where it built the Yellowtail Dam, ironically named for one of its chief opponents. In 1981, the legal ownership of the Bighorn River passed to the state of Montana.

*See also* Buffalo; Horse, Economic Impact; Plenty Coups.

## Dakota

"Dakota" comes from a Siouan dialect spoken by the eastern group of the tribe commonly referred to as Sioux. The divisions of the eastern group include Sissetons ("swamp village," "lake village," or "fish-scale village"), Wahpetons ("dwellers among the leaves"), Wahpekutes ("shooters among the leaves"), and Mdewakantons ("People of the Mystic Lake"). The latter two divisions are also known as Santees (from *Isanati*, "knife") and shared a closely related culture.

The Dakotas refer to themselves as *Dakota* ("ally"), *Dakotah Oyate* ("Dakota People"), or *Ikce Wicasa* ("Natural" or "Free People"). The word "Sioux" is derived originally from an Ojibwa word *Nadowe-is-iw*, meaning "lesser adder" ("enemy" is the implication), which was corrupted by French voyageurs to *Nadoussioux* and then shortened to "Sioux." Today, many people use the term "Dakota" or, less commonly, "Lakota" to refer to all Sioux people.

All thirteen subdivisions of Dakota-Lakota-Nakota speakers (Sioux) were known as Oceti Sakowin, or Seven Council Fires, a term referring to their seven political divisions: Teton (the western group, speakers of Lakota); Sisseton, Wahpeton, Wahpekute, and Mdewakanton (the eastern group, speakers of Dakota); and Yankton and Yanktonai (the central, or Wiciyela, group, speakers of Dakota and Nakota). (*See also* Lakota and Nakota.) In the late seventeenth century, the Dakotas lived in Wisconsin and north central Minnesota, around Mille Lacs. By the nineteenth century they had migrated to the prairies and the eastern plains of Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, and eastern South Dakota.

Male and female shamans provided religious leadership. Depending on the tribe, their duties might include leading hunting and war parties; curing the sick; foretelling the future, including the weather; and interpreting visions and dreams. Sisse-



*Dakota with calumet kneels inside a teepee in 1907. (Library of Congress)*

tons and Wahpetons believed in Wakan Tanka, the Great Spirit and creator of the universe, as well as other gods and spirits. The secret Wahpeton Medicine Lodge Society performed the Medicine Dance several times a year. Other religious activities included vision quests and ritual purification in the sweat lodge. The Sissetons later adopted some Plains ceremonies, such as the Sun Dance.

All but the Wahpekutes were divided into seven bands, each usually led by a chief. For the same three bands, the *akitcita* was an elite warrior group that maintained discipline at camp and on the hunt. This police society was distinctive of Siouans and may have originated with them. The Seven Council Fires met approximately annually to socialize and discuss matters of national importance.

Mdewakantons wrapped their dead in skins or blankets and placed them on scaffolds. Remains were taken to tribal burial grounds after a few months or years and buried in mounds with tools and weapons. Sissetons treated their dead similarly but included tools, weapons, and utensils. Bodies were placed in scaffolds or trees, with their heads





facing south. Wahpetons buried their dead early on but changed to scaffolds, probably as a result of Sisseton influence. The Dakota bands may once have been clans. Favorite games, usually accompanied by gambling, included lacrosse and shinny (a variation of hockey). Descent was patrilineal.

Dakotas built small, occasionally palisaded villages near lakes and rice swamps when they lived in the Wisconsin-Minnesota area. At that time they lived in large, heavily timbered bark houses with pitched roofs. In the winter, some groups lived in small conical houses covered with skins. Both men and women helped build the houses. The Sisseton sometimes used teepees after their move to the prairies.

Siouan people in the Ohio Valley farmed corn, beans, and squash. People also ate turtles, fish, dogs, and large and small game and gathered wild rice. Buffalo, which roamed the area in small herds, was also an important food source. People burned grass around the range and forced the buffalo toward an ambush. The Sissetons, especially, turned more toward buffalo hunting with their westward migration. Bows and arrows were the main hunting weapons. The Sissetons carved pipestone (catlinite) ceremonial pipes and wove rushes into mats. The Wahpeton wove rushes into mats and also wove cedar and basswood fiber bags. All groups made pottery.

Depending on time and location, Dakota tribes traded various Woodlands, prairie, and Plains goods. Items included wild rice, pottery, and skins and other animal products. The Dakotas made fine painted rawhide trunks. They incised and painted parfleches, pipe pouches, robes, and other items. Women tended to make geometric designs, whereas men made more realistic forms. Clothing was embroidered and, later, beaded. The Sissetons made dugout canoes, and the Wahpetons made birchbark canoes. Most groups obtained horses beginning around 1760, but the eastern groups never had as many as did the western groups.

Most clothing was made from buckskin. In the Woodlands, the people wore breechclouts, dresses, leggings, and moccasins, with fur robes for extra warmth. On the Plains, they decorated their clothing with beads and quillwork in geometric and animal designs. The idea that the purpose of war was to bring glory to an individual rather than to acquire territory or destroy an enemy people was distinctive to the Siouan people and may have originated with them. Dakotas did not generally fight other Dakotas.

The *akitcita* were known particularly among the Mdewakantons.

The Siouan linguistic family may have originated along the lower Mississippi River or in eastern Texas. Siouan speakers moved to, or may in fact have originated in, the Ohio Valley, where they lived in large agricultural settlements. They may have been related to the Mound Builder culture of the ninth through twelfth centuries. They may also have originated in the upper Mississippi Valley or even the Atlantic seaboard. Siouan tribes living in the Southeast, between Florida and Virginia, around the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, were destroyed either by attacks from Algonquin-speaking Indians or a combination of attacks from non-Indians and non-Indian diseases.

Dakota-Lakota-Nakota speakers ranged throughout more than 100 million acres of the upper Mississippi region, including Minnesota and parts of Wisconsin, Iowa, and the Dakotas, from the sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. Some of these people encountered French explorers around Mille Lacs, Minnesota, in the late seventeenth century, and Santees were directly involved in the great British-French political and economic struggle. Around that time, conflict with the Crees and Anishinabes, who were well armed with French rifles, plus the lure of great buffalo herds to feed their expanding population, induced bands to begin moving west into the Plains. The people acquired horses around the mideighteenth century. Dakotas were the last to leave, with most bands remaining in the prairies of western Minnesota and eastern South Dakota.

Dakotas ceded all land in Minnesota and Iowa in 1837 and 1851 (Mendota and Traverse des Sioux Treaties), except for a reservation along the Minnesota River. Santees were served by a lower agency, near Morton, and Sissetons and Wahpetons by an upper agency, near Granite Falls. At the mercy of dishonest agents and government officials, who cheated them out of food and money, and all but overrun by squatters, the Santees rebelled in 1862. Under the leadership of Ta-o-ya-te-duta (Little Crow), they killed hundreds of non-Indians.

Inasmuch as many Wahpetons and Sissetons remained neutral (or, as in the case of Chief Wabasha, betrayed their people), and support for the rebellion was not deep, it shortly collapsed. In reprisal, the government hanged thirty-eight Dakotas after President Abraham Lincoln pardoned over 250 others and confiscated all Dakota land and property in Minnesota. All previous treaties were





unilaterally abrogated. Little Crow himself was killed by bounty hunters in 1863. His scalp and skull were placed on exhibition in St. Paul.

Many Santees fled to Canada and to the West, to join relatives at Fort Peck and elsewhere. Many more died of starvation and illness during this period. Mdewakanton and Wahpekute survivors were rounded up and finally settled at Crow Creek, South Dakota, a place of poor soil and little game, where hundreds of removed Dakotas died in one year. Thus ended the long Santee occupation of the Eastern Woodlands/prairie region.

In 1866, Santees at Crow Creek were removed to the Santee Reservation, Nebraska, where living conditions were extremely poor. Most of the land was allotted in 1885. Missionaries, especially Congregationalists and Episcopalians, were influential well into the twentieth century. Most people lived by subsistence farming, hunting, fishing, and gathering.

Two reservations were established for Wahpetons and Sissetons around 1867: the Sisseton-Wahpeton Reservation, near Lake Traverse, South Dakota, and the Fort Totten Reservation, at Devil's Lake. By 1892, two-thirds of the Lake Traverse Reservation had been opened to non-Indians, with the remaining one-third, about 300,000 acres, allotted to individuals. In order not to starve, many sold their allotted land, so that more than half of the latter acreage was subsequently lost. For much of the early twentieth century, people eked out a living through subsistence farming combined with other subsistence activities as well as wages and trust fund payments.

Several hundred Dakotas left the Santee Reservation in 1869 to settle on the Big Sioux River near Flandreau, South Dakota, renouncing tribal membership at that time. Some federal aid was arranged by a Presbyterian minister, but by and large these people lived without even the meager benefits provided to most Indians. Some Flandreau Indians eventually drifted back to form communities in Minnesota.

*See also* Black Hills; Buffalo; Little Crow; Great Sioux Uprising.

## Gros Ventres

"Gros Ventres" is French for "big belly," after a mistranslation of the sign language for their name. They were once known to non-Indians as Gros Ventres of

the Prairie as opposed to the Gros Ventres of the Missouri (Hidatsas). The Blackfeet gave these people another of their common names, *Atsina*; their self-designation is *Haaninin*, "Lime People" or "White Clay People." Gros Ventre is an Algonquin language.

Two sacred pipes figured prominently in traditional Gros Ventre religion. Gros Ventres also observed other Plains religious customs such as vision quests, medicine bundles, and the Sun Dance. Twelve autonomous bands each had their own chief. Bands camped separately in the winter, coming together in the summer for communal buffalo hunt and celebrations, including the Sun Dance. Descent was patrilineal. People generally found marriage partners outside the parents' band. Girls were often married by age twelve, usually to men around twenty. Polygamy and divorce were common. The mother-in-law taboo was in force (out of respect, sons-in-law did not speak directly to them).

Age-graded male societies had their own costumes, dances, and paraphernalia. Men moved through the various rankings with their peers, each group purchasing the regalia of the next higher group, until the men at the top sold out and retired with a large amount of wealth. Healing, through medicines and ritual, was a job that one might attain by fasting and attaining special powers. Corpses were wrapped in robes and placed on a scaffold, in a cave, or on a high rock.

Buffalo were hunted by driving them into chutes; after about 1730, they were hunted on horseback. Women cut meat into strips and dried it or made pemmican. Fresh meat was roasted over the fire or boiled, using red-hot rocks in a water-filled hole. People also ate deer, elk, and puppies and gathered foods such as rhubarb, berries, and eggs. They did not eat fish.

On the Plains, groups of women made skin teepees with three-pole foundations. Women dressed skins with brains and liver. Men made bows of ash or cherry wood and also of horn. Horn bows were covered with rattlesnake skin. Gros Ventres participated in the regional trade complex, trading horses and animal products for agricultural items and, later, non-Indian items. Both dogs and horses pulled the travois. People made makeshift rafts of teepee covers and poles. Women made the clothing, usually of elk skin or deerskin. They wore dresses; men wore leggings, breechclouts, shirts, and moccasins. Both sexes wore buffalo skin caps and mittens in the winter.





At least 3,000 years ago the Arapahos, possibly united with the future Gros Ventres and other peoples, probably lived in the western Great Lakes region to the Red River Valley, where they grew corn and lived in permanent villages. Under pressure from the Ojibwas (Anishinabes), they migrated to the upper Missouri River region in the early eighteenth century. During the migration, perhaps around Devil's Lake, the Gros Ventres separated from the Arapahos. They acquired horses in the early to mideighteenth century. Shortly thereafter they became a Plains tribe and joined the Blackfeet Confederacy.

The people signed the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty after spending a brief period of time with the Arapahos. Another treaty in 1855 led to further land cessions. In the early 1860s the Gros Ventres joined with their Crow enemies to fight their traditional friends, the Blackfeet, but were soundly defeated in 1867. Following a further decline caused mostly by disease, in 1888 survivors were placed on the Fort Belknap Reservation, which they shared with the Assiniboines, also former enemies.

The Gros Ventres filed a lawsuit in 1897 to gain compensation for lands seized under the 1855 treaty; in the twentieth century the tribe has received several land claims awards. Also around the turn of the century, members of the tribe sold under extreme duress a twenty-eight-square-mile strip of reservation land. Tuberculosis was a severe problem in the early twentieth century, affecting more than 90 percent of the tribal population.

*See also* Blackfeet Confederacy; Pipes, Sacred.

## Hidatsa

"Hidatsa" is possibly taken from the name of a former village. Called Gros Ventres of the Missouri by French traders, they have also been known as the *Minitaris* (Mandan for "they crossed the water"). Most Hidatsas lived along the upper Missouri River in western North Dakota in the late eighteenth century. Hidatsa is a Siouan dialect.

The Corn Dance Feast of the Women was based on mythological concepts and offered as thanks for crops. Elderly women hung dried meat on poles and then performed a dance. Younger women fed them meat and received grains of corn to eat in return. The dried meat would be left on the poles



*A portrait of Hidatsa Pehriska-Ruhpa in the costume of the Dog Band of the Hidatsa. Artwork by Karl Bodmer, 1833–1834. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

until harvest time. The Hidatsas also learned the Sun Dance. There were a number of other religious societies. Hidatsas undertook vision quests from an early age.

The tribe contained several bands, including the Hidatsas proper: the Awatixas and the Awaxawis. Villages were ruled by a council, a chief, and a war chief. Descent was matrilineal, and the extended family was the primary economic unit. Land was held by groups of related families, which were in turn organized into larger groups, with formal leadership usually provided by older men. Within villages, each larger group was divided into two divisions; this organization played a key role in village leadership as well as games and other competition. The Hidatsas also recognized about seven clans.

Women controlled the gardens and were in charge of harvest distribution to their families. The White Buffalo Society, which featured dancing to





lure buffalo to the hunters, was open only to women. Age-graded men's societies had mainly military functions. Each group had its own dances, songs, and regalia, which were acquired by the youngest group and purchased en masse from the next higher group, the buyers displacing the sellers as the latter also "moved up."

Social rank was hereditary to some degree. "Joking relatives," whose fathers were in the same clan, teased or upbraided each other for deviating from normative conduct. This mechanism was very effective for maintaining social customs and proper behavior. Food, weapons, and personal items were placed on scaffolds along with corpses. Mourners cut their hair. When chiefs died, all lodge fires were extinguished.

From around 1700 on, the people lived in permanent villages on bluffs overlooking the upper Missouri River. Groups of people erected circular, dome-shaped earth lodges about forty feet in diameter. Each housed two to three families or up to about forty people. Cooking took place inside in the winter and outside in the summer. Cook kettles were suspended on poles over central fires. People also used smaller earth lodges in the winter, when they took refuge in forests. Skin teepees were used while traveling or hunting.

Women cooperated in growing corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and sunflowers. They stored corn in earth caches, lined with logs and grass and covered with grass. Corn was boiled and eaten fresh or shelled and dried for the winter, when it was pounded and eaten as meal with other vegetables and meat. Squash was cut into strips and sun dried. Crops were harvested in the midsummer and especially in early fall. Old men grew a small tobacco crop. Tobacco was sacred and some ritual surrounded its cultivation, harvesting, and use. Only elderly men generally smoked, in pipes and for ceremonial purposes. Buffalo and other meat was acquired primarily through trade, although men did hunt buffalo and other animals. After the people acquired horses, they tracked the buffalo farther onto the plains, into present-day South Dakota and Montana.

Many material items, such as agricultural implements (bone hoes and rakes) and horn utensils and tools were made of buffalo and elk parts. Mortars, pestles, and digging sticks were made of wood. Women made twilled plaited baskets and pottery. Especially before they acquired horses, people used tumplines and chest straps for carrying burdens on their backs.

People felled and burned trees to enrich the soil for growing. Garden plots were left fallow after about three years of cultivation. Cache pits (for crop storage) were about eight feet deep, two or three feet wide at the top, and perhaps twice as wide at the bottom. Women placed ears of corn around the outside and shelled corn and squash in the center. They covered the pits with ashes, dirt, and grass. Entry was via a ladder.

Painted rawhide trunks or boxes, more typical of Woodland tribes, were about fifteen inches square and ten inches high. The people also painted parfleches and built seven-hole flageolets (flutes) from box elder wood with the pith removed. They also made music with rattles, rasps (notched wood), hand drums, or tambourines and by singing.

Village people traded agricultural products with nomads for meat and other animal products. Trade occupied an important position in Hidatsas' lives. Serviceable boats were made of buffalo hides stretched over circular willow frames. Hidatsas tended to rely more on dogs than horses to pull their travois. Women made clothing from skins and furs, particularly white weasel and ermine. Buffalo hide blankets were the main cold weather item. Traditional enemies included the Dakotas and Shoshones, whereas the Hidatsas were often allied with the Mandans.

Siouan people may have lived originally along the lower Mississippi River, slowly migrating north through Tennessee and Kentucky and into Ohio. Some then went east across the Appalachian Mountains, but most continued northwest. Originally one people, the Hidatsa-Crows were perhaps the first Siouan group to leave the Ohio country. They moved to northern Illinois, through western Minnesota, and into the Red River Valley.

For at least 400 years, beginning around the twelfth or thirteenth century, they grew gardens and hunted buffalo south of Lake Winnipeg. Finally, pressured by newly armed bands of Ojibwas and Crees, the group moved southwest to Devil's Lake in the midsixteenth century. They then moved again toward the upper Missouri River, where they continued to hunt and grow corn, encouraged by receiving seeds and acquiring new techniques from the Mandans.

In the late seventeenth century, the Crows struck out on their own, leaving the Hidatsas behind. At this time, the latter associated with other agricultural tribes such as the Mandans and Arikaras. Non-Indians also traded regularly at





Hidatsa villages, exchanging items of non-Native manufacture for furs. Early non-Indian explorers, such as Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, also lived among the Hidatsas. The people lost a significant percentage of their population in the late eighteenth century through warfare, primarily with the Dakotas, as well as from smallpox epidemics. By about 1800 they had been reduced to a few villages along the Knife River.

The smallpox epidemic of 1837 devastated the tribe; surviving Hidatsas and Mandans regrouped by 1845 into a single village called Like-a-Fishhook, located near Fort Berthold, North Dakota. They were joined there by the Arikaras in 1862. The Fort Berthold Reservation was created in 1871 for Hidatsas, Mandans, and Arikaras. Although the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty recognized the tribes' claims to 12 million acres, the original reservation consisted of 8 million acres; by 1886 it had been reduced to about a million acres.

Like-a-Fishhook was an important regional commercial center until the 1880s, when most people left it to establish communities along the Missouri River. The Hidatsas lived on both sides of the river, in Lucky Mound, Shell Creek, and Independence. During the 1950s, against the tribes' vehement opposition, the United States built the Garrison Dam on the Missouri. The resulting Lake Sakakawea covered much of their land, farms, and homes. This event destroyed the tribes' economic base and severely damaged its social structure.

*See also* Agriculture; Trade.

## Hunkpapa

*See* Lakota.

## Hunkpatina

*See* Nakota.

## Ioway

"Ioway" is from *ayuhwa*, "sleepy ones." Their self-designation is *Pahoja*, "dusty noses." Along with tribes such as Otoes, Missourias, and Winnebagoes, they had elements of both Plains and Woodland cultures. In the seventeenth century, most Ioways lived

in northern Iowa and southern Minnesota. Iowa-Otoe-Missouria is a member of the Chiwere division of the Siouan language.

The Ioways practiced a ceremony similar to the Grand Medicine Dance of the Woodland tribes. A candidate for admission to the secret Ojibwa medicine society, for example, was "shot" with a shell and then "revived" by members. The Ioways offered the first puff of tobacco smoke to the sky spirit. Hereditary clan and war chiefs held positions of authority. The people played lacrosse and the moccasin (guessing) game, games customarily played by Woodlands tribes. There was a dual tribal division. Patrilineal clans were divided into subclans.

Semipermanent villages consisted of earth lodges. When hunting and traveling, people used bark-covered pole-frame lodges as well as skin teepees.

The major crops were corn, beans, squash, melons, sunflowers, and pumpkins. Buffalo were taken, using the surround method, in two communal buffalo hunts a year. Men also hunted other animals such as deer, beaver, raccoon, otter, and bear. Women gathered plant foods such as nuts, berries, and roots. The Ioways also fished, using equipment including spears and possibly weirs and basketry traps. Men made a combination quiver and bow case. After the eighteenth century, women dressed skins with elk-horn scrapers. They also wove reed floor mats over a bark-cord foundation. Like Woodland tribes, Ioways made soft-twilled buffalo hair wallets and rawhide box containers or trunks.

During the early eighteenth century, Ioways sold Indian slaves, probably Pawnees, to French traders for resale to Gulf Coast plantation owners. Actively involved in the fur trade at that time, they also traded pipes to other tribes. Women made clothing of tanned animal skins. After their adoption of many Plains traits in the eighteenth century, the people gave highest war honors to those who led several successful raids. In descending order, other honors included killing an enemy, touching an enemy, and scalping. They also created rival military clubs.

According to tradition, the Ioways, Winnebagoes, Missourias, and Otoes once lived together north of the Great Lakes. Migration toward their historic areas began in the sixteenth century. Moving south through Wisconsin, the Ioways crossed the Mississippi River in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and began building villages in northeastern Iowa, just south of Minnesota. Shortly thereafter, they continued west to the Des Moines





River area of northwestern Iowa and southwestern Minnesota. In the midseventeenth century, the Ioways, constantly on the move and under pressure from the Dakotas, moved west again into northern Nebraska. By the late seventeenth century they had crossed the Missouri eastward back into Iowa.

After they acquired horses in the early to mideighteenth century, they began to range farther west and take on more characteristics of Plains Indians. They were heavily engaged in the fur trade in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when some bands were living as far west as the Platte River. Around 1800 they were engaged in territorial wars with the Sauk, Fox, and Dakota tribes. They also suffered a major smallpox epidemic in 1803.

The tribe signed treaties with the United States in 1824, 1825, 1830, 1836, and 1837, eventually ceding all of their lands. In 1836, they were assigned a reservation along the Great Nemaha River (southeastern Nebraska and northeastern Kansas) that was subsequently reduced in size. In the 1870s, the tribe divided into two independent groups, the southern Ioways, in Oklahoma, and the northern Ioways, in Kansas and Nebraska. The former group preferred to live in the traditional way, on lands held in common, whereas the latter group accepted individual allotments of land. The southern Ioways were assigned a reservation in the Indian Territory in 1883, but it was opened to non-Indian settlement several years later.

*See also* Horse, Economic Impact; Slavery.

## Itazipco (Sans Arcs)

*See* Lakota.

## Kansa

*See* Kaw.

## Kaw

The Kaws are also known as the Kansa (or Konza) tribe. Their self-designation is *Hutanga*, "by the edge of the shore," referring to a mythical residence on the Atlantic Ocean. The Kaws migrated from the Ohio Valley in the fifteenth century to the Kaw Valley in the sixteenth century. With the Osages, Omahas,

Poncas, and Quapaws, the Kaws spoke a dialect of the Dhegiha branch of the Siouan language family.

Traditional religious belief held that spirits dwelt in all aspects of nature, such as celestial objects. The sun was a deity to which prayers were offered and donations made, as were the wind and a sacred salt spring in northern Kansas. Pubescent boys were taken by their fathers to a remote spot for at least three days, where they sought visions via fasting and self-deprivation.

Each village was ruled by a council-elected chief; a head chief ruled over all the villages. War chiefs led military operations. Sixteen patrilineal clans, each including several families, combined into seven larger organizational units. There were also two tribal divisions: Nata and Ictunga. Men were mostly concerned with war and hunting whereas women did most of the work around the village. Kaws placed an extremely high value on the chastity of women. Dog Soldiers served as camp police and administered public punishments as needed. After being painted and covered with bark, corpses were buried in a sitting position facing west.

Circular or oval lodges were framed in wood and covered with mats woven of reed, grass, or bark and then a layer of earth. They ranged up to sixty feet in diameter and housed five or six families. The people also used skin teepees on hunting trips. Buffalo, and other animals as well, were the most important food source. There were two large, communal buffalo hunts a year. Women grew corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers in valley bottomlands. There were generally two harvests: one in the midsummer and another in the early fall. Women also gathered prairie potatoes and other foods.

Farm implements included hoes, digging sticks, and rakes. Most items came from the buffalo, including utensils and the raw material for various woven items. The Kaws traded in buffalo skins and products. They also supplied the French with slaves in exchange for guns and other items. Dogs carried burdens before horses, which were acquired from the Apaches in 1724. Kaws dressed in typical Plains skin clothing. The men plucked or shaved all of their hair except for a single lock at the back. Weapons included bows, arrows, and buffalo hide shields. The people chose war chiefs as needed.

Perhaps at one time one people with other southern Siouans such as the Quapaws, Omahas, Poncas, and Osage, the Kaws remained in the





Wabash Valley until driven out, possibly by the Iroquois, with the others in the early sixteenth century. They traveled down the Ohio River to the Mississippi and then north to near present-day St. Louis. Finding the lower Missouri Valley open, the Kaws moved north on that river to the Kaw Valley, where they stopped and built lodges. They lived peacefully, at least for a while, with their Pawnee and Apache neighbors.

Direct trade with the French out of New Orleans began at least as early as 1719. During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Kaws were frequently at war with both Indians and non-Indians. In 1724, at the request of French officials but also out of their own self-interest, over 1,000 Kaws traveled to Apache villages on a successful peace mission. The Kaws acquired their first horses at that time, and a brief peace was also established between the Apaches and the French, the latter hitherto actively engaged in the trade in Apache slaves. Shortly thereafter, however, French traders resumed their purchase of Apache slaves from, among others, the Kaws, the latter preferring good trade relations with the French to peace with the declining Apaches.

By the late eighteenth century, the well armed Kaw, along with other tribes such as the Osages, Pawnees, and Wichitas, represented the eastern boundary of the huge Comanche country. The Kaws ceded all of their Missouri land in 1825 in exchange for a 2-million-acre reservation in Kansas. That land in turn was ceded in 1846, and they were removed to a 265,000-acre reservation farther west, at Council Grove, on the Neosho River. The United States took those lands in 1873, and the remaining Kaws were removed to the Indian Territory. Their remaining lands were allotted in 1902, and the tribe was legally dissolved. A significant number of the full-bloods, such as Chief Al-le-go-wa-ho, had opposed allotment, a situation that exacerbated factionalism and the legal struggles that followed tribal dissolution. An example of the "progressive" faction was Congressman and later Vice President Charles Curtis, who was largely responsible for the Kaw Allotment Act of 1902 that stripped the Kaw people of their tribal lands.

The tribe reconstituted itself in 1959 under the auspices of the Department of the Interior. Tribal holdings at that time included 260 acres near the mouth of Beaver Creek. In the mid-1960s, the U.S. Army built the Kaw Reservoir, flooding most of these lands. The cemetery and council house were

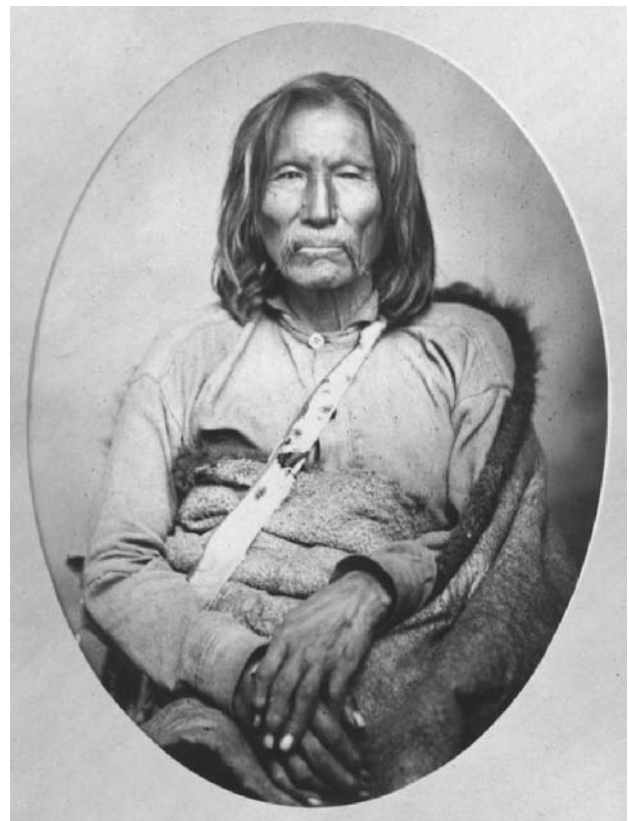
moved, the latter to a fifteen-acre tract that was subsequently enlarged by Congress to 135.5 acres.

*See also* Curtis, Charles; Horse, Economic Impact; Trade.

## Kiowa

"Kiowa," "Principal People," is a derivation of *Ka'igwu*, their self-designation. The Kiowas migrated in the seventeenth century from the Gallatin-Madison Valleys in southwestern Montana to the Black Hills. By the early nineteenth century, their territory included southeast Colorado, extreme northeast New Mexico, southwest Kansas, northwest Oklahoma, and extreme north Texas. Kiowa is considered a linguistic isolate that might be related to Tanoan, a Pueblo language, as well as Shoshonean.

Kiowas gained religious status through shield society membership and/or guardianship of sacred tribal items, such as the Ten Grandmother Bundles.



*Portrait of Satank, also known as Sitting Bear, a Kiowa leader, ca. 1868–1874. (National Archives and Records Administration)*





According to legend, the bundles originated with Sun Boy, the culture hero. With their associated ceremonies, they were a focus of Kiowa religious practice. Kiowas adopted the Sun Dance in the eighteenth century, although they did not incorporate elements of self-mutilation into the ceremony. Young men also fasted to produce guardian spirit visions.

There were traditionally between ten and twenty-seven autonomous bands, including the Kiowa Apaches, each with its own peace and war chiefs. Occasionally, especially later in their history, a tribal chief presided over all the bands. Beginning in the nineteenth century the Kiowas adopted a social system wherein rank was based especially on military exploits and also on wealth and religious power. Generosity was valued, and wealthy men regularly helped the less fortunate, but general wealth remained in the family through inheritance. Sons from wealthy families could begin their military training earlier and thus, through military success, gain even more wealth. There were numerous specialized men's and women's societies.

Bands lived apart in the winter but came together in the summer to celebrate the Sun Dance. Corpses were buried or left in a teepee on a hill. Former possessions were given away. Mourners cut their hair and gashed themselves, even occasionally cutting off fingers. A mourning family lived apart during the appropriate period of time.

Buffalo supplied most of the food, shelter, and clothing for Kiowas on the Plains. Buffalo hunts were highly organized and ritualized affairs. After the hunt, women cut the meat into strips to dry. Later, they mixed it with dried chokecherries and fat to make pemmican, which remained edible in skin bags for up to a year or more. Men also hunted other large and small game. They did not eat bear or, usually, fish. Women gathered a variety of wild potatoes and other vegetables, fruits, nuts, and berries.

Kiowas made pictographs on buffalo skins to record events of tribal history. They used the buffalo and other animals to provide the usual material items such as parfleches and other containers. Women made shallow coiled basketry gambling trays. They also built and owned skin teepees, and they dressed buffalo, elk, and deer hides to make robes, moccasins, leggings, shirts, breechclouts, skirts, and blouses.

During the eighteenth century, Kiowas traded extensively with the upper Missouri tribes (Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras). They exchanged

meat, buffalo hides, and salt with Pueblo Indians for cornmeal and dried fruit. During the nineteenth century they traded Comanche horses to the Osages and other tribes. Calendric skins and beadwork were two Kiowa artistic traditions.

The highest status for men was achieved through warfare. Counting coup and leading a successful raid or fight were the most prestigious military activities. The numerous military societies included the Principal Dogs (or Ten Bravest), a group of ten extremely brave and tested fighters. Satank (Sitting Bear) was the leader of the Principal Dogs during the last phase of Kiowa resistance. Kiowas beginning a raid sometimes appealed to a group of women for their prayers, feasting them upon their return. The tribe was allied with the Crows in the late seventeenth century and with the Comanches beginning around 1790.

The Kiowas may have originated in Arizona or in the mountains of western Montana. They began drifting southeast from western Montana in the late seventeenth century, settling near the Crows. In the early eighteenth century, the Kiowa Apaches became cut off from their fellow Apacheans, at which time (if not a generation before) they joined the Kiowas for protection. Although they maintained a separate language and identity, they functioned effectively as a Kiowa band.

Meanwhile, the Kiowas had acquired horses, probably through trade with upper Missouri tribes, and were living in the Black Hills as highly successful buffalo hunters, warriors, and horse riders. Individual Kiowas and Kiowa Apaches also lived in northern New Mexico, probably brought there originally by Comanches and others as prisoners or slaves. Later in the century, the Kiowas, still in the Black Hills, acted as trade intermediaries between Spanish (New Mexican) traders and the upper Missouri tribes.

The people suffered a smallpox epidemic in 1781, from which they gradually recovered. A large group of Kiowas and Kiowa Apaches migrated south during that period, to be followed by the rest around the turn of the century. At that time, the Kiowas were pushed south to the Arkansas River area by the Dakotas, Arapahos, and Cheyennes (southeastern Colorado), where they ran into the Comanche barrier. They were also drawn south by raiding opportunities provided by Spanish and Pueblo settlements in New Mexico and Mexico. In the early nineteenth century they ranged between New Mexico and the upper Missouri River area.





In 1814 they concluded a treaty with the Dakotas defining the boundary between the two groups. Making peace also with the Comanches, these two groups raided for horses, guns, and food as far south as Durango, Mexico. By the midnineteenth century, the Kiowas spent more time south of the Arkansas than north of it. In the 1830s they made peace with their longtime enemies, the Cheyennes, Osages, and Arapahos.

In the early 1860s, the Kiowas strongly resisted non-Native intruders, land thieves, and immigrants. In 1865 they agreed to a reservation south of the Arkansas River. In the 1867 Medicine Lodge Treaty, they ceded tribal lands and, in exchange for a shared reservation in the Indian Territory, agreed to hunt buffalo only south of the Arkansas and withdrew opposition to a railroad. After the U.S. massacre of Cheyennes called the Battle of the Washita (December 1868), Kiowas and others were ordered to Fort Cobb, Oklahoma. Kiowas, citing provisions in the Medicine Lodge Treaty that allowed them to continue to live and hunt south of the Arkansas, refused. During a peace meeting in 1869, the Kiowa negotiators, Satanta (White Bear) and Lone Wolf, were taken prisoner and placed under a death sentence unless the Kiowas surrendered, which they did.

Two thousand Kiowas and 2,500 Comanches were placed on a reservation at Fort Sill, Indian Territory (Oklahoma). The United States encouraged them to farm, but the Kiowas were not farmers. With starvation looming, the United States permitted them to hunt buffalo. In 1870 and 1871, the Kiowas went on a buffalo hunt and continued their old raiding practices to the south. Some argued for remaining free while others spoke for cooperating with the United States. In 1871, soldiers arrested Kiowa leaders Satanta, Satank, and Big Tree for murders committed during the raids. Satank was killed on the way to his trial in Texas. The other two were convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment. During a meeting in Washington the following year, Lone Wolf won their release as a condition for keeping the Kiowas peaceful.

In 1873, a party of Kiowas and Comanches raided in Mexico for horses. The following year, a group of Indians including Kiowas fought a losing battle against whites at Adobe Walls. By this time, most of the great buffalo herds, almost 4 million buffalo, had been killed by non-Indians. That summer, a large group of Kiowas and Comanches left Fort Sill for the last great buffalo range at Palo Duro Canyon, Texas, to live as traditional Indians once again. In the

fall, U.S. soldiers hunted them down and killed 1,000 of their horses. Fleeing, scattered groups of Indians were hunted down in turn.

The last of these people surrendered in February 1875. They were kept in corrals. Satanta was returned to prison in Texas, and twenty-six others were exiled to Florida. Kicking Bird died mysteriously two days after the exiles he selected had departed, possibly poisoned by those who resented his friendship with the whites. Within a few years, the great leaders were all gone, and the power of the Kiowas was broken.

The late 1870s saw a major measles epidemic and the end of the Plains buffalo; more epidemics followed in 1895 and 1902. Many Kiowas took up the Ghost Dance in the late 1880s and early 1890s. In 1894, Kiowas offered to share their reservation with their old Apache enemies who were exiles in Florida; Geronimo and other Chiricahua Apaches lived out their lives there.

Almost 450,000 acres of the reservation were allotted to individuals in 1901, with the remaining more than 2 million acres then sold and opened for settlement to non-Natives. Kiowas were among the group of Indians who organized the Native American Church in 1918, having adopted ritual peyote use around 1885. Thanks to the legacy of Kicking Bird and others, Kiowas in the twentieth century have concentrated on education, sending their children to boarding schools (including Riverside, still active in the 1990s) and several nearby mission schools.

*See also* Buffalo; Horse, Economic Impact; Kicking Bird; *Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock*; Momaday, N. Scott; Native American Church of North America; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Kiowa Apache

*See* Apache, Plains.

## Lakota

"Lakota" is a name in a Siouan dialect spoken by the western or Teton (Titunwan, "prairie dwellers") group of the tribe commonly referred to as Sioux. The subdivisions of the western group include Oglalas ("they scatter their own"), Sicangus ("burned thighs," also known by the French name Brûlé),





*Lakota camp at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, on November 28, 1890. Conflicts over the Ghost Dance, coupled with a government bent on repression and a military seeking to avenge General Custer, led to the infamous Wounded Knee Massacre. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

Hunkpapas ("end village"), Minneconjous ("plant beside the stream"), Itazipcos ("no bows," also known by the French name Sans Arcs), Sihasapas ("black feet"), and O'ohenonpas ("two kettles").

The Lakotas refer to themselves as *Lakota* ("ally"), as *Lakotah Oyate* ("Lakota People"), or as *Ikce Wicasa* ("Natural" or "Free People"). The word "Sioux" is derived originally from an Ojibwa word *Nadowe-is-iw*, meaning "lesser adder" ("enemy" is the implication) that was corrupted by French voyageurs to *Nadousssioux* and then shortened to "Sioux." Today, many people use the term "Dakota" or, less commonly, "Lakota" to refer to all Sioux people.

All thirteen subdivisions of Dakota-Lakota-Nakota speakers (Sioux) were known as Oceti Sakowin, or Seven Council Fires, a term referring to their seven political divisions: Tetons (the western group, speakers of Lakota); Sissetons, Wahpetons, Wahpukutes, and Mdewakantons (the eastern group, speakers of Dakota); and Yanktons and Yanktonais (the central, or Wiciyela, group, speakers of Dakota and Nakota). (See also Dakota; Nakota.)

According to legend, White Buffalo Calf Pipe Woman brought the people seven ceremonies: the Sweat Lodge (*Inipi*), Making of Relatives (*Hunka*),

Vision Quest (*Hanbleceya*), Girls' Puberty Ritual (*Isnati alowanpi*), Throwing of the Ball (*Tapa wankayeyapi*), Keeping of the Soul (*Wakicagapi*), and the Sun Dance (*Wiwanyang wacipi*).

Given originally by a legendary personage, the Sacred Pipe is a symbol of the vitality of the nation and its relationship with the creative forces of the universe. Pipes, carried by members of a special society, were used in peace ceremonies and to "sanctify" decisions and agreements.

Shamans, or medicine people (men or women), were healers and curers as well as interpreters of visions. They also found lost objects, divined the future, and provided important leadership during war or hunts. They received their powers from especially powerful guardian spirits and had a particularly close relationship with all of the deities. They were especially familiar with all legends, symbols, rituals, ceremonies, and cosmology.

A guardian spirit, usually in the guise of an animal, appeared to people on a vision quest, which was a period of self-deprivation in a remote place, or perhaps in a dream. Spirits were associated with particular songs, prayers, and symbols that, properly used, could bring the individual luck, skills, and/or





protection from evil or danger. Women as well as men sought visions. Personal medicine bundles were made up of objects dictated by the guardian spirit during the vision quest.

Shamans also led the Sun Dance, the most important of Plains ceremonies after about the mideighteenth century, when the horse transformed Plains dwellers into full-time nomadic buffalo hunters. Among the Lakotas the Sun Dance brought together their most important beliefs about themselves and the universe. Wakan Tanka, or the Great Spirit, as the supreme creator of the universe, or the sacred hoop, was first among sixteen gods representing the forces of nature. The number four was particularly sacred to the Lakota, representing the four cardinal directions, the pantheon of gods (four groups of four), and the four stages of life. The highly symbolic, twelve-day-long Sun Dance brought benefits both to the participants and to the nation as a whole. Individually sponsored as the result of a vow taken the previous winter, the dance itself contained elements of dancing, feasting, praying, fasting, and self-torture.

Elected chiefs in the Woodlands gave way to leadership by warriors. The subdivisions became more autonomous and divided into bands and their basic units. These were known as *tiyospaye*, a group of fluid composition composed of relatives and led by a warrior chief. Each had its own recognized hunting area. Chiefs were older men who had distinguished themselves in hunting and battle and were noted for their wisdom, well-spokenness, and generosity. Each band also had a council of such men, who governed without any force to back them up except the respect engendered by their position and a consensus-style decision making.

In the later historical period, the Oglalas had a society composed of older men, who elected seven lifelong chiefs. In practice, authority was delegated to four highly respected "shirt wearers," who also served for life. There were also four *wakikun*, or camp police, who were temporary officials assisted by the members of the *akitcita*.

The seven Teton divisions met regularly, ideally annually in the summer, from at least the late eighteenth century to about 1850. At these times there was a Sun Dance, and people socialized and generally renewed acquaintances. A supreme council of four chiefs met to discuss national policies. Still, the nation was very decentralized, with no overall political or military coordination, and the supreme council's power was largely symbolic.

On the Plains, patrilineal clans gave way to bilaterally descended extended families. Generosity was highly valued, as were bravery, fortitude, wisdom, and fidelity. In the giveaway custom, people shared generously, especially with the less able or fortunate and during important times in their lives. Thus did people achieve prestige while actually reducing individual suffering and want. Social control was effected mostly by peer pressure and ridicule, although serious crimes were punished by revenge and/or adjudication by the council. Various voluntary societies included those for men (mostly war related); feast and dance societies (which included social groups of both sexes and groups for women only); dream cult societies (such as the Heyoka, or clown, society); and craft societies. Games included various guessing games, cup-and-ball, and competitions. Adult games were usually accompanied by gambling. Toys included conical tops and sleds. In general, storytelling was a favorite pastime.

Marriage was mainly a matter of parental agreement, often based on the couple's choice, and divorce was common and easy to obtain. Fidelity in marriage was an ideal, and a disloyal woman might have the end of her nose cut off. Children, especially boys, were always welcomed. Infants were allowed to nurse on demand. Children were treated with love and affection and were rarely struck. Boys and girls (except for brothers and sisters) generally played together until puberty. Games revolved around future adult activities.

During menstruation, girls and women were secluded for a few days, as men considered them dangerous. Girls having their first period were seen only by women and instructed on proper womanly behavior. Several weeks later, fathers who were able gave a ceremony, presided over by a shaman, for their daughters. The relative lavishness of the ceremony reflected on the whole family. Girls who had reached puberty were considered marriageable.

Boys did not have a specific puberty ceremony. Their vision quests, first successful buffalo hunt, first war party, and so forth might be marked by feasts and gifts and were considered rites of passage. Men generally married slightly older than did women, having first to prove their manhood and perhaps acquire enough goods to distribute.

As a matter of respect there was no verbal communication between a man and his mother-in-law. Aged people were generally accorded a great deal of respect. When people reached what they considered





to be the end of their functional lives, they might elect to remain behind the migrating band, although sometimes this action was taken involuntarily.

In the Woodlands, Lakotas lived in pole-frame lodges covered with woven mats or bark. Once on the Plains, they shifted to conical buffalo skin teepees in both the summer and the winter. The average teepee was made of about twelve buffalo skins, dressed and sewn together by women and placed over a pole framework. A teepee held one family. The interior fire was slightly off center. Two skin flaps at the top, attached to long poles, regulated the smoke hole. A small, elevated doorway was covered by a rawhide door.

Large and small game, wild rice, maple sugar, and fish constituted the bulk of the Woodland diet. On the Plains, people mostly ate buffalo. No part of the animal went to waste. The communal hunt, which was often but not always very successful, was accomplished by fire surrounds, shooting with bow and arrow, clubbing, or driving the animals off cliffs. Men also hunted individually or in family groups.

Lakotas also ate antelope, deer, and other large and small game as well as birds, eggs, turtles, tortoises, and fish. Young dog, considered a delicacy, was often eaten at feast times. Women gathered foods such as wild potatoes and turnips, berries, chokecherries, cactus, acorns, and wild onions. Some Teton women occasionally planted a little maize. There were also many medicinal herbs and plants.

Women tanned skins using elk antler scrapers with an attached stone (or iron) blade; the hair was either left on or soaked and scraped off. Rawhide was often used to attach items to each other, such as clubs and mauls. People made willow back rests for use in teepees. Lakotas traded at Arikara villages, north of the mouth of the Grand River, in present-day South Dakota, until about 1800, when they completely subjugated the Arikaras. They acted as intermediaries for the catlinite (red pipestone) trade between the Yanktons and most northern Plains tribes. Part of an extensive trade complex stretching throughout the West, the Tetons traded buffalo products to the eastern Dakotas for non-Indian goods the latter had obtained through the fur trade.

Art was integral to all Lakota materialism. Winter counts were pictographs on hides that recorded annual events. Clothing and bags were decorated with painting and porcupine quillwork, later beadwork. Bags, robes, and teepees were also painted. Designs were either realistic (generally painting, often made by men) or geometrical (generally quill-

work and beadwork, often made by women). Musical instruments included flageolets, rattles, rasps, and drums.

Lakotas used birchbark and dugout canoes and snowshoes in the Woodlands. On the Plains, dogs served as the first beast of burden; the original migrations of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were accomplished with the aid of dogs pulling travois. They still played a role in transportation even after the Lakotas acquired horses during the mideighteenth century, probably from the Arikaras. Tetons became extremely skilled riders, and horse travois carried teepees and other goods.

Men wore deerskin or elk skin breechclouts, leggings, and soft sole moccasins. They braided their hair, and they often wore face and body paint. Some wore their hair in a roach. In the winter, women wore long elk skin dresses, knee-length leggings, and moccasins. They braided and parted their hair in the middle. They also wore face paint and earrings. Both sexes wore buffalo hide robes. Some of this clothing was discarded in the summer.

Plains clothing often was fringed and decorated with colorful beadwork, especially in the later historical period and for ceremonial purposes. People made ornaments of bone, dentalium shell, elk and grizzly bear teeth, beads, copper and obsidian, and perhaps turquoise.

From about the midnineteenth century on, certain war leaders wore long eagle-feathered war bonnets for ceremonial purposes, although even before that period young men wore eagle feathers in their hair to signify achievements in battle. Chiefs and other people of authority also often wore special clothing and other paraphernalia at official occasions.

Tetons were feared fighters but did not fight each other. The *akitcita* was an elite warrior society that kept order in camp and especially on the hunt. Severe penalties were meted out to those who disrupted the summer hunt.

Warfare and raiding were the primary means to gain prestige. Military societies had their own songs, paraphernalia (such as feathered headgear), and ceremonies. War leaders, generally young men, had absolute authority but only over the war party while on a sortie. War and raiding parties were completely voluntary, motivated mainly by the desire to attain prestige. Men generally engaged in ritual purification in the sweat lodge before battle. Large battles involving hundreds of warriors occurred only in the late historical period.





As practiced in the early nineteenth century, counting coup meant achieving bravery in a hand-to-hand encounter with the enemy or some other feat of daring such as stealing a horse within a village. Killing and scalping generally merited less honor than did counting coup, although, in the nineteenth century, scalping was important to the Lakotas for ritualistic purposes.

Dakota-Lakota-Nakota speakers inhabited over 100 million acres, mostly prairie, in the upper Mississippi region, including Minnesota and parts of Wisconsin, Iowa, and the Dakotas, in the sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries. They largely kept clear of the British–French struggles. Conflict with the Crees and Anishinabes, who were well armed with French rifles, plus the lure of great buffalo herds to feed their expanding population, induced bands to begin moving west onto the Plains in the midseventeenth century. The Teton migration may have begun in the late seventeenth century, in the form of extended hunting parties into the James River basin.

Lakotas acquired horses around 1740; shortly after that time the first Teton bands crossed the Missouri River. They entered the Black Hills region around 1775, ultimately displacing the Cheyennes and Kiowas, and made it their spiritual center. As more and more Teton bands became Plains dwellers (almost all by 1830), they helped establish the classic Plains culture, which featured highly organized bands, almost complete dependence on the buffalo, and the central role of raiding and fighting. The Tetons became subdivided into their seven bands during that time.

In 1792, by defeating the Arikara Confederacy, the Lakotas were able to expand into the Missouri Valley and western South Dakota. In 1814 they concluded a treaty with the Kiowas, marking boundaries between the two peoples, including recognition that the Lakotas controlled the Black Hills (known to them as *Paha Sapa*). By that time, at the latest, the Lakotas were well armed with rifles.

Around 1822, the Lakotas joined with the Cheyennes to drive the Crows out of eastern Wyoming north of the Platte. During that period, the Tetons were engaged in supplying furs for non-Indians, although contacts were usually limited to trading posts, particularly Fort Laramie after 1834. In the 1840s, wagon trains passing through Teton territory began disrupting the buffalo herds, and the Indians began attacking the wagons. In the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty, the Indians agreed to give the

wagons free access in exchange for official recognition of Indian territory.

Conflict continued throughout the 1850s. In one series of incidents, in which a group of Sicangus ate and offered to pay for a stray Mormon cow, the U.S. Army attacked Sicangu villages and killed over a hundred people. In the early to mid-1860s, the Oglala Chief Red Cloud (Makhpiya-luta) led and ultimately won a brutal and protracted fight to force the United States to close the Bozeman Road through the Powder River country, the last great hunting ground of the Lakotas. The 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty was an admission by the United States of the Indian victory in the so-called Red Cloud's War. The government agreed to close the Bozeman Road and stay out of Teton territory. In exchange, the Indians agreed to stop their raids and remain on a Great Sioux Reservation. Both Red Cloud and the Sicangu leader Spotted Tail remained committed to peace, although they often spoke against easy accommodation to U.S. terms.

In 1874, gold was discovered in the Black Hills during an illegal military expedition. This event brought swarms of miners and other non-Indians in direct violation of the treaty. With Red Cloud and Spotted Tail settled on reservations, it fell to new leaders, young and free, such as the medicine man Sitting Bull (Tatanka Yotanka) and Crazy Horse (Tashunka Witco), to protect the sacred and legally recognized Teton lands against invasion. The United States rebuffed all Indian protests, and the Indians rejected U.S. efforts to purchase the Black Hills.

In 1876, Army units ceased protecting the Black Hills against non-Indian interlopers and went after Teton bands who refused to settle (which they were under no obligation to do under the terms of the Fort Laramie Treaty). In March, Tetons under Crazy Horse repelled an attack led by Colonel Joseph Reynolds. At Rosebud Creek the following June, Crazy Horse and his people routed a large force of soldiers as well as Crow and Shoshone scouts under the command of General George Crook. Later that month, Teton and Cheyenne Indians, led by Oglalas under Crazy Horse and Hunkpapas under Sitting Bull and Gall, wiped out the U.S. Seventh Cavalry under General George Custer at the Little Bighorn River.

Here the Indian victories came to an end. The Army defeated a large force of Cheyennes in July, and in September General Crook's soldiers captured a combined force of Oglalas and Minneconjous under American Horse. Two months later, Dull





Knife and his northern Cheyennes lost an important battle, and Crazy Horse himself was defeated in January 1877 by General Nelson Miles. Finally, Miles defeated *Lame Deer's* Minneconjou band in May 1877. Meanwhile, Sitting Bull, tired of the military harassment, had taken his people north to Canada. With his people tired and starving, Crazy Horse surrendered in April 1877. In August he was placed under arrest and was assassinated on September 5. He is still regarded as a symbol of the Lakotas' heroic resistance and as their greatest leader.

Defeated militarily and under threat of mass removal to the Indian Territory, Red Cloud, Spotted Tail, and the other Lakota and Santee chiefs signed the treaty ceding the Black Hills and the Powder River country. Shortly thereafter, the Army confiscated all Lakota weapons and horses and then drove the people into exile to reservations along the Missouri River.

After unilateral "cessions" in 1877, the Great Sioux Reservation consisted of 35,000 square miles of land, but a coalition of non-Indians, including railroad promoters and land speculators, maneuvered to break up this parcel. Meanwhile, Canada proved completely inhospitable to the exiled Lakotas, and gradually they began drifting back to the United States. Sitting Bull returned to surrender formally in 1881.

The giant landgrab came in 1888, when the United States proposed to carve the great reservation up into six smaller ones, leaving about 9 million acres open for non-Indian settlement. The government unsuccessfully offered the Lakotas 50 cents an acre for the land. They then offered \$1.50 an acre and prepared to move unilaterally if the offer was rejected. The government needed three-quarters of the adult male votes for approval. Despite the opposition of Red Cloud, about half of the Oglalas signed the treaty. With Spotted Tail dead (assassinated in 1881), most of the Sicangus signed. Sitting Bull was the loudest voice opposed, but he was physically restrained from attending a meeting presided over by accommodationist chiefs, and the signatures were collected. The Great Sioux Reservation was no more.

Deprived of their livelihood, Lakotas quickly became dependent on inadequate and irregular U.S. rations. The United States also undermined traditional leadership and created their own subservient power structure. A crisis ensued in 1889 when the government cut off all rations. The general confusion provided fertile ground for the Ghost Dance.

Fearing that the Ghost Dance would encourage a new Indian militancy and solidarity, white officials banned the practice. In defiance, Oglala leaders in 1890 planned a large gathering on the Pine Ridge Reservation. To keep Sitting Bull, the last strong Lakota leader, from attending, the Indian police arrested him in December. During the arrest he was shot and killed.

The Minneconjou leader Big Foot once supported the dance, and for this reason General Miles ordered his arrest. Big Foot led his band of about 350 people to Pine Ridge to join Red Cloud and others who advocated peace with the United States. The Army intercepted him along the way and ordered him to stop at Wounded Knee Creek. The next morning (December 29) the soldiers moved in to disarm the Indians. When a rifle accidentally fired into the air, the soldiers opened fire with the four Hotchkiss cannons on the bluffs overlooking the camp, killing between 260 and 300 Indians, mostly women and children. The Wounded Knee Massacre marked the symbolic end of large-scale Native American armed resistance in the United States.

From the 1880s into the 1950s, most Lakota children were forced to attend mission or Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools. There the children were taught menial skills, and their culture was violently repressed. During the twentieth century, teepees slowly gave way to government-issued tents and then log cabins. Many Lakotas became Catholics or Episcopalians, although traditional customs and religious practices also continued, including the officially banned Sun Dance.

Bands were broken up, in part by the allotment process. As the United States worked to replace traditional leadership, education, religion, and other cultural and political structures, Lakota society underwent a profound demoralization. Most Lakotas were fed government-issued beef, which they had trouble eating after a steady diet of buffalo. In general, government rations were of low quality and quantity.

Lakotas were ordered to begin raising cattle. Despite some success in the early twentieth century, U.S. agents encouraged them in 1917 to sell their herds and lease their lands to non-Indians. When the lessees defaulted in 1921, the government urged Indians to sell their allotments for cash. By the 1930s, devoid of cattle and land, general destitution had set in.





Lakotas adopted the Indian Reorganization Act in 1934, after which reservations were governed by an elected tribal council, although the traditional system of chief-led *tiyospayes* (subbands) was still in place. A tribal court system handled minor problems; more serious offenses fell under the control of the U.S. court system.

*See also* Black Elk; Black Hills; Buffalo; Counting Coup; Crazy Horse; Fort Laramie Treaty (1868); Horse; Battle of the Little Bighorn; Red Cloud; Sitting Bull; Spotted Tail; Standing Bear, Luther; Sun Dance; Warfare; Intertribal; Wounded Knee Massacre; Testimony of the Sioux; Occupation of Wounded Knee.

## Mandan

Mandan is a Dakota word. Their self-designation was *Numakiki*, "People." For centuries before the coming of non-Indians, Mandans lived along the upper Missouri River and near the mouth of the Heart River, in central North Dakota. Mandan, related to but unintelligible with Hidatsa, is a Siouan language.

Medicine bundles (called Mother) symbolized fertility and crop productivity. They were owned by individual men who passed them down to their descendents or sold them. All bundles had a mythological component and were considered so sacred that the welfare of the entire village depended on their safety and proper care. They were associated with specific ceremonies, songs, and activities.

The four-day Okipa ceremony, similar to and a likely precursor of the Sun Dance, was a ritual enactment of their worldview. Its dual purpose was tribal renewal and bringing the buffalo. Prompted by their vision, individuals pledged to offer the summer ceremony, which included periods of fasting and ritual self-torture. The preparation period lasted several months at least. The ceremony contained masked performers representing animals, and required a special lodge fronting the village plaza. Creation legends were told during this time but in an unintelligible language; the uninformed could pay for a translation. Participants hoped to receive a vision afterward.

Other agricultural and hunting festivals included the women's Corn Dance and the men's Buffalo Dance. Clan chiefs were in charge of ceremonial activities, aspects of which were overseen by

dual (summer and winter) divisions. The Mandans also had secret religious societies.

There were nine villages in the early nineteenth century. Villages had two hereditary chiefs, one from each division, roughly the same as a war and a peace chief. The people were also governed by a council of older males who made decisions by consensus. In the eighteenth century there were about five bands, each speaking slightly different dialects. There was also a police group called the Black Mouth Society.

Women grew the crops and processed animal skins into clothing. Households controlled the garden plots, but the land was actually held by lineages composed of several extended families. About thirteen matrilineal clans, composed of extended family lineages, were loosely ranked by status, depending on their ritual importance. The tribe was also divided into two groups, each producing a village leader, which competed against each other in games and contests.

Social class determined status to a far greater degree than did war deeds. High individual rank was affirmed through lavish giveaways and brave personal acts, but a high inherited status did not always need this sort of affirmation. Similarly, a commoner could not rise to be a chief despite the most extensive gift giving and remarkable personal exploits. Age-graded societies and ranked social clubs united nonrelatives. Organized around hunting, dancing, or curing, membership was purchased from existing members, who then purchased their way up to the next level. Only a few reached the highest level, which in any case was open by invitation only.

Grandparents largely brought up the children. Marriage, which consisted of an exchange of gifts between the two families, took place outside the division and clan. Corpses were buried in the earth, although the people adopted scaffold burial in later times. After a four-day mourning period, and when the bones had dried, people placed the skulls in circles around the village.

People lived where there was arable land and a supply of wood. Permanent villages, composed of between a dozen to as many as 150 earth lodges, were on high bluffs overlooking the river, often where tributary streams joining the Missouri were protected on two sides by the steep riverbanks. Heavily fortified with wooden stockades and barrier ditches, they were fairly impervious to attack.





*Buffalo dance of the Mandan tribe of the American Plains. Artwork by Karl Bodmer, ca. 1833–1834. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

The main lodges were semiexcavated. A heavy wooden frame was overlaid with willow branches and overlapping strips of sod and covered with an outer layer of earth. These lodges sheltered as many as fifty people but usually about twenty to forty extended family members. The lodges were about forty feet or more in diameter. A set of planks in front of the rawhide door further protected against cold winds. Animals occasionally stayed in the lodges as well.

Men hunted elk, deer, and smaller mammals. Buffalo were hunted in the summer communally as well as individually. Women grew maize, sunflowers, beans, squash, and tobacco. Burned trees provided additional soil fertilizer to the already rich bottomlands. Mandan maize was a variety adapted by the people to their short growing season. Women parched sunflower seeds and then ground them into meal used for thickening boiled dishes. Men also ate balls of this meal as travel food. Dogs were eaten in

times of want, although puppy stew was considered a delicacy. Tobacco was considered sacred and grown only by the older men.

Material items included willow fish weirs, buffalo horn and bone utensils, pointed digging sticks, antler or willow rakes, hoes made from the shoulder blade of a buffalo or elk, and clay and stone pipes. Women made baskets (twilled plaited carrying and coiled gambling) and pottery. Mandan villages on the Knife River were a major center of aboriginal trade. Mandans were famous for their painted buffalo robes and their fine baskets.

Horses began pulling sleds or travois toboggans around 1745. Bull boats were made of hide stretched over a wooden framework. Women made the clothing, such as blankets, robes, and moccasins. In addition to buffalo, deer, and elk, they also used white weasel or ermine skin. The Mandans wore animal skin head wraps in the winter. Traditional allies were the Hidatsas and the Crows. Enemies included





Dakota tribes from the eighteenth century on. Weapons included bows and arrows, clubs, and buffalo hide shields.

The Mandans arrived in the Missouri River region from the southeast (Ohio Valley) between about the year 1000 and the thirteenth century, perhaps as early as the seventh century. They gradually moved upriver and away from other Siouan-speaking people.

The first smallpox epidemics arrived in the early sixteenth century. The acquisition of horses in the early to mideighteenth century allowed the Mandans to expand their buffalo hunting, but they did not give up their sedentary lifestyle. During the mideighteenth century, the Mandans became intermediaries between French and Indian traders, dealing in furs, horses, guns, crops, and buffalo products.

The Mandans suffered a gradual decline beginning in the late eighteenth century, owing primarily to smallpox and warfare with the Dakotas and other tribes. In the early nineteenth century, Mandans were friendly to non-Indians, even allowing visitors to study their religious ceremonies. In 1837, a major smallpox epidemic dropped the Mandan population by over 90 percent, to just about 125 people. In 1845, the surviving Mandans joined the Hidatsa people to establish Like-a-Fishhook village on the Missouri. They were joined by the Arikaras in 1862. Like-a-Fishhook was a significant commercial center at this time.

Although the 1851 Fort Laramie Treaty recognized Native holdings of more than 12 million acres, the 1870 Fort Berthold Reservation, created for the Three Affiliated Tribes (Mandans, Hidatsas, and Arikaras) consisted of only 8 million acres, which was reduced, mostly by allotment, to about 1 million during the 1880s. By that time, the people had abandoned Like-a-Fishhook to form communities along the Missouri River.

In 1910, the United States unilaterally removed a large section of land from the reservation. During the 1950s, the United States built the Garrison Dam on the Missouri, against the tribes' vehement opposition. The resulting Lake Sakakawea covered much of their land, farms, and homes. This event destroyed the tribe's economic base and severely damaged its social structure as well as its infrastructure.

*See also* Agriculture; Trade.

## Mdewkanton

*See* Dakota.

## Métis

*See* Ojibwa, Plains.

## Minneconjou

*See* Lakota.

## Missouria

"Missouria" or "Missouri" is an Algonquin term, probably meaning "People with Dugout Canoes." Their self-designation was *Niutachi*, or "People of the River Mouth." They were closely related to Poncas, Ioways, Otoes, and Winnebagos. All southern Siouans had elements of both Plains and Woodland cultures. Iowa-Otoe-Missouria was a member of the Chiwere division of the Siouan language family.

The people recognized Wakonda as a universal spirit, to which they could draw closer through fasting and vision seeking. There were secret curing and dance societies and a hereditary priesthood. As part of a Woodland ceremony related to the Ojibwa Midewiwin, or Medicine Lodge Society, members of a particular religious society "shot" a prospective member with a magic shell. The candidate was later restored by older shamans.

Political authority was vested in hereditary clan and war chiefs. Each of about ten patrilineal clans had specific social and religious responsibilities. Missourias lived in small farming villages of between forty and seventy semiexcavated earth lodges. From the eighteenth century on, the people used skin teepees on hunting trips.

Women grew corn, beans, and squash in river bottomlands. Men assisted with the crops but mainly hunted buffalo (twice a year from the eighteenth century on), deer, and small game. The people also gathered plant foods such as nuts, berries, and roots, and they ate fish. Crops were stored in underground bell-shaped caches. People speared fish or caught them in weirs and basketry traps.

Women dressed skins with elk antler scrapers. Other material items included buffalo wool bags;





reed floor mats woven over a bark-cord foundation; twined rectangular storage bags; rawhide trunks or containers, bent and sewn into place; and buffalo-hair wallets. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, Missouriias traded heavily with the French, supplying Indian slaves and wood-worked goods, among other items. On the Plains, Missouriias dressed similarly to other local Indians. Men wore skin leggings and a breechclout; women wore a one-piece dress. Both wore moccasins. Cold weather gear included shirts, robes, and fur caps.

According to tradition, the Winnebagos, Ioways, Missouriias, and Otoes once lived together north of the Great Lakes. In the sixteenth century, the groups began migrating south toward their historic areas. The Otoes and Missouriias continued past the Ioways and especially the Winnebagos until they reached the junction of the Missouri and Grand Rivers around 1600. There the tribes had a falling-out ascribed to a love affair between the two chiefs' children.

After the split, the Missouriias were under constant attack from such tribes as the Sauks and Foxes. They were also regularly struck by smallpox and other diseases. Jacques Marquette encountered the Missouriia in 1673 by the Missouri and Grand Rivers. Trade with the French soon developed and continued for about a century.

In 1730, after the Sauks killed several hundred of their people, the Missouriias moved across the Missouri River and settled near the Osages. After they acquired horses in the early to mideighteenth century, their lives became much more focused on hunting buffalo. The Missouriias were nearly all killed in a 1798 Fox ambush on the Missouri River. Many rejoined the Otoes at that time. Some also went to live with the Osages and the Kaws. Several years later, the rest of the tribe, including the fewer than 100 survivors of the devastating 1829 smallpox epidemic, joined the Otoes.

Several difficult decades followed, during which the people continued to battle disease as well as Indians and non-Indians. By treaties in the 1830s and 1854, the Otoes and Missouriias ceded all land and moved to a 162,000-acre reservation on the Kansas–Nebraska border, along the Big Blue River. Additional land cessions in occurred in 1876 and 1881.

Two factions developed in 1880 over the issue of acculturation. The Coyote, or traditional faction, moved to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). The Quakers ceded their land for a 129,000-acre reserva-

tion near Red Rock in north central Oklahoma. Most Coyotes joined them by 1890, having lived for a time in a separate village on the Iowa Reservation. The reservation was allotted by 1907.

Many people lived by growing grains and potatoes. After oil was discovered on their land in 1912, the United States forced many Otoe-Missouriias to give up their allotments. During the early to midtwentieth century, intermarriage truly created one tribe. Many Indians left the region during the 1930s. The tribe received a \$1.5 million land claim settlement in 1955 and another payment in 1964. Both were divided on a per capita basis.

*See also* Horse, Economic Impact; Trade.

## Nakota

"Nakota" is from a Siouan dialect spoken by the central group—whose divisions include Yankton ("end village") and Yanktonai ("little end village")—of the tribe commonly referred to as Sioux. The Yanktonais were divided into upper Yanktonais and lower Yanktonais (Hunkpatina), from which Assiniboine/Stoney was derived. Nakota is a dialect of Dakota, a Siouan language. (*See also* Dakota; Lakota.)

Wakan Tanka was known as the great spirit and creator of the universe. There were other deities as well; Nakotas were a very prayerful people. Access to the supernatural world was provided in part by guardian spirits obtained through quests and in dreams. From the eighteenth century on, Nakotas performed the Sun Dance.

The Yanktons were organized into eight bands. The upper division Yanktonais consisted of six bands, and the Hunkpatinas had seven bands. The governing band council was composed of band chiefs and clan leaders. The Seven Council Fires met approximately annually to socialize and discuss matters of national importance. Nakota bands were composed of patrilineal clans.

Small villages were located near lakes and rice swamps when the people lived in the Wisconsin–Minnesota area. In the summer they lived in large houses of timbered frames with pitched roofs and bark-covered sides, whereas in the winter they lived in small mat-covered houses. From the mid- to late eighteenth centuries, the Yanktonais lived in earth lodges like the Arikaras, as well as in teepees





While still in the Great Lakes region, women grew corn, beans, and squash. People also gathered wild rice and ate turtles, fish, and dogs. Large and small game, especially buffalo, which roamed the area in small herds, was also an important food source. With the westward migration, buffalo became increasingly important, although men still hunted deer, elk, and antelope. Women also grew some corn, beans, and squash along river bottomlands and gathered fruits and berries.

As the Missouri River trade developed, the Yanktons controlled the catlinite, or red pipestone, quarry in southwest Minnesota, supplying its clay to most of the northern Plains groups. During the early nineteenth century, the Yanktonais traded along the Jones River, acting as intermediaries for British goods between the Sisseton and Wahpeton Dakotas and the Tetons farther west.

Nakotas plied the northern Woodlands in birch-bark and dugout canoes. On the Plains, horses replaced dogs as travois carriers around 1760. They also used round bull boats when crossing water. Most clothing was made from buckskin. In the Woodlands, the people wore breechclouts, dresses, leggings, and moccasins, with fur robes for extra warmth. On the Plains, they decorated their clothing with beads and quillwork in geometric and animal designs.

Dakota-Lakota-Nakota speakers ranged throughout more than 100 million acres in the upper Mississippi region, including Minnesota and parts of Wisconsin, Iowa, and the Dakotas, in the sixteenth to early seventeenth centuries. At this time the Yanktons and Yanktonais were one tribe, the Assiniboines having separated from the Yankton/Yanktonais, probably by the midsixteenth century.

French explorers encountered Eastern group tribes around Mille Lacs, Minnesota, in the late seventeenth century. Shortly afterward, the latter probably became directly involved in the fur trade. But conflict with the Crees and Ojibwas, who were well armed with French rifles, in addition to the lure of great buffalo herds to feed their expanding population, induced bands to begin moving west onto the Plains.

The Yanktons and Yanktonais separated near Leech Lake in the late seventeenth century. The Yanktons had moved out of the northern Woodlands and onto the southern prairies (near the pipestone quarries of southwest Minnesota and then west of the Missouri in northwest Iowa) by the early eighteenth century. A hundred years later, the Yanktons

ranged north and northwest into Minnesota and South Dakota.

Meanwhile, the Yanktonais left their homes in Mille Lacs by the early eighteenth century to follow Teton tribes west, making winter villages on the James River (South Dakota) at least as early as 1725. They acquired horses in the mid- to late eighteenth century. By the early nineteenth century they were hunting buffalo between the Red and the Missouri Rivers and north to Devil's Lake.

A general Yankton decline set in during the 1830s. Its causes were smallpox, the growing scarcity of game, and war, particularly with the Pawnees, Otoes, and Omahas. Yanktons ceded their Iowa lands (2.2 million acres) to the United States in 1830 and 1837 treaties and ceded over 11 million acres in 1858. They did retain a 430,000-acre reservation near Fort Randall, South Dakota. They also claimed the 650-acre Pipestone Reservation in Minnesota.

By 1860, the Yanktons had ceded all of their remaining lands. Most moved to the Yankton Reservation in South Dakota; others went to the Crow Creek and Lower Brûlé Reservations in South Dakota and to the Fort Totten (now Devil's Lake) Reservation in North Dakota. The Yanktonais ceded their remaining lands in 1865. They were removed to a number of reservations, including Standing Rock (South Dakota), Devil's Lake (North Dakota), Crow Creek (South Dakota), and Fort Peck (Montana). In 1866 they replaced the Santees at Crow Creek when the latter were moved to Nebraska. The Yanktons sold the Pipestone Reservation in 1929 for almost \$330,000 plus guarantees of Indian access.

*See also* Pipes, Sacred; Trade.

## Oglala

*See* Lakota.

## Ojibwa, Plains

"Ojibwa," a term that means "puckered up," refers to a distinctive style of moccasin seam. The Plains Ojibwas were also known as "Bungi." Their self-designation is *Anishinabe*, "First People." People of Ojibwa/Cree/French ancestry are known as Métis, or Mitchif. The Plains Ojibwas are the westernmost branch of the widespread Ojibwa people, also





*Native Americans of the Ojibwa tribe paddle a handmade canoe, ca. 1913. The lightweight construction and shallow draft of the canoe made it an ideal craft for navigating the lakes and small rivers of North America. (Library of Congress)*

known variously as Ojibwe, Ojibway, Chippewa, and Anishinabe. (See also Anishinabe.) Ojibwa is an Algonquin language.

Gitchi Manito, the Great Spirit, and other spirits pervaded all nature. Children were encouraged to attract guardian spirit helpers by fasting in remote places. The people adopted the Sun Dance in the nineteenth century.

The Midewiwin, or Medicine Lodge Society, included both men and women. Candidates, who usually had to have experienced dream spirit visions, were initiated in a dance ceremony lasting several days. The main event included being “shot” by a member with a white shell that, taken from the medicine bag, carried supernatural power into the initiate. Upon being “revived” by older members, the initiate would spit out the shell. Members “shot” at one another as well to demonstrate their magical power. The meeting events were recorded on birch-bark scrolls with bone awls dipped in red paint. Members wore special medicine bags, usually of otter skin.

While still living around Lake Superior, the Ojibwas lived in small hunting bands of about ten people, each with its own hunting area. On the Plains, government conformed largely to the Plains model, including the presence of soldier societies. Patrilineal clans gave way to bilaterally descended extended families. Wealth and kin connections also played a part, however, and status ultimately rested on a combination of individual and family qualities.

The winter was generally a time for repairing tools and weapons and making crafts and clothing. Social control was effected mostly by peer pressure and ridicule, although serious crimes were punished by revenge and/or council action. Among the various social and religious groups were men’s dance societies. Games included various guessing games, cup-and-ball, and competitions. Adult games were usually accompanied by gambling. Toys included conical tops and sleds. In general, storytelling was a favorite pastime.

Polygamy was practiced, although it was expensive. Each wife might or might not have a sep-





arate teepee. Marriage was mainly a matter of parental agreement, often based on the couple's choice, and divorce was common and easy to obtain. Children were treated permissively. Boys and girls (except for brothers and sisters) generally played together until puberty. Games revolved around future adult activities.

During menstruation, girls and women were secluded for a few days. Several weeks later, fathers who were able gave a ceremony, presided over by a shaman, for their daughters. Girls who had reached puberty were considered marriageable. Boys did not have a specific puberty ceremony. Their vision quests, first successful buffalo hunt, first war party, and other such events were considered rites of passage. As a matter of respect there was no direct verbal communication between a man and his mother-in-law. Aged people were generally accorded a great deal of respect.

On the Plains, the people lived in conical buffalo skin teepees in both the summer and the winter. The skins were dressed and sewn together by women and placed over a pole framework. A teepee held one family. Tanned buffalo robes served as beds and blankets and buffalo robes as carpeting. Women erected and took down the teepees, which could be moved quickly and easily. Tipis were often painted with special symbols and war exploits and also decorated with feathers, quills, or other items.

While in the vicinity of Lake Superior, rabbits and wild rice were staples. On the Plains, buffalo became the main food. Men also hunted other large and small game. Women gathered local roots, berries, and nuts. Sugar syrup came from box elder or maple trees.

Bone fishhooks were fastened onto sinew lines attached to willow poles. Many tools were also made of stone, until iron became available from non-Indian traders. On the Plains, most manufactured items came from the buffalo. Women tanned the skins using elk antler scrapers with an attached stone (or iron) blade; the hair was either left on or soaked and scraped off. Rawhide was often used to attach items to each other, such as two-piece clubs and mauls. Plains Ojibwas exchanged sugar syrup with tribes that had no such traditions. Among the products they imported were pipes.

Some people used a pointed tool (or occasionally pieces of wood) to cut into the inner layer of birchbark to produce line drawings; most such drawings related to the Midewiwin, or Medicine Lodge Society. Such pictograms also combined to

illustrate song texts. People occasionally used incised drawings to decorate prayer sticks and weapons. Some groups also used a different style of decoration, consisting of zigzags and bands of triangles combined with symbolic shapes. On the Plains, the people decorated clothing and hides with paint, beads, and quillwork.

The Plains Ojibwas originated in the eastern Great Lakes region. The so-called Salteaux Anishinabe bands had their origin in the vicinity of Sault Sainte Marie. During the late sixteenth century, the people came into friendly, trade-based contact with Dakota bands west and south of Lake Superior. The first French traders and missionaries arrived in the early seventeenth century. Later in that century, the Anishinabes became heavily involved in the fur trade.

The Anishinabes also began to expand their territory during the seventeenth century, an event caused in part by pressure from the Iroquois as well as the overtrapping of food and pelts. One migration route was westward into the upper Mississippi basin, displacing Dakotas, Sauks, Foxes, and Kickapoos along the way—where these people became influenced by the Crees. Wild rice became an important part of their diet during this time. This group emerged from the forest about 1690.

Anishinabe groups that continued into the Red River area during the eighteenth century, such as the Pembina band of Chippewas, were armed with French guns and thus able to displace Hidatsa, Arikara, and Cheyenne bands. From this base there were four separate migrations to Montana.

During the eighteenth century, Red River Valley Ojibwas, Crees, and Métis traveled west in response to the continued overtrapping of small game. They acquired horses in the late eighteenth century and became buffalo hunters, fully adapting to life on the Plains by the early nineteenth century. After a failed effort to establish a Native state in Manitoba, Canada, in 1868, about 4,000 Chippewa-Crees from the Pembina band moved into present-day Montana. During the 1880s, the United States forced many Crees out of the United States into Canada. Many Chippewas and Métis were also forced out; their homes were burned behind them.

In 1885, the Chippewas, Crees, and Métis, now back in Canada, again attempted to create a Native state in Manitoba under the leadership of the Métis Louis Riel. When this effort failed, the Chippewa Chief Stone Child, or Rocky Boy, led a group of people back into Montana. In the late 1870s another





group of Chippewa-Crees followed the buffalo into Montana from the Turtle Mountain area in North Dakota. They generally moved between Montana and North Dakota Chippewa-Cree communities.

In 1882, the United States recognized the Turtle Mountain band's claim to twenty townships in north central North Dakota. Two years later, however, it decided that the reservation was too large. The Little Shell band, away hunting buffalo in Montana, was excluded from a government census, as were all Métis, who were declared to be Canadian. Despite the existence of these roughly 5,000 people, the North Dakota Reservation was reduced by about 10 million acres, or about 90 percent.

In the early twentieth century, following the negotiations over the Turtle Mountain Reservation, many of those people were forced to accept allotments on the public domain in North and South Dakota and eastern Montana. In 1904 the United States paid the Turtle Mountain band \$1 million for their land cession, or about 10 cents an acre, but they refused to reenroll the Métis. By 1920, many of the exiled Turtle Mountain and Pembina Chippewas, having lost their allotments through tax foreclosure, returned to the North Dakota community. During the next several decades the situation became, if anything, worse, with the poverty-stricken people squeezed onto an inadequate land base. Many left the reservation during those years in search of work, never to return. The Turtle Mountain people were saved from termination in the 1950s only by the deplorable example of the Menominee termination fiasco.

*See also* Anishinabe Algonquin National Council; Canada, Indian Policies of; Erdrich, Louise; Horse, Economic Impact; Fur Trade; Riel, Louis.

## Omaha

"Omaha" comes from *Umon'hon*, "those going against the current," a reference to the people's migration down the Ohio River and then north on the Mississippi. They were closely related to the Poncas. The Omahas inhabited the Ohio and Wabash Valleys in the fifteenth century. In the late eighteenth century they had migrated to northeast Nebraska. Omaha is a member of the Dhegiha division of the Siouan language family.

The people considered Wakonda to be the supreme life force, through which all things were

related. People sought connection to the supernatural world through visions, which were usually requisite for membership in a secret society. Two pipes featuring mallard heads attached to the stems were the tribe's sacred objects. There were two religious organizations: the Shell and Pebble societies, which enacted a classic Woodlands ceremony of "shooting" a candidate with a shell and having him revived by the older members.

Each of the two tribal divisions, sky people and earth people, were represented by a head chief and a sacred pipe, symbolized by a sacred pole. A tribal council of seven chiefs acted as arbitrators of disputes, with the ability to pronounce sentences that included banishment and the death penalty, and as representatives to other tribes. They also chose the buffalo hunt leader and a group of camp and hunt police.

The two divisions were each composed of five patrilineal clans. There were numerous social and secret societies. Marriage took place outside the division. A man might have as many as three wives. Homicide was considered a crime against the wronged family; murderers were generally banished but allowed to return when the aggrieved family relented. The people played shinny (a variation of hockey) and other games, including guessing and gambling games. People gained status both in war and through their generosity.

In villages located along streams, men and women built earth lodges similar to those of (and probably adopted from) the Arikaras. In the nineteenth century, the Omahas built embankments around four feet high around their villages when they learned of an impending attack. Women also built skin teepees, which were mostly used during hunting trips—including the tribal spring and the late summer buffalo hunt—or in sheltered winter camps.

Women grew corn, beans, and squash. Dried produce was stored in underground caches. After planting their crops, people abandoned the villages to hunt buffalo. The spring and summer buffalo hunts provided meat as well as hides for robes, teepees, and many other material items. Men also hunted deer and small game.

Especially after the mideighteenth century, most material items were derived from buffalo parts. Women dressed the skins for and made all the clothing. They wore fringed tunics that left the arms free. Men wore leggings and breechclouts. Both sexes wore smoked skin moccasins as well as cold weather





gear such as robes, hats, and mittens. The Omahas made pottery until metal containers became available from non-Indian traders. They speared fish or shot them with tipless arrows. Nettle fibers were made into ropes. Bowls, mortars and pestles, and utensils were fashioned occasionally from horn but usually from wood.

The group of Siouan people known as the Omahas left the Wabash and Ohio River regions in the early sixteenth century. Shortly thereafter, they reached the Mississippi River and split into five separate tribes. The initial exodus was prompted in part by pressure from the Iroquois. Those who continued north along the Mississippi became known as Osages, Kaws, Poncas, and Omahas; the people who headed south were known as Quapaws.

The Omahas and Poncas, accompanied by the Skidi Pawnees, followed the Des Moines River to its headwaters and then traveled overland toward the Minnesota catlinite (pipestone) quarries, where they lived until the early to midseventeenth century. Then, driven west by the Dakotas, they moved to near Lake Andes, South Dakota. The two tribes traveled south along the Missouri to Nebraska, where they separated, probably along the Niobrara River, in the late seventeenth century. The Omahas settled on Bow Creek, in northeast Nebraska. After acquiring horses about 1730, the people began to assume many characteristics of typical Plains Indians.

During the eighteenth century, the Omahas visited French posts as far north as Lake Winnipeg. Well supplied with horses (from the Pawnees) and guns (from French traders), the Omahas were able to resist Dakota attacks, even acting as trade intermediaries with their enemies. In 1791–1792, the two warring groups signed a peace treaty. By the early nineteenth century, heavy involvement in the non-Native trade had altered Omaha material culture. A severe smallpox epidemic in 1802 reduced the population to around 300. In 1854 they were forced to cede their land and the following year to take up residence on a reservation. In 1865 the government created the Winnebago Reservation from the northern Omaha Reservation. In 1882 the reservation was allotted.

By 1900 most Omahas knew English, and many spoke it well. All lived in houses, and nearly all wore nontraditional clothing. Most children attended school, and a significant number of adults were succeeding as farmers or in other occupations in the nontraditional economy. Still, throughout the twentieth century, the Omahas fought further

encroachments on the reservation and advocated tribal sovereignty.

*See also* Horse, Economic Impact; LaFlesche, Susan Picotte; LaFlesche, Susette Tibbles; Trade.

## O'ohenonpa (Two Kettles)

*See* Lakota.

## Osage

“Osage” is the French version of “Wazhazhe,” the name for one of the Osages’ three historical bands (Great Osage, Little Osage, and Arkansas Osage). Their self-designation was *Ni-U-Ko'n-Ska*, “Children of the Middle Waters.” In the late seventeenth century, Osage Indians lived along the Osage River in western Missouri. Osage is a member of the Dhegiha division of the Siouan language family.

Wakonda was considered to be the supreme life force, with which people might connect through the acquisition of supernatural visions. Shamans provided religious leadership. There was a secret religious society to which both men and women belonged. Ceremonies revolved around planting, peace, and war. The oral history of the tribe was recounted in the Rite of Chiefs.

Two divisions, Sky/Peace (*Tzi-sho*) and Land/War (*Hunkah*) people, encompassed a total of twenty-one patrilineal clans, each of which held distinctive ceremonial and political functions. Each of the two divisions had a peace and a war chief. In certain cases, clan leadership was hereditary. There was also a council of older men to make laws and arbitrate disputes. From the nineteenth century on, the tribe was divided into three political divisions (bands): Great Osage, Little Osage, and Arkansas Osage.

The Osage located their villages along wooded river valleys. They built oval or rectangular pole-frame houses, thirty-six to 100 feet long, fifteen to twenty feet wide, and ten feet high, covered with woven rush mats or bark. People lived in teepees while on buffalo hunts. Women grew corn, squash, pumpkins, and beans, and they gathered foods such as persimmons, wild fruits and berries, and acorns and other nuts. In addition to buffalo, men hunted deer, wild fowl, beaver, and wildcat.





Osage orange was considered the best wood for bows. The people also built carved wooden cradleboards, cattail and rush mats, and buffalo hair bags. By around 1700, the Osages were supplying the French with Indian slaves (mainly Pawnees and then Apaches), in exchange for guns, among other items. In the later eighteenth and into the nineteenth centuries, Osages had a surplus of horses to trade, in part because they did not require as many as did the truly nomadic Plains buffalo hunters. Being short on winter pastureland, they generally traded most of their horses in the fall, restocking again in the spring.

Most clothing was made of deerskin. Women wore a shirt and a cape; men wore leggings and a breechclout. Men wore their hair in a roach. Men also wore body paint, jewelry, and scalp locks. Through acts of bravery, a warrior gained the privilege to tattoo himself and his wife and daughter(s).

A group of Siouan people, known as Omahas, split into five separate tribes after they reached the Mississippi in the late sixteenth century from the Wabash and Ohio River regions. The initial exodus was prompted in part by pressure from the Iroquois. Those who continued north along the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers became known as the Osages, Kaws, Poncas, and Omahas; the people who headed south were known as Quapaws.

The French explorers Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet encountered the Osages in 1673, when the Indians were living in two villages along and nearby the south fork of the Osage River. Around 1700, the Osages acquired horses and began hunting buffalo. In the early eighteenth century, the Osages formed a strong alliance with the French, who gave them special trade treatment in exchange for pelts and slaves. Osage warriors helped the French fight Fox Indians, the English, and various other enemies. During the mideighteenth century, the Osages were well armed and powerful, able both to defend their farming villages and to hunt buffalo on the western Plains. The Spanish, a presence in the later eighteenth century, also tried to stay on good terms with the Osages, despite Osage raids on their outlying settlements.

In 1802, half of the Great Osage band, under Chief Big Track, moved to the Arkansas River in Oklahoma to be near a trading post opened by the friendly Chouteau family. Thereafter they were known to non-Indians as the Arkansas Osages. In 1808, however, following the large-scale arrival of non-Indians in the region, the Osages ceded most of Missouri and northern Arkansas to the United

States. The Little and Great bands then moved to the Neosho River in Kansas.

By treaties in 1818 and 1825, the Osages ceded all of their lands except for a reservation in extreme southern Kansas, to which all bands had relocated by 1836. In the 1850s, in alliance with Plains tribes such as the Cheyennes, Kiowas, and Comanches, they fought and lost a battle to stem the tide of eastern bands, such as the Cherokees, Choctaws, and Chickasaws, who had been moved to their lands by the United States. During the Civil War, the Osages fought for both the United States and the Confederacy. Following that war, Osage men scouted for the United States in its wars against the Cheyennes in 1868–1869.

By 1870, the Osages had sold their Kansas lands and bought roughly 1 million acres of land from the Cherokees in northeastern Indian Territory (Oklahoma). There, they settled in five villages and retained a structure of twenty-four clans and two divisions. Many Osages embraced the Native American Church in the 1890s.

Large oil deposits were discovered on the reservation in 1897, and the Osages became very wealthy during the 1920s. In 1906, influenced by the prospect of oil wealth, the Osages created and implemented a voluntary allotment plan, dividing the tribal land individually, with the tribe retaining mineral rights. By the 1960s, however, half of the allotted parcels were lost. Although the oil wealth conferred many benefits, it also brought a large measure of corruption, through which people were cheated out of land and money, as well as greatly increased substance abuse. There was a general decline in revenues during the Depression and a resurgence during the Arab oil embargo of the early 1970s.

*See also* Horse, Economic Impact; Native American Church of North America; Osage, and Oil Rights.

## Otoe

“Otoe” or “Oto” is from *Wahtohtata*, “lovers” or “lechers,” referring to an alleged incident between the children of an Otoe and a Missouri chief. An earlier self-designation may have been *Che-wae-rae*. Otoes are closely related to Poncas, Ioways, Missourias, and Winnebagos. Otoe-Iowa-Missouria is a member of the Chiwere division of the Siouan language family.





*Otoe delegation of five wearing claw necklaces and fur turbans. Photographed by John K. Hillers, January 1881. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

Wakonda was the universal spirit to which people could draw closer by fasting and acquiring visions. There were a number of secret curing and dance (religious) societies as well as a hereditary priesthood. In a ceremony related to the Ojibwa (Woodland) Midewiwin, members of the Medicine Lodge Society “shot” an initiate with a magic shell. He was later “restored” by older shamans.

Political and military leadership was provided by hereditary clan and war chiefs. There were about ten patrilineal clans, each with particular responsibilities. The people played lacrosse, among other games. Corpses were placed in a tree or buried in the ground. A four-day mourning period followed funerals, during which a horse was occasionally killed to provide transportation to the spirit world.

Otoe villages were composed of from forty to seventy semiexcavated earth lodges. Each lodge was about forty feet in diameter. People caked clay or earth over a wooden framework interwoven with

brush and grass. Skin teepees were used on hunting trips.

Women grew corn, beans, and squash in river bottomlands. Crops were stored in underground, bell-shaped caches. Women also gathered plant foods such as nuts, berries, and roots. Men assisted in farming but mainly hunted buffalo (twice a year), deer, and small game. Hunting, in fact, was a major occupation, and once on the Plains the people gradually shifted to rely more on buffalo than on crops. The people also ate fish.

On the Plains, the Otoes dressed similarly to other local Indians. Skins tanned by women formed the basis of most clothing. Men wore leggings and breechcloths, and women wore a one-piece dress. Both wore moccasins. Cold weather gear included shirts, robes, and fur caps. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Otoes traded heavily with the French, supplying Indian slaves, among other commodities.





According to tradition, the Winnebagos, Ioways, Missouriias, and Otoes once lived together north of the Great Lakes. In the sixteenth century, groups began migrating toward their historic areas. The Otoes and Missouriias continued past the Ioways, especially the Winnebagos, until they reached the junction of the Missouri and Grand Rivers in the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century.

There the two tribes had a falling-out, traditionally ascribed to a love affair between the two chiefs' children. After the split, the Otoes moved west along the Missouri. Trade with the French began soon after Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet encountered the Otoes in 1673 and continued for about a century. Between 1680 and 1717, the Otoes lived along the upper Iowa River and then the Blue Earth River. From 1717 to 1854 they lived along the Platte in various locations, including its mouth at the Missouri River. The people acquired horses early in that period and became much more involved in hunting buffalo.

The Otoe people absorbed the smallpox-decimated Missouriias, with whom they had been fighting the Sauks and Foxes for years, in 1829. Several difficult decades followed, during which the people battled disease as well as Indians and non-Indians. By treaties in the 1830s and 1854, the Otoe-Missouriias ceded all land and moved to 162,000-acre reservation on the Kansas-Nebraska border, along the Big Blue River. Two more land cessions occurred in 1876 and 1881.

Two factions developed in 1880 over the issue of acculturation. The Coyote, or traditional faction, moved to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). The Quakers ceded their land for 129,000-acre reservation near Red Rock in north central Oklahoma. Most Coyotes joined them by 1890, having lived for a time in a separate village on the Iowa Reservation. The reservation was allotted by 1907.

Many individuals grew crops of grains and potatoes at that time. After oil was discovered on their land in 1912, the United States forced many Otoe-Missouriias to give up their allotments. During the early to midtwentieth century, intermarriage truly created one tribe. Many Indians left the region during the 1930s. The tribe received a \$1.5 million land claim settlement in 1955 and another payment in 1964. Both were divided on a per-capita basis.

*See also* Agriculture; Horse, Economic Impact.

## Pawnee

"Pawnee" comes from the Caddoan *pariki* ("horn"), referring to the distinctive male hairstyle, or from *parisu* ("hunter"). Their self-designation was *Chahik-sichahiks*, "Men of Men." By about 1700, if not sooner, the Pawnees had divided into four independent subtribes: the Panimahas (Skidis), the Kitkehakis (Republicans), the Chauis (Grands), and the Pita-hauerats (Tappages). All but the Skidis spoke a similar dialect and were sometimes known as the southern Pawnees. The Skidis were also known as Loups (French), Lobos (Spanish), and Wolves (English). The Pawnees were closely related to the Wichitas and the Arikaras, and they maintained attributes characteristic of southwestern and Mesoamerican cultures. Panian (Skidi Pawnee, southern Pawnee, and Arikara) is a Caddoan language.

Tirawa, the sun, was the great spirit or creator and ruler of lesser deities. Among the Skidis, the morning and evening stars represented the masculine and feminine elements respectively. Much of the rich ceremonial life revolved around the heavenly bodies as well as planting, cultivating, and harvesting corn and hunting buffalo.

Hereditary priests were a large and powerful class of people. They conducted the rituals, knew sacred songs and rituals, and were associated with the sacred bundles. Shamans obtained powers from supernatural beings. They performed a large ceremony in the late summer or early fall at which they impressed people with feats such as handling live coals and plunging their hands in boiling water. Sacred bundles, connected with various rituals and associated with specific villages, dominated Pawnee life. There were also many secret societies, each with its own paraphernalia and rituals. Sacred animal lodges were associated with the southern people.

The chieftaincy was inherited through the female line. Villages were political units, each of which had chiefs, priests, bundles, and a council. Councils made all final civil and military decisions. They were established at the different levels of societal organization (village, tribe, confederacy). Each successive level of council was composed of members of the preceding level. All but two of the Skidi villages were joined in a political and religious confederation before they were forced to consolidate into one village following the smallpox epidemic of 1780–1781.

A dual division, winter and summer people, came into play during games and ceremonies. Most





*Pawnee lodges at Loup, Nebraska, ca. 1873. The Pawnee were members of the Caddoan family and the oldest of the Great Plains tribes. The Pawnee tended to ally with European powers during conflicts with Native Americans and became some of the first western Indians to serve as U.S. Army scouts. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

people married within the village. Corpses were wrapped in matting and buried in a sitting position, usually on high ground away from the village. People owned the right to perform dances and ceremonies. A society of single and elderly women affected shabby dress and tortured prisoners of war. There were various men's societies as well, generally revolving around military and religious themes.

By 1500, some Pawnees were living in permanent villages of between five and fifteen earth lodges. The lodges were round, semiexcavated, and about forty to sixty feet in diameter. They featured a pole framework interwoven with brush and grass, covered with a thick layer of soil and clay. By the early nineteenth century, most Pawnees used temporary semicircular summertime tents that differed from standard teepees. After driving small, arched poles into the ground along the circumference, people placed four larger posts vertically across the front. They also used standard skin teepees on buffalo hunting trips.

Unlike their neighbors who lived at similar longitudes, Pawnee women grew corn, beans, pumpkins, and sunflowers in small gardens. The people also hunted buffalo in the early summer and winter. They preferred two or three small drives to one massive slaughter. Meat was quickly butchered and dried. Men also hunted antelope, elk, deer, and small game, including fowl and birds. Women gathered roots, berries, plums, grapes, chokecherries, and nuts.

Before the seventeenth century, the Skidis traded with the Omahas and other related Siouan tribes. In the early to mideighteenth century, they exchanged Apache slaves, buffalo robes, and animal pelts with the New Orleans French for guns, tools, and other items. By later in the century they were trading guns for Comanche horses, which they traded in turn to the Omahas, Poncas, and other tribes.

Pawnee art included basketry and incised pottery. They occasionally smoked their fine tanned





hides. Teepees, robes, and shields were painted with heraldic designs. Women made most clothing of antelope or elk rather than buffalo hide. Men wore breechclouts and moccasins, plus leggings and a robe in the cold or on special occasions. Women wore moccasins, a skirt and cape, and leggings and a robe in the winter. Both sexes painted their faces.

Pawnee tradition has the people originating in the Southwest, but they may have their origin in the Southeast, perhaps in the Gulf region of southern Texas, and may have been associated very early on with Iroquoian people. Caddoan people occupied the Plains, from Texas to the Arkansas River region of Oklahoma and Kansas, inconsistently for perhaps several thousand years. Caddoans had major ceremonial centers by 500, including large temple mounds.

Upon leaving east Texas (thirteenth century), the Skidi Pawnees separated from the other bands and traveled east across the Mississippi, following the trail of the Iroquois to the northeast and settling in the Ohio Valley. In the sixteenth century, pressured by the initial stages of Iroquois expansion, the Skidis headed down the Ohio River. They were joined along the way by the Omahas. Together, the two people traveled to the Des Moines River, where the Skidis left the Omahas, continuing west to join their cousins and settling on the Loup fork of the Platte River.

Despite a separation of several hundred years, the Skidis reintegrated smoothly among the other Pawnee groups and soon became the largest and most powerful Pawnee tribe. They encountered the Spanish during the sixteenth century. Residents of western Pawnee villages were victims of Apache raiders from the midseventeenth century into the eighteenth century. The men were killed, and the women and children were sold as slaves. Thus occurred a gradual abandonment of Pawnee villages in western Nebraska and northeastern Colorado. The Illinois and other tribes also raided them for slaves in the eighteenth century.

Pawnees acquired a few horses around 1700, and within a generation they became great raiders and buffalo hunters, slowly relying less on crops and more on the buffalo for their food. Direct contact with French traders began in the early eighteenth century and expanded rapidly. By the 1750s, the French switched from buying Pawnees to buying Apaches, which the Pawnee, among other tribes,

gladly provided. The guns they received in trade helped protect them against Apache attacks against them, which soon ended.

From about 1770 to 1800, the Skidi Pawnees, reduced from eight villages to only one, lived with the Taovayas band of Wichita Indians on the Red River in northeastern Texas. Pawnees first met Anglo-Americans, including Meriwether Lewis, William Clark, and Zebulon Pike, in the early nineteenth century. After the Louisiana Purchase, more and more Americans entered Pawnee land. Most generally received a friendly and peaceful welcome.

By the terms of the 1805 Treaty of Table Rock, all Pawnees were relocated to a reservation in Genoa, Nebraska. During the 1830s and 1840s, they often fought and raided in the vicinity of the Arkansas River in southeastern Colorado and southwestern Kansas. Many also served as scouts for the U.S. Army during that period and later. Presbyterian missionaries arrived in 1834. Three years later, the Pawnees suffered a major smallpox epidemic.

By 1850, cholera and warfare with the Dakota tribes had greatly reduced the Pawnee population. They held their last tribal hunt in 1873. Pressured in 1876 to cede their reservation, the tribe moved to a new one, of over 200,000 acres, in north central Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Part of this reservation was allotted in 1892, with more than half then opened for non-Indian settlement. In 1906, the tribal population had declined 94 percent, to about 600 from about 10,000 just a century before. In 1966, the tribe won a land claims award of over \$7 million, and in the 1970s they forced the return of tribal lands given by the United States to the city of Pawnee.

*See also* Agriculture; Horse, Economic Impact; Slavery.

## Peigan

*See* Blackfeet.

## Ponca

"Ponca" is a word possibly meaning "sacred head." With Kaw, Omaha, Osage, and Quapaw, Ponca is part of the Dhegiha division of the Siouan language family.





Wakonda was the Great Spirit or universal creator. All things had supernatural power, which could be accessed through guardian spirits obtained in vision quests. The original tribal Sacred Pipe was carved of catlinite when the Poncas lived in Minnesota. It was used in the Pipe Dance and on other occasions, as were its later replacements. Other important events included the Medicine Lodge ceremony, Sun Dance, and War Dance. The Ponca Sun Dance included self-torture.

Hereditary chiefs governed the clans. On the Plains, buffalo police kept order during the hunt. Two divisions, Chighu and Wazhazha, were each subdivided into four patrilineal clans. The Poncas built permanent villages on bluffs over rivers and fortified them with log and earth stockades. They lived in east-facing earth or hide-covered lodges.

There was also a ceremonial earth lodge. Skin teepees were used on buffalo hunts. Women grew corn, beans, squash, pumpkins, and tobacco in gardens located on river bottomlands. There were two annual communal buffalo hunts. Before the people acquired horses, buffalo were often stampeded over cliffs. Men also hunted other large and small game. The people ate fish as well as a variety of wild foods.

Notable art items included carved wooden goods, blue clay pottery, woven mats and baskets, and work in quills and beads in floral and geometric designs.

Women tanned the skins and made the clothing. They wore a one-piece dress and moccasins. Men wore leggings and breechclouts, as well as moccasins. Cold weather gear included shirts, mittens,



*Ponca skinning a buffalo in the early 1900s. (Library of Congress)*





robes, and caps. On the Plains men wore their hair long, a custom they probably adopted from the Dakotas. Weapons included the bow and arrow, buffalo hide shield, and wooden war club. On the Plains, the Poncas acquired the institution of rival military clubs, probably from the Tetons.

Dhegiha speakers probably originated in the Southeast and entered the Plains from the Ohio Valley. After arriving at the Mississippi in the mid-sixteenth century, the Poncas traveled upriver with the Kaws, Omahas, and Osages. Continuing north with the Omahas into Iowa and Minnesota, the groups settled on the Big Sioux River near the pipestone quarries. Pressure from the Dakotas forced them to the Lake Andres area of South Dakota, where they separated from the Omahas in the early to mid-seventeenth century. From there they traveled west to the Black Hills and then east again, rejoining the Omahas and moving south along the Missouri River to Nebraska. They settled on the mouth of the Niobrara River around 1763. The Omahas left them soon after to settle on Bow Creek.

Epidemics had reduced the Ponca population by over 90 percent by the time they encountered the Meriwether Lewis and William Clark expedition in 1804. Treaties with the United States, beginning in 1817, cost them over 2 million acres of land. In 1858, the people accepted a reservation of about 100,000 acres and promises of protection against Lakota tribes. However, ten years later the Lakotas successfully claimed most of this land in the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty. Lakota attacks were worse than ever, since they now controlled the disputed land by treaty. In contravention of the treaties and in the face of active resistance of the chiefs, the United States forced the Poncas to remove to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). There the Indians received a reservation of just over 100,000 acres near the Arkansas and Salt Fork Rivers. Within a year, about a quarter of the tribe died in those new lands from hunger and disease.

In 1877, Chief Standing Bear and others led their people on a 500-mile walk back to the Niobrara River to bury their dead. They were arrested and detained, but a precedent-setting trial established their rights both to legal standing and to their Nebraska land, to which they soon returned. Fearing for the very survival of the reservation system, however, not to mention the corrupt system of supplying reservation Indians with substandard food and materials, the United States refused permission for the rest of the Poncas to return to Nebraska.

From then on, the Poncas living in Nebraska were known as northern Poncas, and the southern Poncas remained in Oklahoma.

The Oklahoma land was allotted in 1908. Most people later sold their allotments or leased them to non-Indians. Among the southern Poncas, strong anti-allotment sentiment led to factionalism within the tribe. Two Poncas were among those who established the Native American Church in the 1910s; the church's first president was a Ponca. The northern Poncas were formally "terminated" in the 1950s. By the mid-1960s, over 400 Poncas had lost all of their remaining 834 acres of land. The Ponca Clyde Warrior and the Paiut, Mel Thom formed the National Indian Youth Council, a group dedicated to advancing Indian rights, in 1961.

*See also* Native American Church of North America; Pipes, Sacred; *Standing Bear v. Crook*; Sun Dance; Warrior, Clyde.

## Quapaw

"Quapaw" comes from *Ugakhpa*, "Downstream People," referring to their migration south along the Mississippi. The Quapaws were also known as Arkansas Indians. Quapaw is a member of the Dhegiha division of the Siouan language family.

Wakonda was the great universal spirit who encompassed any number of other spirits or deities. Pipes featured prominently in their ceremonies, and the Green Corn Dance celebrated the beginning of the harvest. There were also numerous other agriculture-related ceremonies. A hereditary chief and a council of elders governed each village. Beginning in the eighteenth century, the people created an overall tribal chief. Two divisions were subdivided into twenty-two patriarchal clans. People were buried with tools, weapons, and other items, both in and above the ground. Some villages were protected with palisades. Women built rectangular houses with domed roofs covered with cypress bark, grass, woven mats, and hides. Several families lived in each house.

Women grew three crops of corn a year, plus beans, squash, and tobacco. They also gathered foods, including persimmons, walnuts, berries, and plums. Men hunted buffalo, fowl, and other large and small game. The people also ate fish, which they captured in weirs. The people carved stone pipes, made pottery, wove mats, and stored corn in gourds.





or cane baskets. Quapaws traded pottery and other items primarily to the Chickasaws, the Tunicas, and, later, the French. Painted and incised pottery was a Quapaw specialty. Before the onset of Plains culture, Quapaws made walnut and cypress dugout canoes. Prior to the eighteenth century, men generally went naked, pierced their nose and ears, and wore their hair short. On the Plains, men and women adopted the typical dress, including breechclouts, leggings, shirts, dresses, and robes.

Quapaw ancestors may have been the Indian Knoll people of Kentucky and the vicinity, of about the year 500, who lived along rivers and ate mainly shellfish. In the sixteenth century, with the Omahas and other Siouan groups, the Quapaws migrated through the Ohio Valley to the Mississippi River. When the others continued north along the Mississippi, the Quapaws struck out toward the south.

Shortly after the people met Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet in 1673, they were decimated by smallpox and ongoing warfare. They acquired horses in the early eighteenth century and adopted much of the Plains buffalo culture. Although in general the Quapaws avoided taking sides in the regional European colonial struggles, they fought the Chickasaws in the eighteenth century as French allies as well as to avenge raids made against them.

In 1818 the Quapaws ceded their claims to southern Arkansas, southern Oklahoma, and northern Louisiana. They did reserve about 1 million acres of land in Arkansas but were forced to give that up by 1824. Landless now, they went to live with the Caddos south of the Red River, but, following several crop failures as a result of floods, they drifted back to Arkansas. The Quapaws were forced to relocate to a reservation in the Indian Territory (Oklahoma and Kansas) in 1833. In 1867 they lost their Kansas lands when that territory became a state. The tribe voted in 1893 to liquidate the reservation by allotting 240 acres each to 230 tribal members. About this time, a variant of the Peyote religion was introduced to the people.

Rich mineral deposits (zinc and lead) were found on Quapaw land in 1905. For a few years non-Indians defrauded the Quapaws out of land and money. After the government finally stepped in and exercised its trust responsibility, considerable monetary benefits began to accrue, despite the fact that royalties were paid to the federal government, not to the tribe. Many individuals who managed to share in the wealth spent most or all of their money in the

1920s. The tribe received a land claims payment in the early 1960s of roughly \$1 million.

*See also* Agriculture; Horse, Economic Impact.

## **Santee**

*See* Dakota.

## **Saulteaux**

*See* Ojibwa, Plains.

## **Sicangu (Brulé)**

*See* Lakota.

## **Sihasapa (Blackfeet Teton)**

*See* Lakota.

## **Sioux**

*See* Dakota; Lakota; Nakota.

## **Sisseton**

*See* Dakota.

## **Stoney**

*See* Assiniboiné.

## **Teton**

*See* Lakota.

## **Tonkawa**

"Tonkawa" is a Waco word possibly meaning "they all stay together." Their self-designation was *Titska Watitch*, possibly meaning "Most Human People." Tonkawan is considered a language isolate but





may relate to the Hokan-Coahuiltecan group of languages.

The Tonkawas recognized numerous deities. They may have engaged in cannibalism, possibly for religious reasons. Psychotropic plants also played a part in their religious practice. There were at least twenty autonomous bands with loose, decentralized governing structures. The Tonkawas were excellent runners. For most of their existence they were nomadic hunters. On the Plains, the people lived in skin teepees.

Men hunted large and small game, especially buffalo and deer. Women gathered roots, seeds, nuts, prickly pear, and other wild foods. The people also ate fish, shellfish, and rattlesnake meat but neither wolf nor coyote. Like all Plains tribes, most of their material goods came from the buffalo and other animals. Tonkawas traded buffalo-derived materials for feathers and other items. They were also well-known horse traders. Pueblo groups were among their trade partners. They imported copper from the north. Painting—of shields, teepees, and their own bodies—was a major part of Tonkawa art.

Women made all clothing from animal skins. They wore short wraparound skirts and either let their hair hang long or made one braid. Men wore long breechclouts and long, braided hair. Men also plucked their beards and eyebrows. Moccasins or fiber sandals were rarely worn. Both sexes wore buffalo robes, and both tattooed and painted their bodies and wore many personal ornaments.

Tonkawa men had a reputation as fierce raiders, with many enemies, especially the Apaches and Comanches. Their weapons included the bow and arrow, hide vests, feathered helmets, and hide shields. They were considered excellent shots. They painted for war in red, yellow, green, and black. Warriors may have cut their hair on the left side, leaving the long hair on the right to be tied with a thong.

The Tonkawa may be descended from Indians who lived in southern Texas and northern Mexico. They had contact with the Spanish in the 1530s. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, the people were caught up in the colonial struggle between Spain and France for control of Texas. The Tonkawas lived around Mission San Gabriel in east Texas for a time before it was abandoned in 1758. They acquired horses in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century.

El Mocho was a captured Apache who became a Tonkawa chief in the late eighteenth century. His dream was to unite the Apaches and the Tonkawas against the Spanish. At a council attended by over 4,000 Indians, the two peoples failed to resolve their differences. El Mocho was captured and killed by the Spanish.

After Mexican independence in 1821, the Tonkawas became allied with Anglo-Texans against the Comanche and Waco Indians. Along with other Texas tribes, the Tonkawas were assigned two small reservations on the Brazos River in 1855. Despite their past alliance with non-Native Texans, in 1859 the Tonkawas were deported from Texas and relocated to Fort Cobb on the Washita River, Indian Territory (Oklahoma). From there some fought for the Confederacy during the Civil War, and in 1862 more than half of the tribe were killed in a raid by Unionist Caddo, Shawnee, and Delaware people.

Survivors returned to Texas, where they remained until 1884, when they were assigned to the former Nez Percé Reservation in the Indian Territory. This reservation was allotted in 1896. Some Tonkawas participated in the Pawnee Ghost Dance in the early twentieth century.

*See also* Horse, Economic Impact; Trade.

## Wahpekute

*See* Dakota.

## Wahpeton

*See* Dakota.

## Wichita

"Wichita" is the name of one band of a loose confederacy of several tribes living in separate villages. The Spanish called them *Jumanos*. They have also been called Black Pawnees as well as by the names of related tribes such as Wacos, Tawakonis, Tawehashes, and Akwits. Their self-designation was *Kitikiti'sh*, meaning "Men." Wichita is a Caddoan language.





Kinnikasuk was the great creator. Other deities were recognized, too, particularly those related to the celestial bodies. The people held a deer dance three times a year. They also performed a calumet (pipe) ceremony. There were many secret societies, for both men and women, each with its own ceremonies and dances.

The Wichita were traditionally a loose confederation of several bands or tribes occupying independent villages. A chief and a subchief, chosen by a council of warriors, presided over each village. The smallest economic unit was the family. Descent was matriarchal. Corpses were buried in a nearby hill with various goods associated with their earthly activities. Mourners cut their hair and gave away some of their possessions.

The various Wichita bands lived in separate villages near rivers. In the sixteenth century, settlements consisted of up to 1,000 round houses, each fifteen to thirty feet in diameter and built of a pole framework tied with branches or reeds and thatched with grass. The houses had two doors, a smoke hole in the center of the roof, and sleeping platforms along the walls. The people also used ramadas in the summer and for some occasions, as well as skin teepees during the fall buffalo hunts.

Women grew corn, beans, squash, and tobacco. Crops were stored in underground caches. Pumpkins were cut, dried, and woven into mats for storage. Women also gathered foods such as plums, grapes, and nuts. Men hunted buffalo, usually twice a year—in June and following the harvest—after they obtained horses. They also hunted deer, elk, rabbit, antelope, and bear. Women made all clothing of animal skins. Both sexes practiced extensive body and facial tattooing.

The Wichita traded agricultural goods to nomadic tribes in exchange for animal goods. There was little trade with the New Mexico pueblos, although the two societies communicated. After 1720, the Wichitas acted as intermediaries between the French (tools, guns) and the western nomadic tribes (hides, furs). Following a 1746 friendship treaty, they traded guns to the Comanches for horses, which went eventually to the plantations on the lower Mississippi or South-eastern states.

The people who were to become the historic Wichitas split from the proto-Pawnees about 1,500 years ago. These people may have lived near the Washita River of western Oklahoma about 1,000

years ago. They probably moved north from eastern Texas in the fourteenth century to the Great Bend of the Arkansas River. There they were visited by Francisco Vasquez de Coronado in 1541, when he referred to their villages as Quivira. The people acquired horses by 1700.

During the eighteenth century, under pressure from the well-armed Osage, the Wichitas began moving south toward Oklahoma and Texas. Trade with the French began after 1720; with the southern Pawnees, the Wichitas dominated the gun trade out of New Orleans. However, in the mid- to late eighteenth century the French trade was suspended while the Wichitas were engaged in periodic wars with the Spanish. A severe smallpox epidemic crippled the people in 1801. Osage and non-Indian raids depleted their population even further in subsequent years. An 1835 treaty between the United States and the Wichitas, Comanches, and several eastern tribes marked the first time that the Wichitas were officially referred to by that name.

In 1854, several Wichita bands settled with the Shawnees and Delawares on a reservation on the Brazos River, although the non-Native Texans soon forced them out. The United States established a Wichita reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma), south of the Canadian River, in 1859. Wichitas left the Indian Territory for Kansas (near present-day Wichita) during the Civil War but returned in 1867. They formally ceded all their non-reservation land in 1872 in exchange for a 743,000-acre reservation along the Washita River. However, the agreement was never ratified by Congress. Tribal lands were allotted in 1901. The government paid them \$1.25 an acre for the "excess" and then opened that land to non-Indian settlement.

*See also* Pipes, Sacred; Trade.

## Yankton

*See* Nakota.

## Yanktonai

*See* Nakota.



# *Native Americans of the Southeast*



## **Alabama**

"Alabama" is derived from *Alibamu*, "plantgatherers," "medicine gatherers," or "thicket clearers." Alabamas were culturally related to the neighboring Creeks and Choctaws. Alabamas spoke a Muskogean language.

The people worshipped the sun (fire), as well as a host of lesser deities and beings. Alabamas conducted the Green Corn ceremony as well as other ceremonies throughout the spring, summer, and fall. Most councils and ceremonies began with an emetic tea (black drink). Priests, doctors, and conjurers underwent a rigorous training period that included healing techniques, songs, and formulas.

Alabamas were part of the Creek Confederacy, although each village was politically sovereign. In most towns of the confederacy, a chief (*miko*) was chosen largely by merit. He was head of a democratic council that had ceremonial and diplomatic responsibilities.

Chunkey (a variety of hoop-and-pole in which an arrow was shot through a loop) was one of many popular games, most of which involved gambling. The dead were buried with their heads to the east and sometimes a knife in the hand for fighting eagles on the way to the afterworld. Alabamas had over fifty clans in the eighteenth century, although probably fewer before contact. Infidelity in marriage was an offense punishable by public whipping and exile.

Towns were laid out in a square and enclosed by walls up to several hundred feet long. By design, entry and egress were difficult: On one side the

gate was too low for a horse to enter, and another side might open onto a steep embankment. Many towns were surrounded by mud-covered wooden stockades.

Dwellings were pole-frame structures with plastered walls and bark-covered or shingled, gabled roofs. The outer covering was of mud and grass or mats. Many families had a winter house and a summer house. These buildings, plus a granary and possibly a storehouse, were placed to form a square, in the manner of the ceremonial square ground.

Alabamas ate fish, squirrels and other small game, deer and other large game, and their crops. The winter hunt, during which men traveled up to 250 miles or more, lasted from after the harvest until the spring planting. Fish were taken with spears, bows and arrows, and poison. Women wove cane or palmetto baskets. Many points and knives were made of flint, although mortars and pestles were generally wooden. Bows were also made of wood (cedar was considered the best), with strings of hide (perhaps of bark in earlier times). Men also hunted with blowguns and possibly spears.

Alabamas exported flint and animal products and imported pipes and shells. Women made pottery and wove geometric designs into their baskets. Artisans worked silver ornaments from the sixteenth century on. Most pre-contact transportation was via dugout pirogues. Personal adornment included ornaments in pierced ears and noses, body paint, and various armbands, bracelets, and necklaces. In the late eighteenth century, women wore cloth skirts, as well as shawls, or capes. Men wore





breechcloths, cloaks or shirts, and bear or buffalo robes in the winter. In battle, the war chief carried along the sacred war ark or medicine bundle. Life (of one's own people) was considered precious, and warriors were extremely careful not to risk inopportune or imprudent fighting or capture.

Alabamas probably descended from Mound Builder cultures and may have originated north and west of the Mississippi. They encountered a hostile Spanish party under Hernando de Soto in 1540. By the early eighteenth century they had become allies of the French, who built Fort Toulouse in Alabama country in 1713.

Many Alabamas left their homeland following the French defeat in 1763. Some joined the Seminoles in Florida. Some resettled north of New Orleans, and later some of that group moved on to western Louisiana and Texas. Land given them in recognition of their contribution in the 1836 fight against Mexico was promptly stolen by non-Natives. In 1842, the Alabamas and the Coushatta Indians were given a 1,280-acre reservation along the Trinity River. The United States added 3,081 acres to that reservation in 1928. In 1954 the tribe voluntarily terminated its relationship with the federal government, at which time the state took over control of the reservation. The tribe reverted to federal status in 1986.

Those who remained in Alabama fought unsuccessfully with the Creeks against non-Natives in the 1813–1814 Creek War. Survivors of that conflict settled in the Alabama town of Tawasa. Most were resettled in Indian Territory (Oklahoma) with the Creeks in the 1830s. Part of the Creek Nation until 1938, the Alabama-Quassartes at that time received a federal charter, several hundred acres of land, and political, but not administrative, independence.

Louisiana Alabamas maintained a subsistence economy during the early twentieth century, gradually entering the labor market. Tourism and tourist-related sales of cane baskets and woodcrafted items began to grow in midcentury.

*See also* Creek War; Mound Cultures of North America; Muskogean Language; Seminole Wars.

## Biloxi

*See* Tunica.

## Caddo

“Caddo” means “true chiefs,” from *Kadohadacho*, “principal tribe.” The Caddo Indians included people of the Natchitoches Confederacy (Louisiana), the Hasinai (Tejas or Texas) Confederacy (Texas), the Kadohadacho Confederacy (Texas and Arkansas), and the Adai and Eyish people. There were about twenty-five Caddo tribes in the eighteenth century. Caddos spoke a Caddoan language.

The people's supreme deity was known as Ayanat Caddi. There were also other deities and spirits, including the sun. Most annual ceremonies revolved around the agricultural cycle. Each Caddo tribe was headed by a powerful chief, who was assisted by other people of authority. Among the Hasinai (at least), a high priest had supreme authority. Clans were more hierarchical and social classes more pronounced among the western Caddos than in the east. Shell beads were used as a medium of exchange. Premarital sexual liaisons were condoned. In some tribes, men were allowed to have more than one wife, although in others a woman might not allow it. Divorce was easily obtained and occurred regularly.

At least one seventeenth-century town had over 100 houses. Some villages may have been reinforced with towered stockades. Houses in the east were round, about fifteen feet high and between twenty and sixty feet in diameter. They were constructed of a pole frame covered with grass thatch, through which smoke from the cooking fires exited; roofs came all the way to the ground. Western Caddos built earth lodges, with wooden frames and brush, grass, and mud walls reaching to the top. There were also outside arbors. Sacred fires always burned in circular temples.

Women grew two corn crops a year, as well as beans, pumpkins, sunflowers, and tobacco. They also gathered wild foods such as nuts, acorns, mulberries, strawberries, blackberries, plums, pomegranates, persimmons, and grapes. Agricultural products were most important in the diet, although buffalo grew in importance as the group moved westward. Men hunted deer, bear, raccoon, turkey, fowl, and snakes. They stalked deer using deer disguises. Dogs may have assisted them in the hunt. Fish were caught where possible.

Caddos exported Osage orange wood and salt, which they obtained from local mines (licks) and boiled in earthen (later iron) kettles. They imported Quapaw wooden platters, among other items. Their





fine arts included basketry, pottery, and carved shells, and they used single-log dugout canoes and cane rafts to navigate bodies of water.

Most clothing was made of deerskin. Men wore breechclouts, untailored shirts, and cloaks. Women wore skirts and a poncho-style upper garment and painted their bodies. They parted their hair in front and fastened it behind. Both wore blankets or buffalo robes and tattooed their faces and bodies, especially in floral and animal patterns.

Caddoans are thought to have originated in the Southwest. They reached the Great Plains in the midtwelfth century and the fringes of the Southeast cultural area shortly thereafter. They gave the Spanish under Hernando de Soto a mixed reception in 1541. Few of the Spanish missions in their country had any success.

Trade with the French began in the early seventeenth century. The Indians traded their crops for animal pelts, which they then traded to the French for guns and other items of non-Native origin. During the eighteenth century, Caddo villages suffered from Spanish-French colonial battles. Many tribes were wiped out by disease during that period.

In 1835, the Caddos ceded their Louisiana land and moved to Texas. In the 1850s, however, non-Native Texans drove all Indians out of Texas, and the Caddos fled from their brutality to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). In 1859, the United States confined them to a reservation along the Washita River, which the Wichitas and Delawares later joined.

Rather than support the Confederacy, most Caddos fled to Kansas during the Civil War, returning in 1868. Some scouted for the U.S. Army during the Plains wars, in part as a strategy of supporting farmers against nomads. The boundaries of their reservation were secured in 1872, but, despite Caddo objections, most of the reservation was allotted around 1900. After extensive litigation and appeals, the tribe won over \$1.5 million in land claim settlements in the 1980s.

*See also* Agriculture; Confederacies; Fur Trade.

## Catawba

The Catawba people were also known as *Issa* or *Esaw*, "People of the River." Catawbas traditionally lived along the North Carolina–South Carolina border, especially along the Catawba River. Catawba is probably a Siouan language.

The people made use of wooden images in their ceremonies, which were relatively unconnected to the harvest. Enemies were killed to accompany the dead to an afterworld. There were two Catawba bands in the early eighteenth century. Some of their chiefs—men and women—were quite powerful.

Catawbas may have practiced frontal head deformation. The chunky game was a variety of hoop-and-pole (in which an arrow was shot through a loop), played with a stone roller. They also played stickball (lacrosse). At puberty, young women learned the proper way to wear decorative feathers. Doctors and conjurers cured and detected thieves by consorting with spirits. Men alone were punished in cases of adultery. Divorce was easy to obtain, and widows could remarry at once.

Six early villages were located in river valleys. People lived in bark-covered pole-frame houses. The town houses were circular, as were the temples. Open arbors were used in the summer. Women grew corn, beans, squash, and gourds. Men hunted widely for large and small game, including buffalo, deer, and bear. The people also ate fish, pigeons, acorns, and various other wild plant foods. Blowguns with an average length of five to six feet and with an effective range of no more than thirty feet were used to bring down birds.

The main regional aboriginal trade routes ran right through Catawba territory. The Catawbas became heavily involved with British traders, especially in the mideighteenth century but beginning at least in 1673. Pottery was an ancient and highly developed Catawba art. It was often stamped with a carved piece of wood before firing. Rivers were navigated on dugout and possibly birchbark canoes. Chiefs wore headdresses of wild turkey feathers. Women may have worn leggings as well, when mourning, as special clothing made from tree moss.

Catawbas may have come to the Carolinas from the northwest. They first encountered non-Natives—Spanish explorers—in the midsixteenth century. Extensive contact with British traders in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries transformed their lives. A dependence on non-Native goods caused them to hunt ever farther afield for pelts with which to purchase such goods. Encroachment on other peoples' hunting grounds combined with the heavy volume of goods carried along the trade routes encouraged increased attacks by enemy Indians. Catawbas also underwent severe depopulation from disease.





*Catawba potter Sarah Jane Ayers Harris and seven grandchildren, seated on her porch with her pottery, ca. 1910. (Library of Congress)*

To maintain trade relations with the colonists, the Catawbas took their side in a 1711–1713 war with the Tuscarora Indians. By 1715, however, some Catawbas had taken the Indian side in the Yamasee War, rebelling against unfair trade practices, forced labor, and slave raids. The non-Native victory in this conflict broke the power of the local Indians.

In the mideighteenth century smallpox epidemics almost wiped the tribe out: Their pre-contact population of about 6,000 had declined by over 90 percent to 500 or fewer. Alcohol sold and aggressively promoted by Anglo traders took many more lives. Catawbas tended to absorb local tribes who suffered the same fate, such as the Cheraws, Sugarees, Waxhaws, Congarees, Santees, Pedees, and Waterees.

In 1760–1761 the Catawbas were forced by their dependence on the state of South Carolina to fight against the powerful Cherokees in the French and Indian War. By 1763 they were confined to a fifteen-

square-mile (144,000-acre) reservation, as non-Natives continued to take their former lands. Part of the agreement creating the reservation stipulated that non-Indians would be evicted from it (which never happened) and that the Catawbas continued to enjoy hunting rights outside the area. Their last great chief, Haigler, or Arataswa, died at that time.

The declining tribe took the patriot side in the American Revolution. In 1840, the few remaining Catawbas signed a treaty with the state of South Carolina, agreeing to cede lands in that state and move to North Carolina. Unable to buy land there, however, most dispersed among the Cherokees and Pamunkeys, although a very few remained in South Carolina. In the 1850s, however, most Catawbas who had gone to live with the Cherokees returned to South Carolina. A few families moved to Arkansas, the Indian Territory, Colorado, Utah, or elsewhere. Those in South Carolina acquired a reservation of 630 (of the original 144,000) poor-quality





acres. They also obtained the promise of annual payments from the state.

Many South Carolina Catawbias began sharecropping at that time but returned occasionally to live on the reservation. They also continued to speak their language and to make their traditional crafts. The Catawba Indian School opened in 1896 and ran until 1962. Mormons also played a large role in educating Catawba children beginning in the 1880s.

Many Catawbias worked in textile mills beginning after World War I. The Indians added to their reservation by purchasing land in the midtwentieth century. By that time, however, traditional Catawba culture had all but expired. Although the federal trust relationship was formally begun only in 1943 as a result of Catawba legal pressure, in 1962 the tribe voluntarily ended its relationship with the federal government, at which time individuals took over possession of the recently purchased tribal lands.

*See also* Pottery; Mormon Church; Trade.

## Cherokee

"Cherokee" is probably from the Creek *tciloki*, "people who speak differently." Their self-designation was *Ani-yun-wiya*, "Real People." With the Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, the Cherokees were one of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes; this non-Native appellation arose because by the early nineteenth century these Indians dressed, farmed, and governed themselves nearly like white Americans. At the time of contact the Cherokees were the largest tribe in the southeast. Cherokees were formerly known as Kituhwas.

Cherokee is an Iroquoian language. The lower towns spoke the Elati dialect; the middle towns spoke the Kituhwa dialect; the upper (overhill and valley) towns spoke the Atali dialect. The dialects were mutually intelligible with difficulty.

The tribe's chief deity was the sun, which may have had a feminine identity. The people conceived of the cosmos as being divided into three parts: an upper world, this world, and a lower world. Each contained numerous spiritual beings that resided in specific places. The four cardinal directions were replete with social significance. Tribal mythology, symbols, and beliefs were complex, and there were also various associated taboos, customs, and social and personal rules.

Many ceremonies revolved around subsistence activities as well as healing. The primary one was the annual Green Corn ceremony (Busk), observed when the last corn crop ripened. Medicine people (men and women) could, by magical means, influence events and the lives and fortunes of people. Witches, when discovered, were summarily killed. Learning sorcery took a lifetime. Medicine powers could be used for good or evil, and the associated beads, crystals, and formulas were a regular part of many people's lives.

The various Cherokee villages formed a loose confederacy. There were two chiefs per village: a red, or war, chief, and a white chief (Most Beloved Man or Woman), who was associated with civil, economic, religious, and juridical functions. Chiefs could be male or female, and there was little or no hereditary component. There was also a village council, in which women sat, although usually only as observers. The Cherokees were not a cohesive political entity until the late eighteenth century at the earliest.

There were seven matrilineal clans in the early historic period. Cherokees regularly engaged in ceremonial purification, and they paid careful attention to their dreams. Both men and women, married and single, enjoyed a high degree of sexual freedom. Divorce was possible; men who were thrown out returned to their mothers. Children were treated gently, and they behaved with decorum. In general, Cherokees, valuing harmony as well as generosity, tried to avoid conflict.

Intraclan, but not interclan, murder was a capital offense. Names were changed or added to frequently. As with chiefs, towns may also have been considered red and white. Women owned the houses and their contents; this custom, along with matrilineal descent and the clan system, weakened with increasing exposure to non-Native society. People did not address each other directly. In place of public sanctions, Cherokees used ostracism and public scorn to enforce social norms.

Towns were located along rivers and streams. They contained a central ceremonial place and in the early historic period were often surrounded by palisades. People built rectangular summer houses of pole frames and wattle, walls of cane matting and clay plaster, and gabled bark or thatch roofs. The houses, about sixty or seventy feet by fifteen feet, were often divided into three parts: a kitchen, a dining area, and bedrooms. Some were two stories high, with the upper walls open for ventilation.





*In a recreated Cherokee village, Cherokee tour guides show visitors the daily life and crafts of the Cherokees approximately 300 years ago. (Raymond Gehman/Corbis)*

There was probably one door. Beds were made of rush mats over wood splints, and animal skins served as bedding.

Cherokees were primarily farmers. Women grew corn (three kinds), beans, squash, sunflowers, and tobacco, the latter used ceremonially. Wild foods included roots, crab apples, persimmons, plums, cherries, grapes, hickory nuts, walnuts, chestnuts, and berries. Men hunted various animals, including deer, bear, raccoon, rabbit, squirrel, turkey, and rattlesnake. They fished occasionally, and they collected maple sap in earthen pots and boiled it into syrup. Hunting gear included the bow and arrow, stone hatchet, and flint knife. Smaller animals and birds were shot with darts blown out of hollow nine- to ten-foot-long cane stems; these blowguns were accurate up to sixty feet.

Cherokee pipes were widely admired and easily exported. The people also traded maple sugar and syrup. They imported shell wampum that was used as money. Their plaited cane baskets, pottery, and masks carved of wood and gourds were especially fine.

Men built thirty- to forty-foot-long canoes of fire-hollowed pine or poplar logs. Each canoe could hold between fifteen and twenty people. Women made most clothing of buckskin and other skins and furs as well as of mulberry-bark fibers. Men wore breechclouts; women wore skirts. In the winter, both wore bear or buffalo robes. Men also wore shirts and leggings, and women wore capes. Both sexes wore moccasins as well as nose ornaments, bracelets, and body paint.

Each village had a red (war) chief as well as a War Woman, who accompanied war parties. She fed the men, gave advice, and determined the fate of prisoners. Women also distinguished themselves in combat and often tortured prisoners of war. The people often painted themselves, as well as their canoes and paddles, for war. The party carried an ark or medicine chest to war, and it left a war club engraved with its exploits in enemy territory.

The Cherokees probably originated in the upper Ohio Valley, the Great Lakes region, or someplace else in the north. They may also have been related to the Mound Builders. The town of Echota,





on the Little Tennessee River, may have been the ancient capital of the Cherokee Nation.

They encountered Hernando de Soto about 1540, probably not long after they arrived in their historic homeland. Spanish attacks against the Indians commenced shortly thereafter, although new diseases probably weakened the people even before Spanish soldiers began killing them. There were also contacts with the French and especially the British in the early seventeenth century. Traders brought guns around 1700, along with debilitating alcohol.

The Cherokees fought a series of wars with Tuscarora, Shawnee, Catawba, Creek, and Chickasaw Indians early in the eighteenth century. In 1760 the Cherokees, led by Chief Oconostota, fought the British as a protest against unfair trade practices and violence practiced against them as a group. Cherokees raided settlements and captured a British fort but were defeated after two years of fighting by the British scorched-earth policy. The peace treaty cost the Indians much of their eastern land, and, in fact, they never fully recovered their prominence after that time.

Significant depopulation resulted from several mideighteenth century epidemics. Cherokee support for Britain during the American Revolution encouraged attacks by North Carolina militia. Finally, some Cherokees who lived near Chattanooga relocated in 1794 to Arkansas and Texas and in 1831 to Indian Territory (Oklahoma). These people eventually became known as the western Cherokees.

After the American Revolution, Cherokees adopted British-style farming, cattle ranching, business, and government, becoming relatively cohesive and prosperous. They also owned slaves. They sided with the United States in the 1813 Creek War, during which a Cherokee saved Andrew Jackson's life. The tribe enjoyed a cultural renaissance between about 1800 and 1830, although they were under constant pressure for land cession and riven by internal political factionalism.

The Cherokee Nation was founded in 1827 with "Western" democratic institutions and a written constitution (which specifically disenfranchised African Americans and women). By then, Cherokees were intermarrying regularly with non-Natives and were receiving increased missionary activity, especially in education. Sequoyah (also known as George Gist) is credited with devising a Cherokee syllabary in 1821 and thus providing his people

with a written language. During the late 1820s, the people began publishing a newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*.

The discovery of gold in their territory led in part to the 1830 Indian Removal Act, requiring the Cherokees (among other tribes) to relocate west of the Mississippi River. When a small minority of Cherokees signed the Treaty of New Echota, ceding the tribe's last remaining eastern lands, local non-Natives immediately began appropriating the Indians' land and plundering their homes and possessions. Indians were forced into internment camps, where many died, although over 1,000 escaped to the mountains of North Carolina, where they became the progenitors of what came to be called the eastern band of Cherokees.

The removal, known as the Trail of Tears, began in 1838. The Indians were forced to walk 1,000 miles through severe weather without adequate food and clothing. About 4,000 Cherokees, almost a quarter of the total, died during the removal, and more died once the people reached the Indian Territory, where they joined—and largely absorbed—the group already there. Following their arrival in Indian Territory, the Cherokees quickly adopted another constitution and reestablished their institutions and facilities, including newspapers and schools. Under Chief John Ross, most Cherokees supported slavery and also supported the Confederate cause in the Civil War.

The huge "permanent" Indian Territory was often reduced in size. When the northern region was removed to create the states of Kansas and Nebraska, Indians living there were again forcibly resettled. One result of the Dawes Act (late 1880s) was the "sale" (the virtual appropriation) of roughly 2 million acres of Indian land in Oklahoma. Oklahoma became a territory in 1890 and a state in 1907. Although the Cherokees and other tribes resisted allotment, Congress forced them to acquiesce in 1898. Their land was individually allotted in 1902, at about the same time their Native governments were officially "terminated."

Ten years after the Cherokee removal, the U.S. Congress ceased efforts to round up the eastern Cherokees. The Indians received North Carolina state citizenship in 1866 and incorporated as the eastern band of Cherokee Indians in 1889. In the early twentieth century, many eastern Cherokees were engaged in subsistence farming and in the local timber industry. Having resisted allotment, the tribe took steps to ensure that it would always own





its land. Although the Cherokees suffered greatly during the Depression, the Great Smoky Mountain National Park (1930s) served as the center of a growing tourist industry.

In the 1930s, the United Keetoowah Band (UKB), a group of full-bloods opposed to assimilation, formally separated from the Oklahoma Cherokees. (The name “Keetoowah” derives from an ancient town in western North Carolina.) The group originated in the antiallotment battles at the end of the nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century the UKB reconstructed several traditional political structures, such as the seven clans and white towns, as well as some ancient cultural practices that did not survive the move west. They received federal recognition in 1946.

*See also* Cherokee Nation v. Georgia; Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate; Creek War; Indian Removal Act; Mankiller, Wilma; Ross, John; Sequoyah; Trail of Tears.

## Chickasaw

“Chickasaw” is a Muskogean name referring to the act of sitting down. The Chickasaws were culturally similar to the Choctaws. Along with the Cherokees, Choctaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, the Chickasaws were one of the so-called Five Civilized Tribes. Chickasaw is a Muskogean language.

The supreme deity was Ababinili, an aggregation of four celestial beings: Sun, Clouds, Clear Sky, and He That Lives in the Clear Sky. Fire, especially the sacred fire, was a manifestation of the supreme being. Two head priests (*hopaye*) presided over ceremonies and interpreted spiritual matters. Healers (*aliktce*), who combated evil spirits by using various natural substances, and witches were two types of spiritual people.

Political leadership was chosen in part according to hereditary claim but also according to merit. The head chief, chosen from the Minko clan, was known as the High Minko. Each clan also had a chief. There was also a council of advisers, which included clan leaders and tribal elders. The fundamental units were local groups.

Key Chickasaw values included hospitality and generosity, especially to those in need. Two divisions were in turn divided into many ranked matrilineal clans. The people played lacrosse, chunky (in which an arrow was shot through a hoop), and

other games, most of which included gambling and had important ritual components. Tobacco was used ritually and medicinally. Murder was subject to retaliation.

Boys were toughened by winter plunges into water and special herbs. Women were secluded in special huts during their menstrual periods. Marriage involved various gift exchanges, mainly food or clothing. A man might have more than one wife. Men avoided their mothers-in-law out of respect. In cases of adultery only the woman was punished, often by a beating or by an ear or nose cropping. Chickasaws practiced frontal head deformation.

The dead were buried in graves under houses, along with their possessions, after an elaborate funeral rite. They were placed in a sitting position facing west, with their faces painted red. After death they were only vaguely alluded to and never directly by name. All social activities ceased for three days following a death in the village. Chickasaws maintained the concept of a heaven generally in the west, the direction of witchcraft and uneasy spirits.

Chickasaws built their villages on high ground near stands of hardwood trees. They were often palisaded and more compact during periods of warfare. Rectangular summer houses were of pole-frame construction, notched and lashed, with clapboard sides and gabled roofs covered with cypress or pine-bark shingles.

Winter houses were semiexcavated and circular, about twenty-five feet in diameter, with a narrow, four-foot-high door. They were plastered with at least six inches of clay and dried grass. Bark shingles or thatch covered conical roofs with no smoke holes. Furniture included couches and raised wood-frame beds, under which food was stored. Town houses or temples were of similar construction.

Crops—corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers—were the staple foods. Men also hunted buffalo, deer, bear, and numerous kinds of small game, including rabbits but probably not beaver or opossum. Birds and their eggs were included in the diet. Women gathered nuts, acorns, honey, onions, persimmons, strawberries, grapes, and plums. Tea was made from sassafras root. Chickasaws ate a variety of fish, including the huge Mississippi catfish (up to 200 pounds).

Earthen pots of various sizes and shapes served a number of purposes. Men stunned fish with buckeye or green walnut poison. Women wove mulberry bark in a frame and used the resulting textile in





floor and table coverings. Most clothing was made of deerskin, although other hides, including beaver, were also used. Men wore breechclouts, with deer-skin shirts and bearskin robes in cold weather. Most kept their hair in a roach soaked in bear grease. There were also high boots for hunting. Women wore long dresses and added buffalo robes or capes in the winter. People generally went barefoot, although they did make moccasins of bear hide and occasionally elk skin.

Chickasaws traded as far away as Texas and perhaps even Mexico. Among other items, they traded deerskins for conch shell to use as wampum. Cloth items (from woven mulberry inner bark) were decorated with colorful animal and human figures and other designs. The people also made exceptional dyed and decorated cane baskets. Men hollowed dugout canoes out of hardwood trees.

Chickasaws were known as fierce, enthusiastic, and successful warriors. Raiding parties usually consisted of between twenty and forty men, their faces painted for war. They engaged in ritual preparation before they departed, and, upon their return, ritual celebration, which might include the bestowal of new war names.

The Chickasaws may once have been united with the Choctaws. The people encountered Hernando de Soto in 1541. At first welcoming, as their customs dictated, they ultimately attacked the Spanish when the latter tortured some of them and tried to enslave others.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, warfare increased with neighboring tribes as the Chickasaws expanded their already large hunting grounds to obtain more pelts and skins for the British trade. Increasingly dependent on this trade, they did not shrink from capturing other Indians, such as the Choctaws, and selling them to the British as slaves. In general, the Chickasaws' alliance with the British during the colonial period acted as a hindrance to French trade on the Mississippi.

Constant warfare with the French and their Choctaw allies during the eighteenth century sapped the people's vitality. In part to compensate, they began absorbing other peoples, such as several hundred Natchez as well as British traders. A pattern began to emerge in which descendents of British men and Chickasaw women (such as the Colbert family) became powerful tribal leaders. Missionaries began making significant numbers of converts during that time.

Tribal allegiance was divided during the American Revolution, with some members supporting one side, some the other, and some neither. The overall goal was to preserve traditional lands. With game growing scarce, many Chickasaws became exclusively farmers during the early to midnineteenth century. Some also began cotton plantations, and the tribe owned up to 1,000 African-American slaves during that period. By 1830 they had a written code of laws (which banned whiskey) and a police force.

As non-Native settlement of their lands increased during the 1820s, many Chickasaws migrated west, ceding land in several treaties (1805, 1816, 1818) during the period. Finally they ceded all lands east of the Mississippi in 1832. Roughly 3,000 Chickasaws were forcibly removed to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) after 1837, where many died of disease, hunger, and attacks by Plains Indians who resented the intrusion. The Chickasaws fared somewhat better than the Cherokees, being able to purchase many supply items, including riverboat transportation, with tribal funds. Most settled in the western part of Choctaw lands.

Survivors of the ordeal resumed farming and soon, with the help of their slaves, grew a surplus of crops. However, as a tribe the people had lost most of their aboriginal culture. Their own reservation and government were formally established in 1855 and lasted until Oklahoma statehood in 1907. In the years before the Civil War, the people operated schools, mills, and blacksmith shops, and they had started a newspaper. Chickasaws fought for the Confederacy in the Civil War. Unlike some other Oklahoma tribes of southeast origin, the Chickasaws never adopted their freed slaves.

Their lands were allotted around 1900. All tribal governments in Oklahoma were dissolved by Congress in 1906. By 1920, of the roughly 4.7 million acres of preallotment Chickasaw land, only about 300 remained in tribal control, a situation that severely hampered tribal political and economic development well into the century. Many prominent twentieth-century Oklahoma politicians were mixed-blood Chickasaws. From the 1940s on, individuals received payments from the sale of land containing coal and asphalt deposits.

*See also* Agriculture; Indian Removal Act; Muskogean Language; Slavery; Trade.





## Chitimacha

"Chitimacha" may have meant "those living on Grand River," "those who have pots," or "men altogether red." They may have comprised three or four separate tribes in the early sixteenth century. The Chitimachas traditionally lived along the lower Louisiana coast, especially around Grand Lake, Grand River, and Bayou Teche. Chitimacha may be a language isolate, or it may be related to Tunican.

Chitimachas recognized a sky god, possibly feminine in nature. Boys and girls sought and obtained guardian spirits through solitary quests. Priests oversaw religious life. A twelve-foot-square temple on Grand Lake served as a center of religious activity, especially for the annual six-day midsummer festival. The main event here was the male adult initiation ceremony, during which the young men fasted and danced until exhausted.

There was a chief in each town and a subchief in each village; leadership was largely hereditary. Head chiefs possessed a large measure of authority and power and were fed, at least in part, by others. Among the different social classes, priests, headmen, and curers constituted a nobility. There may also have been clans. Women might obtain any religious or political position. The dead may have been laid on scaffolds, where special people (Buzzard Men) disposed of flesh and returned cleaned bones to the families, where they were eventually buried under mounds of earth.

Village populations reached up to 500 in the early historic period. Pole-frame houses were covered with palmetto thatch. The people ate bear, alligators, turtles (and their eggs), and deer, among other animals. They were highly dependent on fish and shellfish. Women grew sweet potatoes as well as beans, squash, sunflowers, and possibly four varieties of corn. They also gathered water lily seeds, palmetto seeds, nuts, and various wild fruits and berries.

Exports included fish and salt; imports, mainly from inland tribes, included flint, stone beads, and arrow points. They traded often with the Atakapa and the Avoyel Indians. Patterned black-and-yellow cane baskets, made with a unique double weaving technique, were especially fine arts. Extensive canoe transportation was made easier by the natural harbor provided by Grand Lake. Nose ornaments, bracelets, and earrings were common personal adornments. Both sexes kept their fingernails long.

Men wore their hair in roaches, or perhaps long, and decorated with feathers and lead weights.

Resident in their historic area for at least 2,500 years, the Chitimachas may have migrated south from the region of Natchez at some early time and east from Texas still earlier. Their decline began with the French arrival in the late seventeenth century. French slaving among the Indians created a generally hostile climate between the two peoples, especially in the early eighteenth century. Peace was established in 1718, but by then the Chitimacha population had suffered great losses through warfare and disease. Survivors were forcibly relocated north or taken away as slaves.

The influx of French Acadians in the late eighteenth century led to intermarriage (with Acadians as well as with other surviving local Indian groups), further land thefts, and the increased influence of Catholicism. In 1917, the Indians' remaining land base was privately purchased and sold to the United States. Throughout the twentieth century, chiefs have continued to govern the people and struggle to retain tribal land and sovereignty.

*See also* Basketry; New France and Natives; Slavery.

## Choctaw

"Choctaw" was originally *Chahta*. An early name for the tribe might have been *Pafallaya*, or "long hair." They were culturally related to the Chickasaws and Creeks. With the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Seminoles, they were regarded by whites as one of the Five Civilized Tribes. Choctaw is a Muskogean language.

Choctaws worshipped the sun and fire as well as a host of lesser deities and beings. They celebrated the Green Corn ceremony and other festivals, mainly in the late summer and fall. The tribe was organized into two divisions. Three or four districts were each headed by a chief and a council. Also, each town had a lesser chief and a war chief. The power of these chiefs was relatively limited, and the Choctaws were among the most democratic of all southeastern Indians. Although there was no overall head chief, a national council did meet on occasion.

The people placed a high priority on peace and harmony. Lacrosse, played with deerskin balls and raccoon-skin-thong stick nets, was a huge spectator





*An eighteenth-century sketch of Choctaw warriors and children. One of the Five Civilized Tribes of the Old South, the Choctaws were an ethnically mixed people who occupied three river valleys in modern Mississippi. Although the Choctaws' assistance was vital to the victories of Major General Andrew Jackson's army in the south, their land was stolen and they were removed to the Indian Territory in the 1830s. (Corbis)*

sport as well as a means for settling disputes. Rituals and ceremonies began days before a game. There was always gambling; sometimes the stakes included a person's net worth.

Women adulterers were severely punished; some contributed to a class of prostitutes. Both men and women observed food taboos when a child was born. Infants' heads were generally shaped at birth. Maternal uncles taught and disciplined boys. At puberty, boys were tattooed, and some wore bear claws through their noses. Homosexuality was accepted.

Perhaps 100 or more Choctaw villages (summer and winter) existed in the seventeenth century. Border towns, especially in the northeast, were generally fortified, whereas interior towns were more spread out. Towns, which were groups of villages and houses surrounded by farms, usually contained a public game/ceremonial area.

Men built pole-frame houses roofed with grass or cane reed thatch and walled with a number of materials, including crushed shell, hide, bark (often pine or cypress), and matting. Summer houses were oblong or oval with two smoke holes. The winter houses were circular and insulated with clay.

Choctaws farmed bottomland fields along the lower Mississippi. They often realized food surpluses. Women, with the assistance of men, grew corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, tobacco, and later potatoes and melon. Also, in the eighteenth century they grew leeks, garlic, cabbage, and other garden produce, the latter strictly for trade. Corn was also made into bread, as was sweet potato seed.

Large game, such as buffalo, deer, and bear (killed mainly for their fat), were particularly important when the harvest was poor. Small game included squirrel, turkey, beaver, otter, raccoon, opossum, and rabbit. Other foods included birds' eggs, fish, and wild fruits, nuts, seeds, and roots.

Fields were cleared using slash-and-burn technology. People fished using spears, nets, stunning poison, and buffalo hide traps. They carved bows, mortars, and stools of wood; made skin-covered gourd and horn pouches; and wove bags from twisted tree bark. Women wove and dyed baskets. Spun buffalo wool was also used as a fabric. Cane, another important raw material, was used for such items as knives, blowguns, darts, and baskets. Musical instruments included drums of skins stretched over hollowed logs, rattles, and rasps. Traders devel-





oped a regional trade language mixed with sign language for wide communication.

Choctaws followed the general Southeastern dress of deerskin breechcloths, skirts, and tunics and buffalo or bear robes and turkey feather blankets for warmth. Some women made their skirts of spun buffalo wool plus a plant fiber. Both men and women wore long hair except for men in time of mourning. Both also tattooed their bodies. The Choctaws partook less of war than did many of their neighbors, although they did not shirk from defensive fighting. Adult captives were regularly burned; others were enslaved.

Choctaws probably descended from the Mississippian Temple Mound Builders and may once have been united with the Chickasaws. Early encounters with the Spanish, starting with Hernando de Soto about 1540, were not peaceful, as de Soto generally burned Choctaw villages as he passed through the region.

The French established a presence in Choctaw territory in the late seventeenth century, and the two groups soon became important allies, although there was always a faction of Choctaws friendly to the British. Fighting along with the French and other Indian tribes, the Choctaws helped defeat the Natchez revolt of 1729. Bitter internal fighting around 1750 between French and British supporters was resolved generally in favor of the former.

Intertribal war continued with the Chickasaws and the Creeks until the French cession in 1763 (at the conclusion of the French and Indian War). Choctaws fought the Creeks even after that, until the United States took "possession" of greater "Louisiana" in the early nineteenth century. Small bands of Choctaws began settling in Louisiana in the late eighteenth century. At the same time, alcohol, supplied mainly by British traders, was taking a great toll on the people.

Largely under the influence of their leader, Pushmataha, the Choctaws refused to join the pan-Indian Tecumseh confederacy. However, non-Natives continued pushing into the Choctaws' territory. One strategy that non-Natives used to gain Indian land was to encourage trade debt by offering unlimited credit. Under relentless pressure and threats, the Choctaws began ceding land in 1801. Although treaties usually called for an exchange of land, in practice the Indians seldom received the western land they were promised, in part because the United States traded land that was not the gov-

ernment's to give or that it had no intention of allowing the Indians to have.

By the 1820s, the Choctaws had adopted so many lifeways of the whites that the latter regarded them as a "civilized tribe." Nevertheless, and although the Choctaws had never fought the United States, President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act of 1830, requiring the Choctaws and other Southeast tribes to leave their homelands and relocate west of the Mississippi. A small minority of unrepresentative Choctaws signed the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, ceding all of their land in Mississippi, over 10 million acres. Articles in the treaty providing for Choctaws to remain in Mississippi were so full of loopholes that most of those who did so were ultimately dispossessed. At the same time, the state of Mississippi formally made the Indians subject to state laws, thus criminalizing tribal governments.

Removal of roughly 12,000 Choctaws took place between 1831 and 1834. Terrible conditions on this forced march of several hundred miles caused about a quarter of the Choctaws to die of fatigue, heartbreak, exposure, disease, and starvation. Many more died once they reached the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). Roughly 3,000 to 5,000 Choctaws escaped to the back country rather than join the removal. Many of these people were removed in the 1840s, but some remained. Although they continued living as squatters in a semitrade manner, their condition declined. Officially illegal, they were plied with alcohol and relentlessly cheated, and they became disheartened.

The bulk of the people reestablished themselves out west and prospered in the years before the Civil War, with successful farms, missionary schools, and a constitutional government. Most Choctaws fought for the Confederacy; the war was a disaster for them and the other tribes. A relatively high percentage of Indians died in the war, and further relocations and dispossessions followed the fighting. After the war, the Choctaws paid for the removal of African Americans living on their territory, although most were eventually adopted into the tribe.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the General Allotment Act and the Curtis Act were passed over the opposition of the tribes. These laws deprived Oklahoma Indians, including the Choctaws, of most of their land. The "permanent" Indian Territory became the state of Oklahoma in 1907 (the name "Oklahoma," a Muskogean word for "Red People," was introduced by a Choctaw





Indian), at which time the independent Choctaw nation became subject to U.S. control. The tribe spent decades attempting to reassert control over its institutions.

After the Reconstruction period, the Mississippi and Louisiana Choctaws lived by sharecropping, subsistence hunting, some wage labor, and selling or bartering herbs and handicrafts. Their community and traditions were kept alive in part by the retention of their language and their rural isolation, both from Euro-Americans, who branded them nonwhite, and African Americans, with whom the Choctaw refused to identify.

The government finally recognized the Mississippi Choctaws in the early twentieth century, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs began providing services, such as schools and a hospital, during the 1920s and 1930s. It began purchasing land for them as well. Reservations were created in 1944, and the tribe adopted a constitution and bylaws in 1945. Educational and employment opportunities remained severely limited until the 1960s owing to Mississippi's Jim Crow policies.

*See also* Agriculture; Forced Marches; Indian Removal Act; Mississippian Culture; Muskogean Language.

## Coushatta

*See* Alabama.

## Creek

"Creek," taken from Ochesee Creek, is the British name for the Ocmulgee River. The so-called Creeks were actually composed of many tribes, each with a different name, the most powerful of which was called the Muskogee (or Mvskoke), itself a collection of tribes who probably migrated from the Northwest. With the Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickasaws, and Seminoles, the Creeks became known by non-Natives in the early nineteenth century as the Five Civilized Tribes.

The Creek confederacy was a loose organization that united many Creek and non-Creek villages. Muskogee-speaking towns and tribes formed the core of the confederacy, although other groups joined as well. It was founded some time before 1540 but strengthened significantly in the seventeenth

and eighteenth centuries. Traditionally, Upper Creeks lived along the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, in Alabama. Creeks spoke two principal Muskogean languages.

The Green Corn ceremony, also called the Busk, marked the new year. It was both a thanksgiving ceremony and one of renewal. Some participants drank a black drink that was mainly caffeine and that induced vomiting when consumed in quantity; it was designed to purify the body. The ceremony also included dancing, fasting, feasting, games, and contests. It ended with a communal bath and an address from the head chief. Other ceremonies in the spring and early summer included "stomp dances." Another group of feasts culminated in the late fall Dance of the Ancient People.

The supreme being, "master of breath," presided over the Land of the Blessed Dead. It received an offering of the first buck killed each season and also a morsel of flesh at each meal. Its representative on earth was the Busk fire. There were also many spiritual beings, particularly dwarfs, fairies, and giants.

Tribal towns (*talwas*) were the main political unit. Each contained about 100 to over 1,000 people, and each was politically sovereign, the alliance among them determining the nature of the confederacy. Towns chiefs (*mikos*) were largely chosen by merit. The power of the chiefs was to influence (and to carry out certain duties), not to command. They were head of the democratic council, which had ceremonial and diplomatic responsibilities. Decisions were made by consensus. There was also a subchief and a war chief. A town crier announced governmental decisions to the people.

The council met daily in the square ground or the town house. The people drank "black drink" and smoked tobacco before each important council meeting. Part of the council was a group of elders known as the Beloved Men. There were also Beloved Women, although women generally did not have formal power. Another council, composed of white clan members, oversaw internal public works affairs.

A dual division within most tribes manifested itself in the existence of red towns and white towns. Red was associated with war, white with peace. There were also about forty matrilineal clans, unequal in prestige, with animal names. Clans were the fundamental social unit.

Lacrosse games were played between towns of different divisions, in part to relieve tensions. Games also had significant political and ritualistic signifi-





cance. Unmarried women had considerable sexual freedom. Men could marry more than one wife. Marriage was formalized by gift giving, repeatedly in the case of multiple wives. Divorce was unusual, especially if there were children. Both parties were killed or punished in cases of adultery, unless they could escape punishment until the next Busk. Rape, incest, and witchcraft were capital offenses, as was nonseclusion during a woman's periods. Infanticide was permitted within the first month of life.

Women made pottery, baskets, mats, and other such items; prepared food and skins; made clothing; helped with the communal fields; and grew all the garden crops. Men also helped with the communal fields, and they hunted, fished, fought, played ball games, led ceremonies, built houses and other structures, and made tools. Men also carried skin pouches containing medicines, tobacco, and knives that hung by their sides.

Fifty towns, each with between thirty and 100 houses and located on river or creek banks, formed the original core of the confederacy. Each town was organized around a central square or plaza, which contained several features: a circular town (or hot) house; a game field; and a summer ceremonial house, or square ground. The square ground was actually four sheds around a square of one-half acre or so, in the center of which was the sacred fire. Private homes were clustered in groups of up to four. Each reasonably prosperous family had a winter house and a summer house, both generally rectangular.

A third structure was a two-story granary, one end of which was used for storing grain and roots (lower) and for meetings (upper). The other end, with open sides, was a general storage area (lower) and a reception area (upper). A fourth building, if one could afford it, was a storehouse for skins. The four buildings were placed to form a square, after the ceremonial square ground design.

Crops—corn, beans, and squash—were the staples. Hunting was important for meat and skins. Most men left the villages during the winter to hunt. Women often accompanied the hunting parties, mostly to attend to the meat and skins along the way. The people also ate fish.

Creeks utilized the Choctaw trade language. Some groups exported flint and salt. A pictographic system represented historical events. Women made pottery, glazed with smoky pitch, and cane and hickory splint baskets. Men made large cypress dugout canoes. Except on the Georgia coast, where they

used tree moss, women made their clothes largely from skins and textiles. Skirts that reached below the knee were tied around the waist. Men wore breechclouts and often leggings. Some young men wore nose ornaments and enlarged their ears with copper wire. Both sexes wore buffalo hide and deerskin moccasins as well as extensive tattoos. Boys often went naked until puberty. Rank was reflected in clothing and adornment.

There were three levels of warriors: war chiefs, big warriors, and little warriors, depending on their level of accomplishment. Most fighting took place in spring. The purpose was generally honor and revenge. Men painted their bodies black and red for war. A successful war party left signs to indicate who had done the deeds. Parties that resulted in the loss of many men, no matter how successful otherwise (captured horses, war honors, and so on) were considered failures. Enemies were often scalped and dismembered; those remaining alive might be enslaved or whipped and otherwise tortured by the women, unless they could escape.

The Creek people probably descended from Mississippian Temple Mound Builders, entering their historic area from the west. Hernando de Soto passed through the region in 1540. In the colonial wars, Creeks were traditional allies of the British, although they were often successful in playing the European nations against one another. Early on, the Creeks were grouped very informally into a lower section, located in eastern Georgia and more accommodating to Anglo society, and an upper section, more traditional and resistant to assimilation.

As British allies in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the Creeks fought the Spanish as well as other Indian tribes, such as the Apalachees, the Timucuas, the Choctaws, and the Cherokees. They also absorbed some of the tribes they defeated in battle, such as part of the Apalachicolas and the Apalachees about 1704. Creeks took part in the 1715 Yamasee War, because years of British abuse, including slaving, rape, and cheating, had temporarily disrupted the Creek–British alliance. Following the Yamasee defeat, the bulk of the Creeks moved inland to the Chattahoochee River.

The Creeks were more cautious about choosing sides in the French and Indian War and the American Revolution. Few favored the colonists, however, which was reason enough for the victors to demand land cessions after the fighting. In the late eighteenth century, the Creek leader Alexander McGillivray





dominated the confederacy's diplomatic maneuvering and attempted to reorganize its political structure to his advantage. In 1790 he signed a treaty, later repudiated by the leaders of the confederacy, accepting U.S. protection and involvement in the people's internal affairs.

Many Creeks resisted joining Tecumseh's plan for a united Indian attack against the Americans, but in 1813 and 1814 they mounted their own military challenge. This was actually a civil war resulting from continuing diplomatic pressures and relentless encroachments from the Georgians as well as their own political and economic decline. The White Stick faction (mainly Lower Creeks) supported the United States and the Red Sticks the British. Despite early successes, the war was put down. As punishment, the Creeks, both Red and White, were made to sign the Treaty of Horseshoe Bend, ceding 23 million acres of land. Many Creeks migrated to Florida around that time to become part of the newly formed Seminole people.

In 1825, thirteen chiefs ceded all remaining Creek lands to the state of Georgia. These chiefs were later condemned by their people for high treason, and two were shot. Although the treaty was illegal, the state of Georgia proceeded to act as if it owned the land, and the United States soon backed the state, calling for complete Indian removal. President Andrew Jackson signed the Indian Removal Act in 1830. Non-Natives obtained the remaining Indian lands in the usual way: fraud, intimidation, and outright theft.

In 1832, Creeks signed the Treaty of Washington, ceding 5 million acres of land. Farcically, the treaty offered the Creeks a choice to remain or move and stated that white usurpers would be removed if the Indians chose to stay. In the mid-1830s, more Creeks joined the Seminoles in Florida while others made a last-ditch military stand. Forced relocation began in 1836. The Indians were taken to a place between the Canadian and the Arkansas Rivers. Of the roughly 14,000 who were relocated, almost 4,000 died of starvation, disease, exposure, and heartbreak during the march and shortly after their arrival in Indian Territory.

Once there, the people began to rebuild, accepting missionary schools and reestablishing towns, fields, and government. Christianization proceeded rapidly after removal. In 1856 the Creek lost over 2 million acres along the Canadian River to the Seminoles. Although the Creeks split in their allegiance

during the Civil War, they suffered with the other members of the Five Civilized Tribes, which had largely supported the South, and lost land, goods, crops, and political power.

The 1867 constitution of the Muskogee Nation reaffirmed the sovereignty of tribal towns and provided for a democratic governmental structure. Following the war, a full-blood, pro-Northern, traditional faction emerged that took a hard line on land cessions, as did a moderate Muskogee party and a number of other parties. Creeks also pressed for intertribal cooperation among Oklahoma tribes. Their land base was gradually whittled away until they lost all of it in 1907, as well as their political independence, when Oklahoma became a state.

From 1907 until 1970, the federal government recognized only the Creek nation, an entity of the accommodationist Lower Creeks. Its principal chiefs were appointed by the U.S. government. Around 1900, an upper Creek named Chitto Harjo (Crazy Snake) led a rebellion against allotment, the process that gave tribal holdings to individuals and made the "surplus" available for non-Native purchase. In 1917, the Upper Creeks again took up arms as part of the Green Corn Rebellion, a movement of African-Americans, Indians, and whites dedicated to obtaining federal help for the rural poor.

In the 1930s, three tribal towns, including the Alabama-Quassartes, opted out of the Creek confederacy to accept charters under the Indian Reorganization Act. Many people left the Creek communities for cities during and after World War II. By 1970, 95 percent of preallotment tribal land was owned by non-Natives, and non-Natives held petroleum leases worth \$50 billion. In 1970, a new law allowing for the democratic election of the principal chief gave rise to the Creek Nation of Oklahoma.

*See also* Agriculture; Confederacies; Creek War; Forced Marches; Harjo, Chitto; Indian Removal Act; Mississippian Cultures; Muskogean Language; Seminole Wars; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Houma

"Houma," or *Ouma*, means "red" in Choctaw and Chickasaw, but it may have been a shortened form of Chakchiuma, a tribe from whom they probably





descended. It may also be an abbreviation of their tribal symbol, *sakti homma*, or “red crawfish.” Many Houmas prefer simply the word “Indian” as a self-designation. In the late seventeenth century, Houmas lived on the east side of the Mississippi River, opposite the mouth of the Red River. Houma is a Muskogean language.

Temples were fronted with carved wooden figures. There may also have been earthen images of deities inside. The people probably worshiped a number of gods, in particular the sun, thunder, and fire. Young people may have sought guardian spirits through quests. Houma head chiefs, if they existed at all, were less powerful than the Natchez Suns. Women were known to have served as war chiefs.

Each town may have had over 100 cabins, possibly arrayed in a circle. Houses were square, pole-frame structures, from fifteen to more than thirty feet on a side, and with walls of adobe and Spanish moss. Traditionally horticulturists, the Houmas grew corn and other crops. They also collected shrimp and other marine food as well as a variety of wild plant food, and they ate muskrat and other small game.

Palmetto was used in the manufacture of baskets, mats, and other items. Hunters used a two-piece blowgun. Musical instruments included clay pot drums with skins stretched over the top. The Caddos were significant trade partners. Marine food was an important export. The people probably imported flint and bow wood. They may also have traded in salt and bird feathers.

Houmas carved wooden satyrs and animals, some in relief, and painted in black, white, red, and yellow on their temple vestibules. Men wore deer-skin cloaks or went naked. Some men and women wore turkey feather or woven muskrat skin mantles. They may also have worn skin leggings and moccasins and possibly bearskin blankets in the winter. Girls, from about eight to ten years of age until marriage or the loss of their virginity, may have worn a waist-to-ankle-length mulberry thread net garment, fringed and ornamented.

Shortly after they made their initial alliance with the French, in 1686, more than half the tribe was killed by disease. Catholic missionaries began operating among the Indians after 1700. The Tunica Indians, to whom the Houmas had given permission to settle in the area in 1706, soon killed more than half of their hosts. The survivors moved south after the massacre.

In 1718, shortly after the conclusion of the Chitimacha War, the Houma joined some Chitimachas and members of other tribes and migrated south again, to the vicinity of New Orleans, and then north again to present-day Ascension parish. After the Natchez defeat at the hands of the French, Houmas, who aided the Indian refugees, were in their turn attacked by French forces; hundreds were captured and sold as slaves in New Orleans.

By the early eighteenth century the Houmas had begun a process of absorbing some smaller, neighboring tribes, such as the Acolapissas, Bayougoulas, Biloxis, and Chitimachas. Beginning some time in the early nineteenth century, the people still in Ascension parish moved south and settled on the Gulf Coast (in the present-day Lafourche and Terrebonne parishes). Other portions of the tribe intermarried with the Atakapas and moved to their territory or migrated to Oklahoma or to the north, toward their original homeland, and became lost to history.

The Houmas remained generally isolated well into the twentieth century. In the 1930s, oil speculators began taking advantage of the Indians’ illiteracy and lack of understanding to obtain their land. In response, local Indian leaders pushed their people to learn English. Still, most Houmas did not attend school until after World War II. Schools in the area were desegregated in the 1960s. Centuries of intermarriage thoroughly integrated Catholicism and the French language into Houma identity.

*See also* Basketry; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Lumbee

The Lumbees were a historical Indian people whose ancestors were Indians of indeterminate tribal affiliations, Anglos, and African Americans. Their name is taken from the Lumber (formerly Lumbee) River. From colonial times to the present, Lumbee Indians have lived in and near Robeson County, in southeastern North Carolina, and also in several counties in northeastern South Carolina. The Lumbee have always spoken English.

Lumbee Indians are probably descended from Cheraw Indians and other local Siouan speakers. Their ancestors may also include British settlers from





the “lost” colony of Roanoke, Virginia (1587), who may have joined Hatteras Indians living on Croatoan Sound. There are at least twenty surnames of Roanoke colonists among contemporary Lumbees. Their ancestors may also include Cherokee, Tuscarora, and Croatoan Indians.

The marshy character of the Lumber and Pee Dee River area made it a likely haven for refugees of all sorts. Lumbee Indians, free frontier farmers, were first encountered by British and Scots settlers in the early eighteenth century. At that time they had no Indian traditions or customs, although their skin color was suggestive of an Indian origin. They maintained little contact with Anglo settlers, most of whom were more interested in the better and more accessible land farther west.

In the 1760s, the Lumbees experienced increasing competition with Highland Scots settlers. Land incursions were resisted where possible, but Lumbees soon lost much land to the Scots and to the tidewater planters, often by fraudulent means. The state of North Carolina formally disenfranchised them, along with other “persons of color,” in 1835.

During the Civil War, Lumbees were conscripted into service as forced labor; when they resisted, they were attacked by soldiers. Lumbee resistance to this oppression was led by Henry Berry Lowry (or Lowerie), who led raids on plantations to feed the poor of all races. Lowry kept up his campaign for justice even after the war, taking on as well the Republican (Reconstruction) party, which sided with the Democrats and branded Lowry’s organization as bandits. He eluded capture at least until his disappearance in 1872.

The Lumbees pressed their claim for state and federal recognition after war’s end, but with the defeat of the multicultural Lowry movement, their identity turned more inward. They accepted a status as a third racial caste, with more rights than African Americans but not as many as whites. In 1885 the North Carolina General Assembly recognized them as Croatoan Indians and allowed them to operate their own schools, segregated from whites but apart from African Americans. A normal (teacher training) school was also opened, which later became a college and, around 1970, Pembroke State University. In 1911 the North Carolina legislature dubbed them Robeson County Indians. This name was changed to Cherokee Indians of Robeson County until protests by the Cherokees forced its withdrawal. The people filed an unsuccessful request for

federal recognition as the Siouan Tribes of the Lumber River.

Most Lumbees continued farming until after World War II. They were recognized by the state of North Carolina as Lumbee Indians in 1953. Partial federal recognition came in 1956, although the tribe was prohibited from receiving federal benefits. In 1958, thousands of Lumbees stood up to the Ku Klux Klan and drove them from Robeson County. They lost control of their school system in the 1960s. The tribe formed the Lumbee River Regional Development Association, a nonprofit corporation, in 1968.

*See also* Identity; Economic Development.

## Miccosukee

*See* Seminole.

## Muskogee

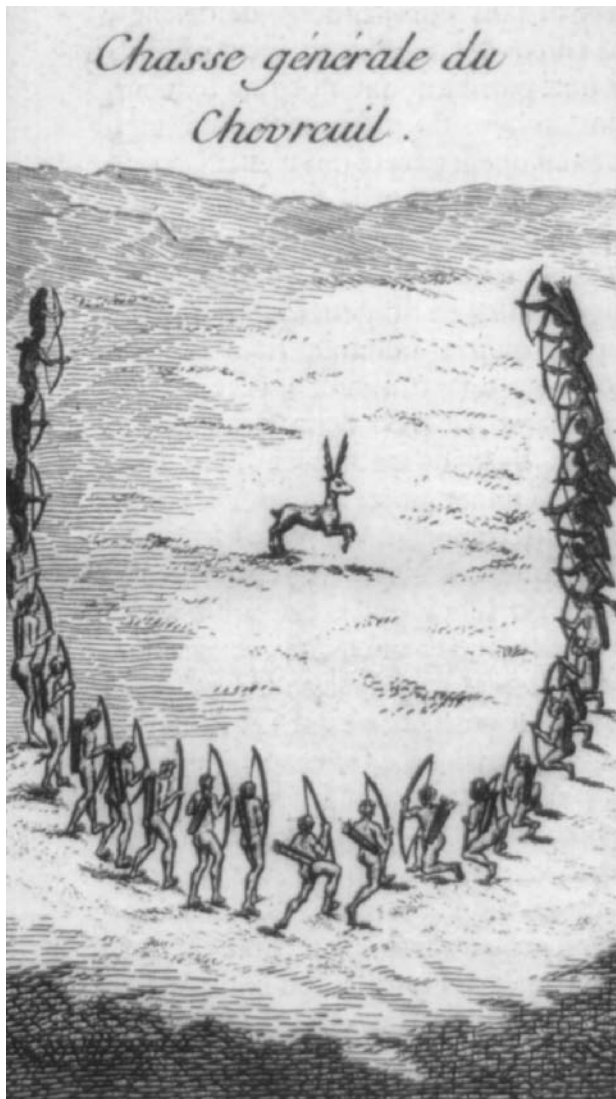
*See* Creek.

## Natchez

The Natchez are an extinct tribe that had a marked similarity to Mississippian Mound Builder culture in the early historic period. They were the largest, most powerful tribe on the Mississippi in the mid-sixteenth century. The early historic location of the Natchez was along St. Catherine’s Creek, near present-day Natchez, Mississippi. Natchezean languages may have been related to the Muskogean language family, with possible Tunican influences.

The sun was the supreme deity. Its son was said to be responsible for Natchez culture, and its authority was continued in the sun caste. The people also recognized many minor servant spirits. Natchez society was ruled by an absolute, hereditary monarch called the Great Sun. A ceremonial center in the main village included a partitioned, rectangular sun temple and the house of the Great Sun, each





*Depiction of Natchez hunting deer from the eighteenth century. (Library of Congress)*

built on mounds of adobe and covered with woven mats.

The Natchez also offered human sacrifices, especially upon the death of a chief. They observed the Great Corn ceremony, which corresponded to the Creek Busk, in mid- to late summer. Most ceremonies were led by the Great Sun and/or other suns. There was also a priesthood, whose members shaved their heads.

The Natchez recognized two social classes: nobles and commoners. The former included the Great Sun (king); the king's brothers and uncles (little suns), from whom were chosen the war chief and head priest; hereditary nobles; and honored men

and women, a status obtainable by merit. Commoners (or Stinkards) farmed, built the mounds, and did most of the manual labor. They gave food and other presents to the suns, and the Great Sun redistributed some of it.

There were elaborate deferential codes of behavior and speech between the classes. Members of the higher classes, even the Great Sun, were required to marry commoners. The offspring of a male of high rank and a commoner were a step below the man's rank, but the offspring of a highly ranked woman and a male commoner kept the mother's rank.

When a person of high rank died, his or her commoner spouse, if there was one, and several servants were killed for companions in the afterlife. Much ritual attended the deaths of nobility. The afterlife destination was based on earthly conduct: There was a paradise of equality and freedom from want and a hell full of mosquitoes.

Women enjoyed a high degree of sexual license before marriage, although fidelity after marriage was the norm, and divorce was rare. The Natchez practiced infant head flattening. Babies nursed until they stopped voluntarily or the mother became pregnant.

Men engaged in generally cooperative work, such as hunting, fishing, cultivating the sacred fields, fighting, playing games, dressing skins, building houses, and making canoes and weapons. They were fed before women and generally enjoyed a higher status. Women prepared food; kept the fires going; made pottery, baskets, mats, clothing, and beadwork; and tended crops. Much of their work was performed alone. Berdaches assumed women's economic as well as sexual roles.

Nine villages were scattered among woods and fields. Low, windowless square adobe houses with domed, thatched roofs over cane matting were built in rows around a central plaza. Diet was agriculture based. Men and women grew corn as well as pumpkins and beans and also melons and peaches in the historic period. Sowing and harvesting were highly ritualistic activities. Women gathered wild rice, nuts, berries, grapes, mushrooms, and persimmons; the latter were made into bread. Men hunted deer, turkey, and buffalo as well as a host of other game. The people also ate duck, other fowl, fish, and shellfish.

Women made incised pottery, dyed cane baskets and mats, and white fabric from the inner bark of





mulberry trees. They also wove baskets and nets. Men carved and painted religious figures, such as birds and rattlesnakes. They also made pipes from a black stone, especially in the later eighteenth century, and they burned logs to fashion dugout canoes, some up to forty feet long.

Clothing and personal adornment indicated differences in rank. Most clothing was made of mulberry tree inner bark fabric and/or deerskin. Women wore a knee-length skirt. Men wore a deer-skin breechclout. Both wore high, laced moccasins, a long deerskin shirt, and leggings in colder weather. Other winter wear included buffalo robes and feather mantles.

Warriors were tattooed from head to foot; they slit the lower part of their ears and decorated them with wire. The Natchez recognized three classes of warriors, and war was seen as a means of social advancement. Most war parties were led by the head war chief. There were various prewar rituals, including drinking an emetic, feasting on dog meat, dancing and relating war stories, and planting the war post. Warriors carried fetishes of war spirits with them. Male captives were generally scalped and burned alive, whereas women were kept as slaves.

With other Muskogean people, the Natchez may have come to their historical territory from the northwest. The Natchez had clear cultural ties to the Mississippian Mound Builder civilization, which may in turn have been influenced by Mesoamerican Indian cultures.

Contact with the Hernando de Soto party in 1542 was likely casual and not particularly friendly. French explorers entered the region in the later seventeenth century, and Catholic missionaries soon followed. The little nation soon divided its loyalties between France and Britain. By 1715 it was raiding nearby Indians such as the Chawashas in the service of British slave traders.

The Natchez population was greatly reduced by wars with the French, beginning in 1716. The final conflict began when a governor of Louisiana moved to take over the site of the Natchez Great Village. In late 1729, partly at British instigation, Natchez warriors sacked Fort Rosalie and other French settlements, killing and capturing hundreds of people. The Yazoo Indians soon joined in, but the Choctaws sided with the French. In 1731 the French achieved a decisive victory. They killed many people and sold even more (including the last Great Sun) into slavery. Some people managed to escape to local tribes,

especially to the Chickasaws and also to the Creeks and Cherokees.

Three to five Natchez towns continued among the Creek into the nineteenth century. After removal to Oklahoma, Natchez descendants formed communities in the eastern part of the reservation. By about 1900, intermarriage had ended a distinct Natchez identity. The Natchez held their last formal ceremony in 1976; the last Native speaker died in 1965.

*See also* Berdaches; Confederacies; Mississippian Culture; Natchez Culture.

## Pamunkey

*See* Powhatan.

## Powhatan

"Powhatan" means "falls in a current of water." The Powhatans are part of a group of Algonquin speakers from North Carolina to New Jersey known as Renápe ("human beings") or Lenápe in the L dialect. The Powhatan tribes (Renápe of Virginia) were culturally intermediate between the Southeast and Northeast regions. Powhatan was also the main tribe and village of the roughly thirty-tribe Powhatan Confederacy. Powhatan Indians spoke an Algonquin language.

The chief deity was known as Okee. There were carved images of various kings and deities in the temples, as well as carved idols, dressed in various clothing and ornaments. There was at least one priest and temple in every village. Priests made sacrifices of meat and tobacco at outdoor stone altars. Two or three children may have been sacrificed annually to propitiate the gods. There were regular communal ceremonies, including singing and dance, especially in times of triumph or crisis and at the harvest. Common people were thought to have no afterlife, but chiefs and priests were said to inhabit a western paradise until they were born again.

Each town, or kingdom, was led by a chief, or king. Sometimes, when kings controlled more than one town, a regent did the king's bidding in his absence and paid him tribute. Chiefly descent was mainly matrilineal. Children were bathed daily in





cold water for strengthening. Furthermore, male children may have been beaten as part of a general toughening ceremony.

Men had many wives. Men announced their intentions by bringing the women a quantity of fresh food. After the woman's family received presents and promises of more to come, she was brought to the man for a small wedding ceremony, followed by a feast. Once she had a baby, the king's wife was given a quantity of goods and dismissed, after which she was free to marry someone else; the child was taken from her and raised in the king's household.

Villages, often palisaded in the early seventeenth century, were usually located along a river. There were between two and about 100 houses and between fifty and 500 families per village/kingdom. Houses were constructed by bending and tying off saplings and then covering them with bark or woven mats. Houses were generally built under trees. Some elongated houses may have reached more than 100 feet in length, but most were much smaller. Several families lived in each house. There may also have been a combination raised storage/drying area under which men congregated.

Fish and shellfish constituted a major part of the diet. Agriculture was somewhat less intensive than in other parts of the Southeast. Women grew corn (three varieties), beans, and squash in fields of up to 200 acres. Some nuts and fruits were dried and stored for the winter. A milky drink was made from walnuts. Men hunted deer, beaver, opossums, otters, squirrels, and turkeys, among other animals.

Powhatans' main arts were basketry, beadwork, and pottery as well as ceremonial clothing woven from turkey feathers. Their dugout canoes were up to fifty feet long. Women made the clothing, mostly from skins. Married women wore hairstyles that were different—longer in front—than those of unmarried women. Both sexes painted their bodies, particularly black, yellow, and red. The chief priests wore turkey feather cloaks and snake and weasel skin headdresses. Priests, but not common men, may have worn beards. Weapons included tomahawks, bows and arrows, clubs, and shields. Priests had the final say about making war.

Aside from a short-lived Spanish mission in 1570, the British were the first European power in the region. By 1607, Chief Wahunsonacock (known to early British colonists as Powhatan) had expanded

the confederacy by conquest from six or eight tribes to more than thirty. Shortly after the establishment of the Jamestown colony in 1607, the settlers began wide-scale cultivation of tobacco to sell in Europe. Because tobacco rapidly depletes the soil, the British constantly needed more land and did not shrink from obtaining it by fraud and trickery from the Indians.

In 1622, the Powhatans determined to break the cycle of land thefts. Now led by Opechancanough, Wahunsonacock's brother, they organized a revolt that killed almost 350 colonists and destroyed all settlements except Jamestown. In response, the colonial militia began a push to sweep the Indians farther inland. At one point, the British attacked a group of Indians who had come to attend a peace council. After years of bitter fighting, during which the Powhatans lost many people, peace was restored in 1636, but Opechancanough organized another revolt in 1644, at which time he may have been over 100 years old. Over 500 colonists died during this campaign. After Opechancanough was captured and shot in 1644, his people were forced out of Virginia or placed on reservations, and the confederacy came to an end.

The Powhatan people were attacked by whites in 1675 after being falsely accused of depredations; the following year the whites massacred a large number of Powhatan men, women, and children living at a fort near Richmond. By this time, most Powhatan people and towns had disappeared. The people lost several of their reservations in the early eighteenth century. In 1722, Iroquois Indians agreed to stop attacking the Powhatans. Beginning in the 1770s, surviving Powhatans began migrating north to New Jersey, a movement that accelerated during and after the Civil War.

Pamunkey and Mattaponi Reservations of about 800 and 1,000 acres, respectively, remained in 1800. The reservations existed as a result of treaties signed with colonial governments. In 1831, most surviving Powhatans, many of whom had intermarried with African Americans, were chased away by whites in the aftermath of the Nat Turner slave rebellion. Few Powhatan Indians fought in the Civil War; those who did mainly did so on the Union side.

Following the Civil War, Virginia's Indians fought successfully for a social—and legal—status higher than that of African Americans; the result was a three-way segregation system. This negotiation





affected their legal identity as Indians. For instance, during World War I, Pamunkey and Mattaponi Indians protested the fact that they were drafted, since they were not citizens. The courts ruled in their favor. Having made their legal point, many proceeded to enlist.

Prior to World War II, many Pamunkeys continued to live by fishing, hunting, and trapping. Also during that time, the attention paid to Virginia Indians by anthropologists stimulated a renewal of their ethnic identity and political organization, although this soon provoked a fierce white backlash. Powhatans began a community in the Philadelphia-Camden area, maintaining their Native identity in part through a close network of families. They frequently intermarried with the Nanticokes of Delaware and members of other tribes. Formal organization began in the 1930s, culminating in the emergence of the Powhatan Indians of the Delaware Valley in the 1960s and the Powhatan-Renápe Nation in the 1970s.

*See also* Confederacies; Pocahontas; Powhatan.

## Renápe

*See* Powhatan.

## Seminole

"Seminole" means "pioneer" or "runaway," possibly from the Spanish *cimarrón* ("wild"). The Seminoles, known as such by 1775, formed in the eighteenth century from members of other Indian peoples, mainly Creeks, but also Oconeas, Yamasees, and others. The Creeks, Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Seminoles were known by non-Natives in the nineteenth century as the Five Civilized Tribes.

Until 1962, the Miccosukee Indians were part of the Seminoles. According to their traditions, they were descended from Chiaha Indians. The name "Miccosukee" means "Red Person." Located in north Florida in the early eighteenth century, the Seminoles and Miccosukees were forced southward into the swamps and westward to Oklahoma from the midnineteenth century on. Seminoles spoke two



*Portrait of Billy Bowlegs, a Seminole, ca. 1895. (Library of Congress)*

mutually unintelligible Muskogean languages: Hitchiti, spoken by Oconee Indians and today mostly by Miccosukees, and Muskogee.

The Seminoles considered themselves children of the sun. They observed the Green Corn ceremony as early as May or June. This ritual helped to unify the tribe after the wars. Seminoles believed that a person's soul exited the body when he or she slept. Illness occurred when the soul failed to return, in which case a priest was called to coax the soul back.

Before the wars, Seminole towns had chiefs and councils of elders. Afterward, there were three bands, based on language (two Miccosukee and one Creek). Each had its own chief and council of elders. Matrilineal clans helped provide cultural continuity among widely scattered bands after the wars. There was also a dual division among the people. Particularly after 1817, the Seminoles lived in small extended families.

Owing to a fairly mobile and decentralized existence, the early towns were much less organized than were those of the Creeks. For example, there





were no yards for chunky (a variety of hoop-and-pole in which an arrow was shot through a loop) and only a vague public square. People living in these towns generally owned a longhouse, divided by mats into a kitchen, dining area, and sleeping area, and another, smaller house of two stories, similar to the Creek granary.

People in south Florida built their villages on hammocks and near rivers. Houses, or *chickees*, had pole foundations of palmetto trunks and palmetto-thatched roofs, platforms raised about three feet off the ground, and open walls. The thatch was watertight and could resist very strong winds.

Women grew corn, beans, squash, and tobacco. They made hominy and flour from corn and “coontie” from certain roots. They also grew such non-Native crops as sweet potatoes, bananas, peanuts, lemons, melons, and oranges. They also gathered wild rice; cabbage palmetto; various roots and wild foods, such as persimmon, plum, honey, and sugarcane; and nuts, such as hickory and acorns. Men hunted alligator, bear, opossum, rabbit, squirrel, wild fowl, manatee, and turkeys (using calls for the turkeys). The people ate fish, turtles, and shellfish.

Traditional trade items included alligator hides, otter pelts, bird plumes, and foods. Bird plumes and alligator hides in particular were very much in demand in the late nineteenth century. Seminoles were known for their patchwork clothing and baskets. Their geometric designs were often in the pattern of a snake. Ribbon appliqué, previously consisting mainly of bands of triangles along borders, became much more elaborate during the late nineteenth century.

Men built fire-hollowed cypress dugout canoes, often poled from a stern platform. Canoes were relatively flat to accommodate the shallow, still water of the swamps. Some had sails, for journeys on Lake Okeechobee and even to the Bahamas. The Seminoles eventually developed their own breed of horses. There was no intertribal warfare: Seminoles fought only with the U.S. Army and local non-Native settlers.

Women made colorful patchwork clothing beginning around 1900. Some clothing was made of tanned deerskin as well. Women wore short shirts and long skirts, both generally of cloth. They also wore as many as 200 bead necklaces around the neck. Men, especially among the Miccosukee, wore turbans made of wrapped shawls. Other clothing

included shirts, neckerchiefs, breechclouts, and, occasionally, buckskin moccasins. Both sexes wore ornaments of silver and other metals and painted their faces and upper bodies.

The Apalachee and Timucua Indians were the original inhabitants of north Florida. By about 1700, most had been killed by disease and raids by more northerly tribes. Non-Muskogee Oconee Indians from south Georgia, who moved south during the early eighteenth century, formed the kernel of the Seminole people. They were joined by Yamasee refugees from the Carolina Yamasee War (1715–1716), as well as by some Apalachicola, Calusa, Hitchiti, and Chiaha Indians and escaped slaves. The Chiahas were known as Miccosukees by the late eighteenth century. Several small Muscogean groups joined the nascent Seminoles in the late eighteenth century.

Seminoles considered themselves Creek; they supported the Creeks in war and often attended their councils. They experienced considerable population growth after the 1814 Creek War, mainly from Muskogean from Upper Creek towns. From this time on, the dominant language among the Seminoles was Muskogee, or Creek. However, Seminole settlements, mainly between the Apalachicola and the Suwannee Rivers, were too scattered to permit the reestablishment of Creek towns and clan structures.

Prior to the Civil War some Seminoles owned slaves, but the slaves’ obligations were minimal, and Seminoles welcomed escaped slaves into their communities. Until 1821, U.S. slaves might flee across an international boundary to Florida. Even after that year, the region remained a haven for escaped slaves because of the presence of free African American and mixed African American and Seminole communities.

Seminoles first organized to fight the United States in 1817–1818. The conflict was begun by state militias chasing runaway slaves, and it resulted in the Spanish cession of Florida. In the Treaty of Moultrie Creek (1823), the Seminoles traded their north Florida land for a reservation in central Florida. The 1832 Treaty of Payne’s Landing, which was signed by unrepresentative chiefs and was not supported by most Seminoles, called for the tribe to relocate west to Indian Territory. By 1838, up to 1,500 Seminoles had been rounded up and penned in concentration camps. These people were forcibly marched west, during which time as many as 1,000





died from disease, starvation, fatigue, heartbreak, and attacks from whites. Although under pressure to do so, the Seminoles consistently refused to give up the considerable number of African Americans among them. In 1856, the western Seminoles were given a strip of land of about 2 million acres west of the Creeks.

Resistance to relocation and to white slave-capturing raids led to the second Seminole War of 1835–1842. Under Osceola, Jumper, and other leaders, the Seminoles waged a guerrilla war against the United States, retreating deep into the southern swamps. Although Osceola was captured (at a peace conference) and soon died in captivity, and although at war's end most Seminoles, about 4,500 people, were forced into Indian Territory, the Seminoles were not militarily defeated. The war ended because the United States decided not to spend more than the \$30 million it had already spent or to lose more than the 1,500 soldiers that had already been killed.

A third Seminole war took place from 1855 to 1858. From their redoubt in the Everglades, the Indians attacked non-Native surveyors and settlers. The Army, through its own attacks and by bringing in some Oklahoma Seminoles, succeeded in persuading another 100 or so Seminoles to relocate, but about 300 remained, undefeated, in Florida. There was never a formal peace treaty.

In the 1870s, as the first non-Natives began moving south of Lake Okeechobee, there was another call for Seminole removal, but the government decided against an attempt. In the late nineteenth century, a great demand for Seminole trade items led to close relationships being formed between Florida Indians and non-Native traders.

Western Seminoles settled in present-day Seminole County, Oklahoma, in 1866. By the 1890s the people had formed fourteen bands, including two composed of freedmen, or black Seminoles. Each band was self-governing and had representation on the tribal council. Most of the western Seminole reservation, almost 350,000 acres, was allotted in the early twentieth century. Through fraud and other questionable and illegal means, non-Natives by 1920 had acquired about 80 percent of the land originally deeded to Indians. Tribal governments were unilaterally dissolved when Oklahoma became a state in 1907. An oil field opened on Seminole land in 1923, but few Indians benefited. Many Oklahoma Seminoles moved away from the com-

munity during and after World War II in search of jobs.

Indian Baptists from Oklahoma achieved the first large-scale successes in Christianizing Florida Seminoles in the early twentieth century. Most Florida Seminoles lived by subsistence hunting, trapping, and fishing, as well as by trading, until non-Natives overhunted and trapped out the region. Around the time of World War I, the subsistence economy disintegrated even further as Florida began to drain the swamps and promote agriculture. By the 1920s, the new land boom, in conjunction with the drainage projects, led to significant Indian impoverishment and displacement.

Most Seminoles relocated to reservations during the 1930s and 1940s. There they quickly acculturated, adopting cattle herding, wage labor, schools, and Christianity. With the help of Florida's congressional delegation, the tribe avoided termination in the 1950s. At that time they adopted an Indian Reorganization Act-style corporate charter. Formal federal recognition came in 1957. By the 1950s, a group of more traditional Mikasuki-speaking Indians, mostly living deep in the Everglades, moved to separate themselves from the Seminoles, whom they regarded as having largely renounced their Indian traditions. After a great deal of struggle, the Miccosukees were given official permission by the federal government to form their own government, the Miccosukee Tribe, which they did in 1962.

*See also* African Americans; Black Seminoles; Canoes; Creek War; Economic Development; Indian Removal Act; Muskogean Language; Osceola; Seminole Wars; Slavery.

## Tunica

"Tunica" means "Those Who Are the People." The Tunicas were culturally similar to the Yazoos. The people lived anciently in northwestern Mississippi and Arkansas as far as the Washita River. Tunica was one of several Tunican languages.

Tunicas worshipped the sun, among other deities. They celebrated the Green Corn feast. Clay figures stood inside thatched temples built atop mounds. They may have engaged in sacrificial killing. Chiefs were relatively authoritarian, although not at the level of the Natchez. Men planted, harvested, and dressed skins. Women made





pottery, clothing, and mulberry tree bark fabric. The custom of infant head deformation was probably acquired in the late pre-contact period. If personally witnessed, adultery was severely punished.

Villages were located on the Mississippi floodplain in the midsixteenth century but on the bluffs overlooking the floodplain in the late seventeenth century. At least in the early eighteenth century, towns were laid out in a circle. Thatched houses were partly square and partly round and contained no smoke holes. Granaries, possibly square, were built on posts.

The Tunica economy was based on agriculture. Men and women grew corn as well as pumpkins and beans. They integrated crops such as melons and peaches after contact with non-Natives. Corn was made into at least forty-two different dishes, including gruel (hominy) and bread. The people also grew a particular grain-bearing grass. Women gathered wild rice, berries, fruits, grapes, mushrooms, and nuts. In season, persimmon bread was a staple food item for at least a month. Deer, turkey, and buffalo were the most important animal foods. Other foods included ducks and other fowl, fish, and possibly dogs.

Cloth fabric woven from mulberry bark was used in a number of items. Women also made pottery and pine straw baskets. Men hollowed logs for mortars and cut saplings for pestles. Tunicas mined and boiled down salt from licks to trade with other tribes, particularly the Quapaws and Taensas. The people made very fine pottery as well as dressed skins. Carved dugout canoes enabled them to move around the many rivers and lakes.

Most clothing was made from deerskin. Men wore breechclouts, and women wore a wrapped waist-to-knee skirt made from deerskin or mulberry cloth. Mantles or cloaks were made from turkey feathers or muskrat skins. Girls wore a two-piece tasseled mulberry net apron, like those of the Natchez. Most men wore their hair long. Women blackened their teeth. Both sexes tattooed their bodies.

Tunicas had ancient links to southern Hopewell culture. Hernando de Soto came through their territory in 1541. Around 1700, the French claimed the lower Mississippi area, at which time Jesuit missionaries established a presence. The Tunicas became loyal French allies, in part to counter pro-British Chickasaw slave traders.

Out of fear of the Chickasaws and other tribes, the Tunicas moved south to a Houma town, opposite

the mouth of the Red River, around 1705. Despite being given a friendly reception, after several years they killed most of their Houma hosts and forced the others to move away. The Tunicas were important French allies in the 1729 Natchez War and fought the Yazoo and several other tribes in 1731.

The Tunicas fought the British as part of the Pontiac uprising when the French lost political control of the region in 1763. For years after that event, the Tunicas attempted to maintain a delicate diplomatic balance between the European powers. They sided with France and the colonies in the American Revolution. Their existence and their rights ignored, at best, by the U.S. government, the Tunicas dispersed in the later eighteenth century, moving up the Red River to the Avoyelles prairie. Others joined the Atakapa, and still others joined the Choctaws in Indian Territory.

The tribe hired a lawyer to protect its interests in the early nineteenth century. Still, ignoring federal law, the United States denied the Tunicas long established title to their land. The Indians lived in relative harmony with their neighbors, however, until their chief was murdered in 1841 for resisting the theft of tribal land. In a state trial, centering on the land dispute, the Indians were formally awarded some of their own land, which became the basis of their reservation.

The Tunicas continued to hunt, farm, fish, and practice traditional healing and religion into the twentieth century. They merged with the Biloxis, a small Siouan tribe, in the 1920s. Participation in several court cases in the early twentieth century underscored the need for literacy and formal recognition. Faced with a severely diminished population, one chief proposed in the 1940s to sell all tribal lands and move the people to Texas, for which he was removed from office. The last chief died in 1976.

*See also* Agriculture; Canoes; Hopewell Culture; Trade.

## Tuscarora

"Tuscarora" comes from *Skaroo'ren*, "hemp gatherers," their self-designation and possibly the name of one of the constituent tribes or villages. (*See also* Oneida.) In the sixteenth century, the Tuscaroras were living near Cape Hatteras on the Roanoke,





Neuse, Tar, and Pamlico Rivers, in North Carolina. Tuscaroras spoke an Iroquoian language that changed markedly following the northward migration.

Tuscaroras believed that after death the immortal soul traveled to a western paradise. There were a number of planting and harvest festivals. The “tribe” was a collection of autonomous villages, each with its own chief, or headman, and council. The office of chief may or may not have been hereditary. Women served in some political capacity. Ultimate political authority was vested in the people and the council. The Tuscaroras were at first represented by the Oneidas in the Iroquois League’s annual council.

There were eight matrilineal clans in New York. Women nominated the clan chiefs. For five or six weeks, once in their lives, older children were secluded in a cabin and tortured with hunger and emetic plants. The people may have played a mathematical reed game, in which high-stakes gambling figured prominently. A great deal of ceremony was associated with the burial of men, the degree of ritual and expense being related to a person’s social standing.

Curing methods included shaking gourd rattles, sucking blood and fluids, and using snakes. Curers also used many herbal and plant medicines. The cures were often quite effective, and early non-Native observers noted that these Indians were generally much healthier than were the colonists and other Europeans.

Some villages were palisaded, at least in the early historical period. A village might have hundreds of houses; the average early eighteenth-century village population was around 400. A village consisted of several hamlets, or cabins near an open ceremonial area surrounded by fields. People who lived in “the country” had more distant neighbors.

Corn was the staple food, north and south. People also grew beans and squash. Women gathered wild fruits, nuts, berries, and roots. Men hunted game, including deer, bear, beaver, otter, rabbit, cougar, opossum, raccoon, partridge, pheasant, geese, and ducks. Seafood also played an important dietary role. Bows were carved from black locust wood whenever possible. Animal bones were used as hoes. Men made bowls, dishes, spoons, and utensils from tulip, gum, and other wood. Women made pottery and wove baskets of bark and hemp as well as mats of rush and cane.

Men wore hand-tanned breechclouts; women wore a wraparound skirt and a tunic. Both were made from Spanish moss or softened tree bark. Outerwear consisted of turkey feather, fur, or deerskin mantles. Men, especially among the wealthy, wore copper bracelets and other ornaments. Both men and women painted their bodies extensively. Tuscaroras were very active traders, at least in the early to mid-seventeenth century. Their arts included carved wooden items, woven mats and baskets, and pottery. The people navigated rivers and marshes in cypress log canoes.

The Tuscarora people came originally from the north, perhaps around the Saint Lawrence Valley–Great Lakes region. They may have moved southward as late as around 1400. In the sixteenth century, and for some time thereafter, they were the dominant tribe in eastern North Carolina, despite losing upward of 80 percent of their population to European diseases during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Their somewhat inland location kept them from extensive contact with non-Native settlers until the midseventeenth century.

Tuscaroras were traditionally friendly to the British settlers, even to the point of helping them fight other Indians. Active involvement in the deer-skin, rum, and slave trade led to a growing factionalism within the tribe, which was the most intense in villages closest to trade centers. Involvement with rum also contributed significantly to a general decline of the people. Throughout the seventeenth and into the eighteenth centuries, non-Natives regularly took advantage of Indian generosity, taking their best lands, cheating them in trade, and stealing their children for slaves.

War between the two groups broke out in 1711. It was largely a reaction to years of British abuse and to continuing population loss due to disease. Led by Chief Hancock, the Indians raided settlements and killed perhaps 200 British, who took their revenge as they could. Some Tuscarora villages remained neutral because of especially pro-British contact and sympathies; the “neutral” and “hostile” camps each had their Indian allies from other tribes. Freed African Americans played a significant role in the construction of European-style forts among the Indians.

The conflict soon became a general war, with some tribes, such as the Coree and Pamlico, fighting with the Tuscaroras and others, mainly Algonquins, fighting with the Carolina militias. In 1713, as a





result of a betrayal by Tuscarora leader Tom Blount, Carolina soldiers killed or captured almost 1,000 Tuscaroras. Many of the captives were sold into slavery. Most survivors migrated to New York to live among their Iroquoian-speaking relatives. Those who did not join the initial exodus lived for some additional years on the Susquehannah and Juniata Rivers, and some neutrals continued to live for a time in North Carolina. Virtually all Tuscaroras had left by 1802.

In 1722 or 1723, under the sponsorship of the Oneidas, the Tuscaroras were formally admitted into the Iroquois League, although their chiefs were not made official sachem chiefs. The former southerners soon adopted much of northern Iroquois culture. With the Oneidas, most Tuscaroras remained neutral or sided with the colonists in the American Revolution, although the rest of the league supported the British. The Senecas and a non-Native land company donated land to the Tuscaroras consisting of three square miles near Niagara Falls. The tribe purchased over 4,000 acres in 1804. It also received over \$3,000 from the North Carolina legislature from the sale of Tuscarora land in that state.

Most Tuscaroras had become farmers and Christians by the end of the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, those loyal to Britain in the war settled in Oshweken, Ontario, on the Six Nations Reserve. The Tuscarora rejected the Indian Reorganization Act in the 1930s. In the 1950s, the government proposed that a massive reservoir be built on their land. The Indians' refusal to sell led to many protests and a court battle. Although they ultimately lost, and the reservoir was constructed, the process contributed significantly to their own, as well as other tribes', sense of empowerment and national identity.

*See also* Agriculture; Haudenosaunee Confederacy; Trade.

## Yuchi

"Yuchi" possibly either means "from far away" or is derived from *Hitchiti* for "People of Another Language." The tribe consisted of several distinct, named bands, one of which may have been called Chisca. They were culturally similar to the Catawba Indians. Yuchis lived in the eastern Tennessee hills in the midsixteenth century. Yuchean was a linguistic

isolate, possibly related to the Siouan language family.

The sun was recognized as the chief deity and power. The three-day corn harvest festival included dancing, a new fire ceremony, and deep male scarring. The Green Corn festival included a stickball game as well as the formal initiation of boys into manhood. Disease was said to be caused by offended animal spirits; shamans cured with herbs, chants, and dancing. One of the four souls possessed by each person could pass to another life.

Each band had its own chief and leadership structure. Yuchis belonged to one of two societies: chief and warrior. Membership was determined by patrilineal descent. Babies were named on the fourth day of life. Matrilineal clans may or may not antedate their associations with the Creeks.

Yuchis built their villages—stockaded in the midseventeenth century—near streams. They grouped their houses around a central square used for ceremonial and social purposes. Houses were wood-frame structures covered with clay or woven mats and roofed with cypress bark or shingles.

Corn, beans, and squash were planted in river valleys. Corn was the staple food. It was served in many ways and often mixed with other foods, including powdered hickory nuts and meat. Wood ash was added for flavor. Men hunted buffalo, bear, elk, deer, turkey, and birds. Men hunted using bows and arrows and blowguns (for birds and small game). Most men owned two large leather pouches decorated with beads and slung over the shoulder on straps. Turkey feather fans were used mostly by men to keep insects away and as a sign of leadership. Especially fine pottery included pipes and decorated bowls. Women also made fine cane and split hickory baskets. Turtles and snakes were a common design.

The Yuchis may have been a link in moving copper south from the Great Lakes. Some groups, using the Choctaw trade language, traded in flint or salt. Their pipes came from the Cherokees and Natchez, and they also traded for catlinite pipes from the early eighteenth century on.

Men wore deerskin leggings, sashes, and moccasins, although they frequently went barefoot. In the later eighteenth century they wore brightly colored cloth shirts and jackets, modified breechcloths, leggings tied to a belt, cloth turbans, and various ornaments. Women wore cloth dresses, short leggings, belts, moccasins, and personal ornaments.





Yuchis may have descended from Siouan peoples. They may have encountered Hernando de Soto around 1540 but were certainly attacked by the Spanish in 1566. In the 1630s, Yuchi bands began leaving the Appalachian highlands to raid Spanish settlements in Florida. Some of the bands remained in the south, settling in west Florida among the Upper Creeks. The people encountered British settlers in Tennessee and North Carolina in the 1670s.

In the mid- to late seventeenth century, under pressure by the Shawnees, many Yuchi bands left the high country and followed the Savannah River toward coastal Georgia. They joined Yuchis who had migrated there earlier. With the Creek, both groups became British allies, conducting slave raids for them on Spanish settlements and among other tribes, such as the Apalachees, Timucuas, Calusas, Guales, and Cusabos. This wave was soon driven away from the Savannah, however, and moved west toward the Chattahoochee River in central Alabama.

A final wave of Yuchis migrated south in the early eighteenth century. By the late 1700s, most Yuchis were living near the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, although some remained in southeast Georgia.

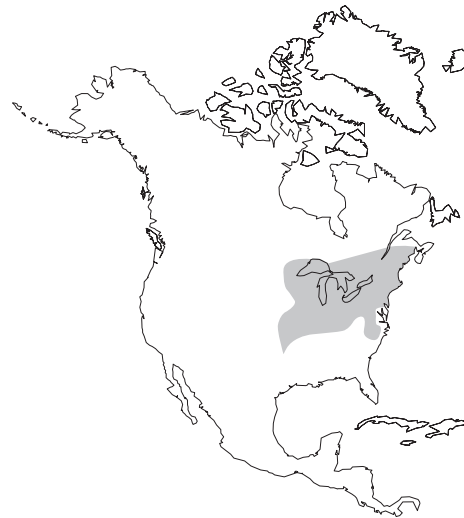
By the nineteenth century, Yuchis in Tennessee and North Carolina had merged with the Cherokee. The Georgia Yuchis joined the Creeks, and the Florida Yuchis joined the Seminoles. As many as 900 Yuchis were removed with the Creeks to Indian Territory in 1836. They formed eleven communities in present-day Creek County, Oklahoma.

In the early twentieth century, the Yuchis remained legally united with the Creeks but maintained their own stomp grounds and churches. They refused their own charter in 1938, fearing the motives of the federal government. They maintained their own language and customs, as well as ties to religious sites in Georgia, through the 1950s.

*See also* Creek War; Forced Marches; Trade.



# *Native Americans of the Northeast Woodlands*



## **Abenaki**

"Abenaki" or more properly "Wabenaki," means "Dawn Land People" or "Easterners." The Abenakis were a group of Algonquin tribes, sometimes discussed as Eastern Abenaki (including Kennebecs, Penobscots, Arosagunticooks, and Pigwackets) and Western Abenakis (including Penacooks, Winnepesaukee, and Sokokis). There was also a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Abenaki Confederacy consisting of these and other tribes, such as the Maliseets, Micmacs, and Passamaquoddy.

Abenakis lived near major rivers of northern New England and southern Quebec in the early seventeenth century. There were perhaps 10,000 eastern and 5,000 western Abenakis at that time. They spoke dialects of eastern Algonquin languages.

Western groups tended to believe in a supreme creator, and both eastern and Western Abenakis enjoyed a rich mythology. Many ceremonies were based on crops or the hunt as well as on greeting visitors, weddings, and funerals. At least among the western group, boys might seek the help of supernatural beings by obtaining a guardian spirit through a vision quest around the time of puberty. Dances were often associated with the spirit power. Shamans, often employing drums, foretold the future, located game, and cured illness.

Authority was gained as a result of leadership qualities, although there was also an element of patrilineal descent. Eastern chiefs of extended fami-

lies were also sometimes shamans and after the seventeenth century were known as sagamores. Western groups recognized lifelong civil and war chiefs as well as a council of elders. The chiefs' powers were relatively limited.

Several related nuclear families living together made up a household, which was the basic social and economic unit. Descent was patrilineal. Social status was somewhat hierarchical, especially in the east, where chiefs might have more than one wife. In general, men provided animal foods, fought, and made tools and houses; women grew crops, gathered foods, prepared and cooked food, made clothing, and took care of children. Men engaged in frequent races and archery contests.

The use of stories and gentle group pressure was sufficient to discipline children. Marriage, considered official after gifts were given to the bride's family, was celebrated by feasting and dancing (as were many occasions). The dead were buried as soon as possible with weapons and/or tools for use in the afterlife.

Villages were located along streams and, among the western group, near meadows. Easterners lived in dome-shaped and square houses with pyramid roofs shingled with bark. There were smoke holes at the top, and deerskins covered the two doors. Westerners tended to live in birchbark longhouses with arched roofs. Several families lived in each house. They also built dome-shaped sweat lodges.

A shorter growing season and poorer soil meant that Abenakis depended less on crops than did southern Algonquins. In small family groups they





hunted caribou, deer, and bear and trapped beaver and other small game as well as birds. Western groups called and ran down moose.

Women gathered berries, nuts, potatoes, and wild cherries and other fruits. They also boiled maple and birch sap for syrup and sugar. In spring, the eastern group fished along the coast for salmon, shad, eel, sturgeon, smelt, and other fish. They also gathered shellfish and other marine foods and hunted sea mammals. Fish were also important to the western group, who grew more corn, beans, squash, and tobacco.

Men made birchbark and dugout canoes, snowshoes, and toboggans. Many items, including pottery and bark containers, were carefully decorated. From the early seventeenth century on, wampum beads were used to record treaties and major council decisions. Abenakis generally traded with neighboring groups until the beginning of the fur trade period, when they traded furs for corn from southern New England. At that time, wampum became a medium of exchange and political status.

Women tanned skins to make most clothing. Men wore beaver pelt breechclouts and belts. Western women wore skirts and blouses in addition to cold weather gear. Both wore moccasins, leggings, moose hide coats, and fur robes and caps. Tunics were also common. Both sexes painted their faces and bodies and wore their hair long.

Abenakis originally came from the Southwest, according to their legends. They may have met early explorers such as Giovanni da Verrazano in the sixteenth century. They were definitely visited by Samuel de Champlain and others, including missionaries, early in the seventeenth century, shortly after which time the Abenakis became heavily involved in the fur trade. Western groups traded with the Dutch and entered the fur trade later than the eastern groups.

Almost immediately, many eastern villages disappeared as a result of war (mostly Micmac attacks) and disease. Among the survivors, material culture and subsistence economy changed rapidly with the availability of non-Native items. Indians and the French regularly intermarried. Western groups came into conflict with the Iroquois from the mid- to late seventeenth century. Abenakis first arrived in Quebec from Maine in the late seventeenth century. They lived on the banks of the Chaudière River before moving to their present territory in the early eighteenth century.

Abenakis were staunch allies of the French in the colonial wars, although eastern groups needed to cover their bases with the British in the interest of preserving trade. Fierce Abenaki fighters sacked many British settlements throughout New England in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The Western Abenakis, in particular, played a significant role in much of the history of New France, including fur trading, exploring, and fighting the Senecas and Mohawks.

The Indians steadily lost land during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Penobscots slowly emerged as the strongest eastern tribe. When the town of Norridgewalk fell to the British in 1724, many Eastern Abenakis withdrew to Quebec. Although the Penobscots urged Abenaki neutrality in the French and Indian War, other Eastern Abenakis, now living in Quebec, fought with the French. The Penobscots were eventually drawn in: The treaty of 1763 marked the British victory and the Penobscot defeat. Meanwhile, after the fighting ended in 1763, Western Abenakis returned to their territory to find British squatters. They abandoned most of these lands after 1783, settling near a reserve on the Ste. Francois River in Quebec.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, most Western Abenakis sought to avoid anti-Indian sentiment by speaking French, selling ash splint baskets to tourists, and keeping to themselves. Some hunted in a large territory north of the Saint Lawrence River, and some returned to northern New England for seasonal cash work and subsistence activities. Many Western Abenakis attended Dartmouth College in the nineteenth century.

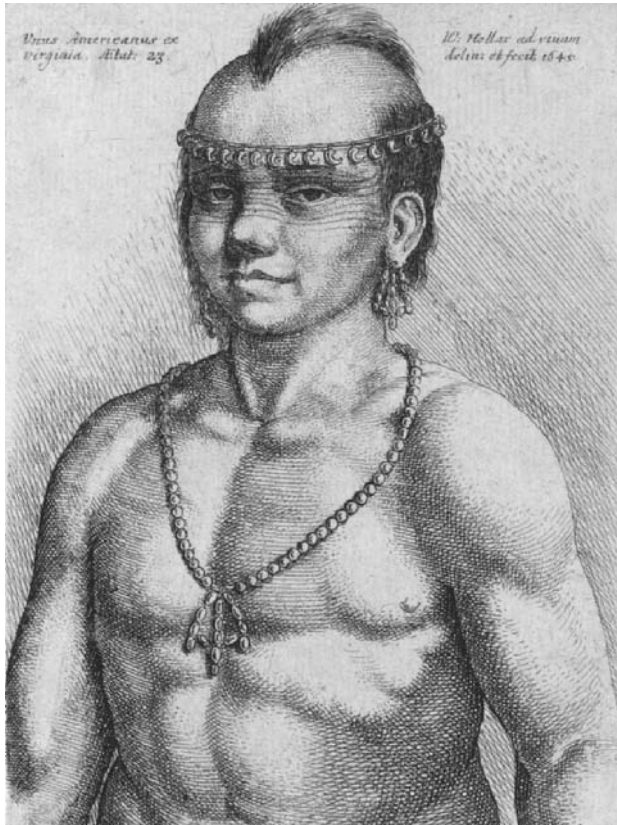
In 1941, the establishment of a wildlife refuge by the state of Vermont ended the people's ancient hunting and fishing rights. A postwar resurgence of the western group was based on controversies over fishing and hunting rights and a lack of official recognition. These groups held fish-ins to dramatize their situation. State recognition in 1976 was withdrawn the following year.

*See also* Canoes; Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act.

## Algonquin

"Algonquin" or "Algonkin" probably comes from a Micmac word meaning "at the place of spearing fish and eels from the bow of a canoe." It is the name of a





A 1645 portrait of a 23-year-old Algonquin man wearing necklace and head ornaments, and with facial markings. (Library of Congress)

northeastern group of bands that also gave its name to an important language family. The original self-designation was *Anishinabeg*, or “true men.” Principal Algonquin bands included the Weskarinis (the Algonquins proper), Abitibis, and Temiskamings. In the early seventeenth century, Algonquins lived in the Ottawa Valley of Quebec and Ontario, particularly along the northern tributary rivers. Algonquins spoke an Algonquin language.

The people believed in a great creator spirit and a host of lesser spirits, both good and evil. Both shamans and hunters sought guardian spirits to help them with their work, which included interpreting dreams and healing the sick. Small bands were composed of one or more clans with local chiefs. People smoked tobacco silently before council meetings. Algonquins entertained visitors with the annual Feast of the Dead, a dance with a war theme. When entertaining guests, the host did not eat. Clan descent as well as the inheritance of hunting territo-

ries may have been patrilineal. Bands tended to come together in the summer and disperse in the winter. People lived in cone-shaped, teepee-like dwellings. They also built rectangular birchbark hunting shelters.

Men fished in both the summer and winter (through holes cut in the ice). They hunted game such as moose, deer, caribou, and beaver. Agricultural crops played a small role in their diet. Important material items included birchbark containers sewn with spruce roots, basswood bags and mats, wooden cradle boards, bows and arrows, and double-headed drums. Algonquins imported fish nets and cornmeal from the Hurons and traded extensively with Iroquoian tribes. They traded animal pelts and porcupine quills to nearby groups in exchange for corn, tobacco, fishing gear, and wampum.

Men made birchbark canoes, snowshoes, and toboggans. Dress varied according to location. Most clothing was made of buckskin or moose skin. Clothing included breechclouts, skirts, ponchos, leggings, robes, and moccasins; moccasins were often dyed black. Fur garments were added in cold weather.

Algonquins lived on the north shore of the Saint Lawrence River from about 1550 to 1650. They began trading with the French in the early sixteenth century and later provoked a war with the Mohawks. The Algonquins won that skirmish with the assistance provided by the French in order to maintain an important trade partner.

However, the French had made a powerful enemy in the Mohawks, and within a few decades the local military situation had been reversed, with the Iroquois now firmly in control. Meanwhile, the Hurons had replaced the Algonquins as the key French trade partner. The Mohawks, needing to expand their trapping area, soon attacked again. The Algonquins were forced to abandon the upper Saint Lawrence and, after about 1650, the Ottawa Valley. They returned in the 1660s when peace was reestablished. An epidemic in the 1670s left them further weakened.

During the late seventeenth century, some Algonquin bands merged with the Ottawa Indians. French trading posts were established, and missionaries became a permanent presence in their territory by the early eighteenth century. Some Algonquins traveled to the far west to trap for Canadian companies. After the final French defeat in 1763, the Algonquins became staunch British allies. Reserves





for the group were created in the nineteenth century, when their lands were overrun by British settlers. The decline of the fur trade and of their hunting grounds (mainly owing to local logging operations), as well as a growing dependence on non-Natives, led many Algonquins to adopt a sedentary lifestyle.

*See also* Canoes; French and Indian War; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Wampum.

## Anishinabe

"Anishinabe" means "People." The Anishinabes are also variously known by the band names Ojibwe/Ojibwa/Ojibway/Chippewa, Mississauga, and Salteaux. The name "Ojibwa" means "puckered up," probably a reference to a style of sewn moccasins. Northern groups had a Subarctic as well as a Woodlands cultural orientation. In the early seventeenth century, at least 35,000, and maybe double that number, of Anishinabes lived north of Lake Huron and northeast of Lake Superior (present-day Ontario, Canada). The various Anishinabe groups spoke dialects of Algonquin languages.

Some groups may have believed in the existence of an overarching supreme creative power. All animate and inanimate objects had spirits that could be good or evil (the latter, like the cannibalistic Windigo, were greatly feared). People attempted to keep the spirits happy through prayer, by the ritual use of tobacco, and with the intervention of shamans. Tobacco played a significant role in many rituals.

By fasting and dreaming in a remote place, young men sought a guardian spirit that would assist them throughout their lives. In general, dreams were considered of extreme importance. There was probably little religious ceremonialism before people began dying in unprecedented numbers as a result of hitherto unknown diseases of Old World origin. The Midewiwin, or Medicine Dance, was a curing society that probably arose, except among the northern Ojibwas, in response to this development.

Men led autonomous bands of perhaps 300 to 400 people on the basis of both family and ability. Band headman were often war captains but had little

direct authority before the fur trade period; for their own advantage, traders worked to increase the power of the headman. These efforts ultimately led to the creation of a patrilineal line of chiefs.

About fifteen to twenty-five patrilineal clans were linked into the larger divisions. Bands came together in villages during the summer and dispersed for the winter hunting season. Within the context of a social organization that was relatively egalitarian, there were people with higher status than others, such as chiefs, accomplished warriors, and shamans.

Although a special feast was held to celebrate a boy's first kill, the major male puberty rite was the vision quest, which entailed a four-day fast deep in the forest to await a propitious dream. Girls might also have visions, but they were not generally required to undergo a quest.

Corpses were washed and well presented. Wrapped in birchbark, they were removed from the wigwam, after a period of lying in state, through an opening in the west side. A priest gave a funeral ceremony, after which the body was buried with tools and equipment. The soul was said to travel for four days to a happy location in the west. The mourning period lasted one year.

The Anishinabes enjoyed regular visiting as well as social dancing (although on such occasions men often danced apart from women). They also enjoyed various sports, such as lacrosse and a game in which they threw a pole along frozen snow, and contests; gambling invariably played a part in these activities. Lacrosse was rough and carried religious overtones.

The traditional Anishinabe dwelling was a domed wigwam of cattail mats or birchbark over a pole frame. There were also larger, elliptical wigwams that housed several families. Hunters also used temporary bark-covered A-frame lodges, and people built smaller sweat lodges, used for purification or curing, as well as menstrual huts and Midewiwin, or Medicine Lodge Society, lodges.

Women grew small gardens of corn, beans, and squash in the south. Men hunted and trapped a variety of large and small game, mostly in the winter, as well as birds and fowl. Meat was roasted, stone boiled, or dried and stored. Some was dried and mixed with fat and chokecherries to make pemmican, an extremely nourishing, long-lasting food. Men fished year round, especially for sturgeon, sometimes at night by the light of flaming birchbark torches. People also ate shellfish where available.





In the fall, women in canoes gathered wild rice, which became a staple in the Anishinabe southwest and important as well around Lake Winnipeg. They also gathered a variety of berries, fruits, and nuts, and some groups collected maple sap for sugar, which they used as a seasoning and in water. Northern Ojibwas had access neither to wild rice nor to maple sap.

Trade items included elm-bark bags and assorted birchbark goods, carved wooden bowls, food, and maple sugar. As they expanded west, the people began to trade Woodland items for buffalo-derived products. Clothing and medicine bags were decorated with quillwork. Men carved wooden utilitarian as well as religious items (figurines). They also made birchbark canoes and snowshoes. Northern Ojibwas used toboggans and canoe sleds, sometimes hauled by large dogs, from the nineteenth century on. The Anishinabe were also known for their soft elm-bark bags. Lake Winnipeg women made fine moose hide mittens, richly decorated in beads. As with many Native peoples, storytelling evolved to a fine art.

Dress varied according to location. Most clothing was made of buckskin. Ojibwas tended to color their clothing with red, yellow, blue, and green dyes. In the southwestern areas, women wore woven fiber shirts under a sleeveless dress. Other clothing included breechclouts, leggings, robes, and moccasins, the last often dyed and featuring a distinctive puckered seam. Fur garments were added in cold weather.

The Anishinabes probably came to their historical location from the northeast and had arrived by about 1200. They encountered Frenchmen in the early seventeenth century and soon became reliable French allies. From the later seventeenth century on, the people experienced great changes in their material and economic culture as they became dependent on guns, beads, cloth, metal items, and alcohol.

Pressures related to the fur trade, including Iroquois attacks, drove the Anishinabes to expand their territory by the late seventeenth century. With French firearms, they pressured the Dakotas to move west toward the Great Plains. They also drove tribes such as the Sauks, Foxes, and Kickapoos from Michigan and replaced the Hurons in lower Michigan and extreme southeast Ontario. With the westward march of British and especially French trading posts, Ojibwa bands also moved into Minnesota and north central Canada, displacing Siouan and other Algonquin groups. Many people also intermarried

with Cree Indians and French trappers and became known as Métis, or Mitchif. By the eighteenth century, Anishinabe bands stretched from Lake Huron to the Missouri River.

The people were most deeply involved in the fur (especially beaver) trade during the eighteenth century. They fought the British in the French and Indian War and in Pontiac's Rebellion. In 1769, in alliance with neighboring tribes, they utterly defeated the Illinois Indians. They fought on the British side in the Revolutionary War. Following this loss, they kept up anti-American military pressure, engaging the non-Natives in Little Turtle's War, Tecumseh's Rebellion, and the War of 1812.

By the early nineteenth century, scattered, small hunter-fisher-gatherer bands of northern Ojibwas and Salteaux were located north and west of the Great Lakes. These people experienced significant changes from the early nineteenth century, such as a greater reliance on fish and hare products and on non-Native material goods.

The Plains Ojibwas (Bungis) had moved west as far as southern Saskatchewan and Manitoba and North Dakota and Montana. They adopted much of the Great Plains culture. The southeastern Ojibwas (Mississaugas), living in northern and southern Michigan and nearby Ontario, were hunters, fishers, gatherers, and gardeners. They also made maple sugar and, on occasion, used wild rice. Their summer villages were relatively large. Finally, the southwestern Ojibwas had moved into northern Wisconsin and Minnesota following the departing Dakotas. They depended on wild rice as well as hunting, fishing, gathering, gardening, and maple sugaring.

The Anishinabes living in the United States ceded much of their eastern land to that government in 1815 upon the final British defeat. Land cessions and the establishment of reservations in Wisconsin and Minnesota followed during the early to midnineteenth century. Two small bands went to Kansas in 1839. In the 1860s, some groups settled with the Ottawas, Munsees, and Potawatomis in Indian Territory.

Michigan and Minnesota Anishinabe groups (with the exception of the Red Lake people) lost most of their land (90 percent or more in many cases) to allotment, fraud, and other irregularities in the mid- to late nineteenth century. They also suffered significant culture loss as a result of government policies encouraging forced assimilation. In the late nineteenth century, many southwestern Ojibwas worked as lumberjacks. Many in the southeast





concentrated more on farming, although they continued other traditional subsistence activities when possible. Transition to non-Native styles of housing, clothing, and political organization was confirmed during this period.

Plains Ojibwas took part in the Métis rebellion of Louis Riel in 1869–1870. These groups were finally settled on the Turtle Mountain Reservation in the late nineteenth century and on the Rocky Boy Reservation in the early twentieth century. Around the turn of the century, the Turtle Mountain Chippewas, led by Chief Little Shell, worked to regain land lost in 1884 and to reenroll thousands of Métis whom the United States had unilaterally excluded from the tribal rolls. In 1904, the tribe received \$1 million for a 10-million-acre land claim. Soon thereafter, most of the Turtle Mountain land was allotted. One result of that action was that many people, denied adequate land, were forced to scatter across the Dakotas and Montana. Most of the allotments were later lost to tax foreclosure, after which the tribal members, now landless, drifted back to Turtle Mountain.

The growing poverty of Michigan bands was partially reversed after most accepted the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) in the 1930s and the United States reassumed its trust relationship with them. Many of these people moved to the industrial cities of the Midwest, especially in Michigan and Wisconsin, after World War II, although most retained close ties with the reservation communities.

*See also* Fur Trade; Indian Reorganization Act; Lacrosse; Riel, Louis; Tecumseh; Trade.

## Brothertown

*See* Pequot.

## Cayuga

The Cayugas, from their word for “People of Oio-gouen,” were one of the five original tribes of the Iroquois League. The name Iroquois (“real adders”) comes from the French adaptation of the Algonquin name for these people. Their self-designation was *Kanonsionni*, “League of the United (Extended) Households.” Iroquois today refer to themselves as Haudenosaunee, “People of the Longhouse.” There

were about 1,500 Cayugas in 1660 and possibly as many as several thousand or more a century earlier, among perhaps 20,000 members of the Iroquois League. Cayugas spoke a northern Iroquois dialect.

The Cayugas recognized Orenda, a supreme creator. Other animate and inanimate objects and natural forces were also considered of a spiritual nature. They held important festivals to celebrate maple sap and strawberries as well as corn planting, ripening (Green Corn ceremony), and harvest. These festivals often included singing, male dancing, game playing, gambling, feasting, and food distribution.

The eight-day new year’s festival may have been most important of all. Held in midwinter, it was a time to give thanks, to forget past wrongs, and to kindle new fires, with much attention paid to new and old dreams. A condolence ceremony had quasi religious components. Curing societies also conducted ceremonies, since illness was thought to be of supernatural origin. In the early nineteenth century, many Iroquois embraced the teachings of Handsome Lake.

The Iroquois League comprised fifty hereditary chiefs, or sachems, from the constituent tribes. Each position was named for the original holder and had specific responsibilities. Sachems were men, except when a woman acted as regent, but they were appointed by women. The Cayugas sent ten sachems to meetings of the Iroquois Great Council, which met in the fall and for emergencies. Their symbol at this gathering was the Great Pipe.

Tribes were divided into two divisions within the league, the Cayugas belonging to the “younger brothers.” Debates within the great council were a matter of strict clan, division, and tribal protocols, in a complex system of checks and balances. Politically, individual league members often pursued their own best interests while maintaining an essential solidarity with the other members. The creators of the U.S. government used the Iroquois League as a model of democracy.

Locally, the village structure was governed by a headman and a council of elders (clan chiefs, elders, wise men). Matters before the local councils were handled according to a definite protocol based on the clan and division memberships of the chiefs. Village chiefs were chosen from groups as small as a single household. Women nominated and recalled clan chiefs. Tribal chiefs represented the village and the nation at the general council of the league. The entire system was hierarchical and intertwined, from the family up to the great council. Decisions at





all levels were reached by consensus. There were also a number of nonhereditary chiefs ("pine tree" or "merit" chiefs), some of whom had no voting power. Their existence may have been a postcontact phenomenon.

The Cayugas recognized a dual division, each composed of two matrilineal, animal-named clans. The Cayugas probably had nine clans. Each owned a set number of personal names, some of which were linked with particular activities and responsibilities. Women enjoyed a high degree of prestige, being largely equated with the "three sisters" (corn, beans, and squash), and they were in charge of most village activities, including marriage. Great intravillage lacrosse games included heavy gambling. Other games included snowsnake, or sliding a spear along a trench in the snow for distance. Food was shared so that everyone had roughly the same to eat.

Personal health and luck were maintained by performing various individual rituals, including singing and dancing, learned in dreams. Members of the False Face medicine society wore wooden masks carved from trees and used rattles and tobacco. Shamans also used up to 200 or more plant medicines to cure illness. The condolence ceremony mourned dead league chiefs and installed successors. A modified version also applied to common people.

Boys began developing war skills at a young age. Prestige and leadership were often gained through war, which was in many ways the most important activity. All aspects of warfare, from the initiation to the conclusion, were highly ritualized. Women had a large, sometimes decisive, say in the question of whether or not to fight. Male prisoners were often forced to run the gauntlet: Those who made it through were adopted, but those who did not might be tortured by widows. Some captives were eaten.

In the early eighteenth century, Cayugas lived in at least three villages of thirty or more longhouses, each village with 500 or more people. The people built their villages near water and often on a hill after about 1300. Some villages were palisaded. Other Iroquois villages had up to 150 longhouses and 1,000 or more people. Villages were moved about twice in a generation, when firewood and soil were exhausted.

Iroquois Indians built elm-bark longhouses, fifty to 100 feet long, depending on how many people lived there, from about the twelfth century on. The longhouses held two or three or as many as

twenty families, as well as their dogs. The people also built some single-family houses.

Women grew corn, beans, squash, and gourds. Corn was the staple and was used in soups, stews, breads, and puddings. It was stored in bark-lined cellars. Women also gathered a variety of greens, nuts, seeds, roots, berries, fruits, and mushrooms. Tobacco was grown for ceremonial and social smoking. After the harvest, men and some women took to the woods for several months to hunt and dry meat. Men hunted large game and trapped smaller game, mostly for the fur. They also caught waterfowl and other birds, and they fished.

Iroquois used porcupine quills and wampum belts as a record of events. Wampum was also used as a gift connoting sincerity and, later, as trade money. Other important material items included elm-bark containers, cordage from inner tree bark and fibers, and levers to move timbers. Men steamed wood or bent green wood to make many items, including lacrosse sticks. Elm-bark canoes were roughly twenty-five feet long. The people were also great runners and preferred to travel on land. They used snowshoes in the winter.

Women made most clothing from deerskins. Men wore breechclouts and shirts; women wore skirts. Both wore leggings, moccasins, and corn-husk slippers in the summer. Clothing was decorated with feathers and porcupine quills. Both men and women tattooed their bodies extensively.

The Iroquois began cultivating crops shortly after the first phase of their culture in New York was established around 800. Deganawida, a Huron prophet, and Hiawatha, a Mohawk shaman living among the Onondagas, founded the Iroquois League or Confederacy some time between 1000 and 1150. It originally consisted of five tribes: Cayugas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Senecas; the Tuscaroras joined in the early eighteenth century.

Iroquois first met non-Natives in the sixteenth century. There were sporadic Jesuit missions in Cayuga country throughout the midseventeenth century. During those years, the Cayuga were more friendly toward the French than were some other Iroquois tribes. The people became heavily involved in the fur trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Trading, fighting, and political intrigue characterized those years. Although they were good at playing the European powers against each other, the Iroquois increasingly became British allies in trade and in the colonial wars and were





instrumental in the ultimate British victory over the French.

Diplomatic success allowed the Iroquois to concentrate on expanding their trapping territory and increasing their trade advantages, mainly by fighting many tribes to their west and south. The Cayuga warpath led as far south as Virginia. Iroquois power blocked European westward expansion. Two Siouan tribes, the Tutelos and the Saponis, joined the Cayugas in 1753.

The British victory in 1763 meant that the Iroquois no longer controlled the regional balance of power. Despite their long-standing allegiance, some Indians joined anti-British rebellions in an effort to protect their land. One such rebellion took place in 1774 and was led by Logan, a Cayuga chief of the Iroquoian Mingos of Pennsylvania.

The confederacy split its allegiance in the Revolutionary War, with most Cayugas siding with the British. This split resulted in the council fire's being extinguished for the first time in some 200 years. The Iroquois suffered a major defeat in 1779. After the final U.S. victory, many Cayugas migrated to Ontario, Canada, where they established two villages on the Six Nations Reserve. Others settled with the Senecas in western New York. Still others remained for several more years in their homelands. However, by 1807 the Cayugas had sold all their land to the United States. After the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Reservations were sold in 1842, Indians who had been living there, including many Cayugas, relocated to the Cattaraugus and Allegany Reservations. Most Cayugas went to Cattaraugus.

The Iroquois council officially split into two parts during that time. One branch was located at the Six Nations Reserve and the other at Buffalo Creek. Gradually, internal reservation affairs, as well as relations with the United States and Canada, assumed more significance than intraconfederacy matters. In the 1840s, when the Buffalo Creek Reservation was sold, the fire there was rekindled at Onondaga.

In Canada, the Cayugas, known with the Onondagas and Senecas as the lower tribes, tended to retain more of their traditional beliefs than did the upper Iroquois tribes. Many subsequently adopted the Handsome Lake religion. Traditional structures were further weakened by the allotment of reservation lands in the 1840s; the requirement under Canadian law, from 1869 on, of patrilineal descent; and the transition of league councils and other political

structures to a municipal government. In 1924, the Canadian government terminated confederacy rule entirely, mandating an all-male elected system of government on the reserve.

The Native economy gradually shifted from primarily hunting to farming, dependence on annuities received for the sale of land, and some wage labor. The people faced increasing pressure from non-Natives to adopt Christianity and sell more land. The old religion declined during that time, although on some reservations the Handsome Lake religion grew in importance.

In 1817, some of the New York Cayugas, along with other Iroquois and Delaware Indians, moved west to near the Sandusky River in Ohio. They were removed to Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in 1831. Some other Cayugas moved to Wisconsin in 1832 with a group of Oneidas. The Cayugas in Oklahoma maintained a separate tribal government until 1937. Mainly because of fraud and outright theft, their 65,000-acre reservation had been reduced to 140 acres of tribal land by 1936. In 1937, the Seneca-Cayuga incorporated under Oklahoma law, adopting a constitution and bylaws and electing a business committee. Although their land base quickly grew, almost 300 acres were later taken away as a result of reservoir construction. The tribe successfully resisted termination in the 1950s. With other members of the confederacy, the Cayugas resisted the 1924 citizenship act, selective service, and all federal and state intrusions on their sovereignty.

*See also* Deganawidah; Deskaheh; French and Indian War; Handsome Lake; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Hiawatha.

## Chippewa

*See* Anishinabe.

## Delaware

*See* Lenápe.

## Fox

"Fox" is possibly from one of the tribe's clans. Their self-designation was *Mesquaki*, "Red Earth People."





The Foxes were culturally related to the Kickapoos. (See also Sauk.) In the seventeenth century, roughly 2,500 Foxes were located in a wide area on the border between the Woodlands and the prairie, centered in eastern Wisconsin near Lake Winnebago. The Fox people speak an Algonquin language.

The Fox recognized an upper and a lower cosmic region. The former was ruled by the great or gentle manitou. There were also any number of other nature-related spirits, or manitous, the most important of which were connected with the four directions. People might gain the attention and assistance of the manitous by offering tobacco, blackening their faces with charcoal, fasting, and wailing.

The vision quest, undertaken at puberty, was another way to attract spiritual power. Those who were especially successful assembled a medicine pack or bundle; certain packs represented power that affected and were the property of entire lineages. Two annual ceremonies were related to the medicine packs. The Midewiwin, or Medicine Dance, was a key ceremony. Others included the Green Corn and Adoption ceremonies. The calumet, or sacred pipe, played a vital role in all sacred activities, including peace negotiations.

Fox society was divided into bands or villages, of fluid composition, that formed in the summer but broke up in the winter. There were dual political divisions of peace and war. Officers were the main chief, subchiefs, and criers. A hereditary peace chief held authority over gatherings, treaties, peace councils, intertribal negotiations, and rituals. War chiefs were chosen by other warriors on the basis of merit, although there may have been a hereditary component.

The Foxes recognized about fourteen patrilineal clans. Membership in one of the two tribal divisions was determined by birth order. Each summer house was an economic unit as well as a social one.

Parents rarely inflicted corporal punishment on their children. At the onset of puberty, girls were secluded for ten days and were subject to various restrictions. Both sexes marked puberty by undertaking a vision quest. Marriages were generally arranged by the couple in question and were formalized when the families exchanged gifts. Some men had more than one wife. Adultery was generally cause for divorce. Burial took place after various rituals had been performed. All people were buried in their finest clothing, wrapped in bark or mats, with their feet toward the west.

Summer villages were located near crop fields in river bottoms. Extended families of some ten people lived in houses about fifty feet long by twenty feet wide and covered with elm bark. These houses were oriented in an east-west direction and were built in parallel rows, with an open game and ceremonial area in between. People moved the villages when firewood became scarce or when attacks forced them to move. When in their winter camps, people lived in small, dome-shaped wigwams covered with reed mats and located in sheltered river valleys. The camps ranged in size from just one or two families to an entire band.

Fox women grew corn, beans, squash, and tobacco. They also gathered a number of wild plant foods, including nuts, honey, berries, fruits, and tubers. Men hunted a variety of large and small game, especially deer, as well as buffalo from at least the eighteenth century until about 1820. Clothing was generally light and consisted mainly of buckskin breechclouts, dresses or aprons, leggings, and moccasins. Hide or fur robes were added for extra warmth. The people also tattooed and painted their bodies.

Reasons for war included conflict over territory, retaliation, and the achievement of status. War parties had to be authorized by the war council. Leaders of war parties began by fasting to obtain a vision and undertook several more ritualistic activities before the party departed. The leader carried his sacred ark, which was said to provide the party with spiritual power. Warriors were subject to a number of rituals on their return as well. Prisoners were often adopted.

The Foxes may once have lived just west and/or south of Lake Erie and, before that, along the southern shore of Lake Superior. They were driven by Iroquois raids into the upper Fox River–Chicago River area, perhaps in the early seventeenth century.

After non-Natives first appeared among them in the midseventeenth century, the Foxes quickly joined the fur trade. Unlike most Algonquins, however, they refused to settle near trading posts or missions. They also made enemies by requiring a toll from French traders plying the Fox River and were even able to block French access to the Mississippi if and when they chose.

The Foxes fought the French and their Indian allies in the early to mideighteenth century. They were almost destroyed during that period by warfare and disease, which was in fact the goal of French forces. Survivors took refuge with the Sauks in 1733,





beginning an alliance that lasted until the 1850s. In 1769, the Sauks, Foxes, and other tribes dealt a permanent defeat to the Illinois tribes and moved south and west into some of their former territory and ultimately back into Iowa. By that time they had become highly capable buffalo hunters.

The Foxes took an active part in Little Turtle's war (1790–1794) and in Tecumseh's Rebellion (1809–1811), two defensive actions in which the tribes of the old west made a last-ditch effort to hold onto their lands. Lead mines near Dubuque, Iowa, at which the Foxes had been mining up to two tons of lead a year, were illegally seized by non-Native interests in the early nineteenth century. In 1842, the Sauks and Foxes ceded their remaining lands and were relocated to a reservation in Kansas.

Some Foxes remained with the Sauks in Kansas and went with them in 1869 to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma). However, after a series of disputes with the Sauks, most Foxes returned to Iowa in the late 1850s, settling near Tama and acquiring land there. Ownership of their own land prevented future allotment and enabled the people to maintain their physical boundaries and thus much of their traditional culture. The people generally refused to enroll their children when the Bureau of Indian Affairs opened a boarding school in the late nineteenth century, but they did accept a day school after 1912. They adopted an Indian Reorganization Act–based government in 1937. Traditional and progressive factions have struggled for control of the tribe for much of the twentieth century.

*See also* Algonquin; Indian Reorganization Act; Thorpe, Jim.

## Huron

*See* Wyandotte.

## Illinois

The Illinois were a group of bands, probably all Algonquins, that included but were not limited to the Cahokias, Kaskaskias, Michigameas, Moingwe-nas, Peorias, and Tamaroas. The word "Illinois" is a French adaptation of their self-designation, *Inoca*. The Illinois were a borderline Eastern Woodlands group, with much of their territory consisting of

prairie. They were culturally similar to the Miamis. Roughly 10,000 Illinois lived south of Lake Michigan in the early seventeenth century. Illinois was an Algonquin language.

Manitou, a supreme being or creator, dwelled to the east and may have been identified with the sun. Men probably undertook a vision quest at adolescence, during which they hoped to attract a personal guardian spirit. At the onset of puberty, girls fasted in a special lodge until they received a personal guardian spirit. Shamans, or medicine people (they could be men or women and were usually older), conducted religious ceremonies. They acquired their powers from powerful animal spirits. Most ceremonies included dancing and smoking tobacco from a sacred pipe (calumet).

Each tribe was an independent entity and lived either in a separate village or in a separate section of a multitribe village. There may have been peace and war chiefs as well as criers to make announcements. Camp police during the summer buffalo hunt enforced strict discipline.

Illinois tribes recognized patrilineal clans. Hospitality was a primary value. A ritual feast followed a boy's first game kill. Boys who showed such an inclination might become berdaches (men who dressed like women and assumed all of their roles). Berdaches were regarded as having a particularly sacred element. Men usually refrained from marriage until they had proven themselves as warriors and hunters. Women could destroy the property of men who attempted to marry without the proper lineage controls. Female adultery was punished by death, mutilation, or mass rape.

Each gender was responsible for burying its own dead. After the face and hair were painted, corpses were dressed in fine clothing, wrapped in skins, and buried in the ground or on scaffolds. Tools, pipes, and other goods were set by the grave, which was marked by two forked sticks with a cross-stick or, in the case of a chief, by a painted log. Various ceremonies were then performed that honored the dead by reenacting a favorite activity.

Capturing prisoners rated higher war honors than killing them. Male prisoners were usually burned and eaten, whereas women and children were distributed among the population. Some were ultimately adopted, but some maintained a slavlike identity.

The Illinois built semipermanent summer villages strung out for miles along river banks. The villages consisted of up to 300 or more lodges, each





with one to four fireplaces and housing up to twelve families. There were also small menstrual/birth huts and possibly an additional structure used for political or ceremonial purposes.

Large, rectangular summer houses were built of woven mats over a pole frame. Mats were also placed on the ground as flooring. The people also built temporary summer and winter hunting camps. Summer huts were bark-covered buildings, whereas winter lodges were covered with rush mats.

Meat formed the most important part of the Illinois diet. Men hunted elk, bear, buffalo, deer, mountain lion, turkey, beaver, and other animals. Women grew corn, beans, and squash. They also gathered a variety of wild fruits, nuts, berries, and roots.

Men fashioned dugout canoes of up to fifty feet in length from butternut trees. They wore breechclouts, while women wore long dresses. Both sexes wore buffalo robes and blankets. They also tattooed and painted their bodies and wore various personal adornments of animal teeth, colored stones, feathers, and other items.

The Illinois may have come to their historic territory from the Northeast. They may have mixed with the Cahokian (Mississippian) people when they moved into Illinois in the midseventeenth century. The people fought two major wars with the Winnebagoes from about 1630 to 1645: They lost the first and won the second.

Iroquois attacks drove the people west of the Mississippi about 1660. After this time they began slaving raids on Siouan and Pawnee tribes west of the Mississippi. The Illinois tribes first met French explorers in the 1670s and became French allies shortly thereafter. The abandonment of the Illinois River region and a southward movement began around 1700, marking a general defeat at the hands of tribes such as the Kickapoos, Foxes, and Sauks, who also sought French favor. With the exception of the Peorias, who held out in the north until the later eighteenth century, most Illinois tribes became associated with specific French agricultural settlements. By 1800, the Michigameas, Cahokias, and Tamaroas merged with the Kaskaskias and Peorias.

The Wisconsin tribes maintained more or less continuous pressure on the Illinois tribes during the eighteenth century. The final battle may have come after an Illinois Indian, said to be in the pay of Britain, killed Chief Pontiac in 1769. In any case, those Illinois still free of French protection were all but wiped out, suffering upward of 90 percent casualties. Meanwhile, the southern Illinois, through

their contact with the French, had become missionized, poor, and alcoholic.

Survivors of the wars with the Great Lakes Algonquins, mainly members of the Kaskaskia and Peoria bands, signed treaties in the early nineteenth century ceding their lands to the United States. Their culture practically gone, these people moved to eastern Kansas in 1833, where they lived with the Wea and Piankashaw (Miami) bands until 1867, when they all bought land in northeastern Oklahoma. In 1873 they took the name United Peoria and Miami. Their lands were allotted in 1893, and any remaining tribal land was lost when Oklahoma became a state in 1907. The group reincorporated as the Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma in 1940. They were terminated in 1950 but restored in 1978.

*See also* Algonquin; Cahokia; Termination.

## Iroquois

*See* Cayuga; Mohawk; Oneida; Onondaga; Seneca, Tuscarora.

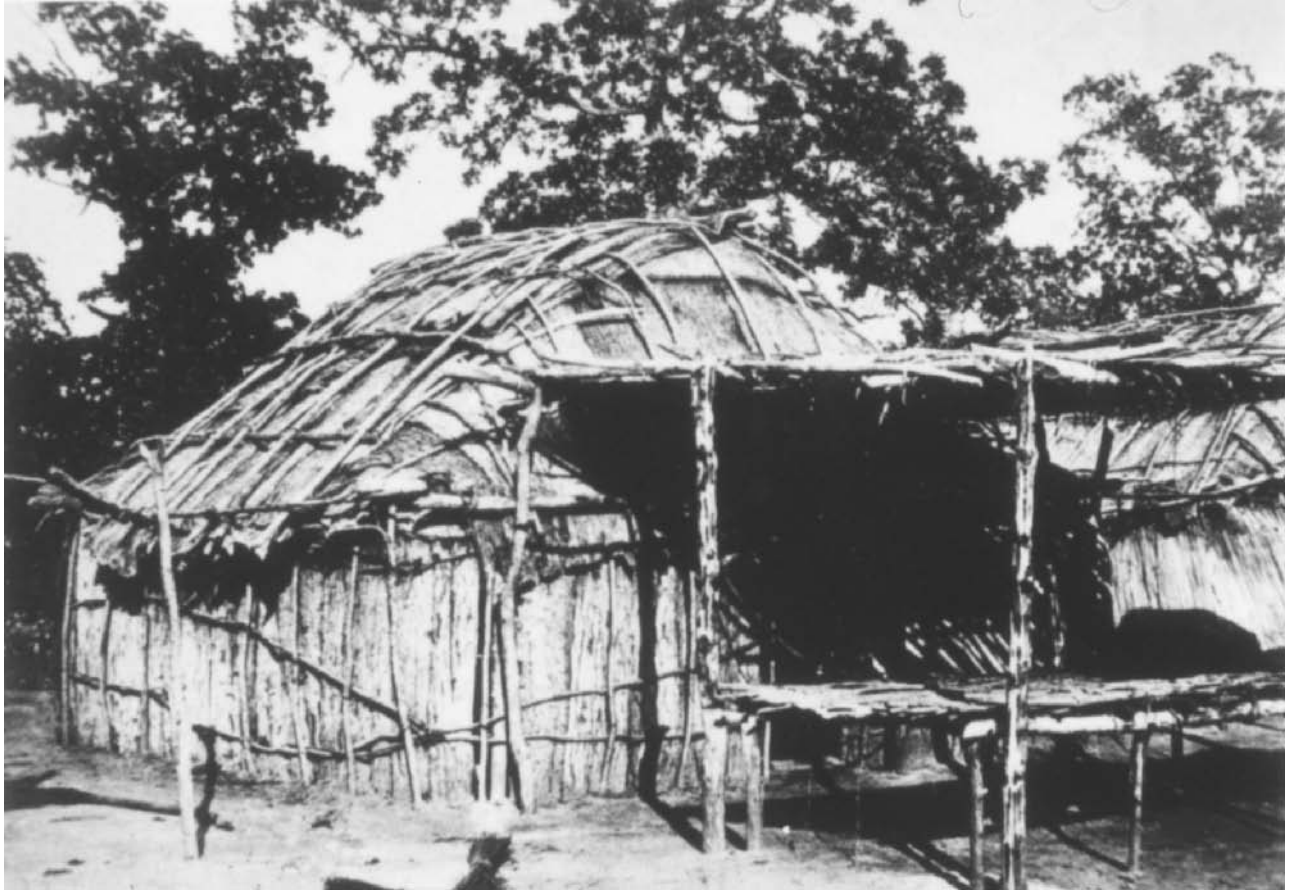
## Kickapoo

"Kickapoo" is possibly from *kiwegapaw*, "he moves about, standing now here, now there." The Kickapoos were culturally similar to the Sauks and Foxes and may once have been united with the Shawnees. Several thousand Kickapoos lived around the Fox and Wisconsin Rivers (present-day southern Wisconsin) in the midseventeenth century, although they inhabited present-day Michigan and Ohio earlier and Illinois and Kansas somewhat later. Kickapoos spoke an Algonquin language similar to Sauk and Fox.

All things, animate and inanimate, contained spirits, or manitou. Kicitia, the supreme manitou, or creator, dwelled in the sky. Tobacco facilitated communication with the manitous. Young people may have undertaken vision quests. Dreams, which may have been encouraged by fasts, also had spiritual significance.

The main ceremony was a weeklong renewal and thanksgiving in early spring, at which time sacred bundles were opened and repaired. The people also celebrated the Green Corn and Buffalo Dances. Priests were in charge of religious





*A Kickapoo wichiup, Sac and Fox Agency, Oklahoma, ca. 1880. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

observances. There may have been a ritual office, held by a woman, which gave approval to hold certain ceremonies.

The Kickapoos were divided into constituent bands, which were probably led by chiefs. A council of clan heads made decisions by consensus. Kickapoo society was organized in patrilineal clans. Furthermore, a dual division formed the basis for various cultural features such as “joking” (informal enforcement of social norms), games, races, and ritual seating. Personal names were tied to dreams or visions. Menstrual seclusion was particularly long and rigorous the first time, at which time the woman was advised by older women on how to behave as an adult. After killing their first game, boys were given a feast, which included songs and prayers.

Courting may have involved the use of a flute. Marriage was finalized by gift giving between the families. Funeral or death ceremonies included feasting, song, and prayer as well as quiet moments. People left the village for four days following a death,

after which time ceremonial adoptions were often performed.

Rectangular summer and round or oval winter houses were framed with green saplings. Summer houses were covered with elm bark and often attached to an arbor. Sleeping platforms lay along the sides. Doors faced east, and there was a smoke hole in the roof. Temporary winter houses were covered with woven cattail or tule mats.

Kickapoos were heavily dependent on crops. Women grew corn, beans, and squash, and they gathered various wild foods. Men hunted deer, bear, and other game, including some buffalo, and they fished. Carved wooden prayer sticks recorded prayers and myths as well as events. Pottery containers could hold water. Kickapoos served as intermediaries in the midnineteenth century Comanche horse trade. Kickapoo dress depended largely on their location. The basic items were breechclout, dress or apron, leggings, and moccasins, although they tended to borrow local customs, especially with





regard to personal ornamentation. Kickapoo warriors were known as extremely fierce, able, and enthusiastic fighters.

The Kickapoos may have originated in southeast Michigan. In the seventeenth century, pressure from the Iroquois drove them west to southern Wisconsin, where they encountered French missionaries. They may have shared villages with the Miami at that time. Kickapoos entered the fur trade, but throughout the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries they resisted pressure to assimilate and cede their lands. They were often at war with the French during that period, although the two groups established an alliance in 1729. They also fought various Indian tribes.

In the early eighteenth century, the Kickapoos joined tribes such as the Ojibwas, Ottawas, Sauks, and Foxes to defeat the Illinois Confederacy and occupy their territory. The Kickapoos moved south to the Illinois River, where the tribe soon divided. One group headed farther south to the Sangamon River. Known as the Prairie band, they increased their buffalo hunting. The other group moved east toward the Vermillion Branch of the Wabash River. This band retained their forest hunting practices. The band also absorbed the Mascouten, or Prairie Potawatomi, tribe of Indians.

Part of the Prairie band moved into southwest Missouri in the mid-1760s. Following the French defeat in 1763, the Kickapoos transferred their allegiance to the Spanish. They participated in Pontiac's Rebellion and later accepted British aid against the United States, with whom they never had good relations.

The early nineteenth century saw greatly increased non-Native settlement in the region. Most Kickapoos participated in Little Turtle's war. The Vermillion band also supported Tecumseh's Rebellion, which the Prairie band opposed. Both groups, however, were drawn into the War of 1812. Some chiefs of each band ceded the people's Illinois land in 1819, a move that forced most Kickapoos to join the group already living in Missouri.

Some Kickapoos, however, under Chief Mecina and the prophet Kenakuk, continued to resist relocation by passive means as well as guerrilla tactics. They were finally forced to move to Kansas in the early 1830s following their defeat in Black Hawk's war. Most Missouri Kickapoos had accepted a reservation in Kansas in 1832. Some later fought with the United States against the Seminole in 1837.

From their base in Kansas, the tribe broke into several smaller groups, some remaining in Kansas and some migrating to Oklahoma, Texas, and Mexico. Horse-stealing raids, particularly in Texas, were an important activity throughout much of the nineteenth century. In 1862, some Kickapoo land was allotted and some was sold to a railroad company.

In the early to mid-1860s, fighting erupted between Mexican Kickapoos and Texas Rangers attempting to prevent some Kansas Kickapoos from crossing Texas to join their relatives. In the 1870s, the U.S. Army illegally crossed the Mexican border and destroyed the main Kickapoo village in Mexico. They also brought a group of women and children back to the Indian Territory as hostages; many men then agreed to leave Mexico and join them there.

In 1883, these people were granted a 100,000-acre reservation in Oklahoma. However, when that reservation was allotted ten years later and pressure to assimilate increased, many people returned to Mexico, first to Nacimiento and then to northern Sonora. In 1908, the Kansas reservation was allotted to individuals. In 1937, the Kansas Kickapoos reorganized under the Indian Reorganization Act. They successfully resisted termination in the 1950s.

*See also* Agriculture; Algonquin; Horse, Economic Impact; Termination.

## Lenápe

"Lenápe," or Leni Lenápe, means "Human Beings" or "Real People" in the Unami dialect. The Lenápes were part of a group of Algonquin speakers from North Carolina to New York. This group numbered around 10,000 in 1600. The Lenápe tribes who lived around the Delaware River are more commonly known as Delaware Indians. This central group of northeastern Algonquin Indians was referred to as "grandfather" by other Algonquin tribes, in recognition of its position as the group from which many local Algonquin tribes diverged.

Like many Algonquins, the Lenápes believed in a great spirit (manitou) as well as the presence of other spirits in all living things. Personal guardian spirits were acquired in adolescence and were said to be connected with future success. The bear sacrifice, held in the midwinter, was the most important of at least five annual religious festivals. Others revolved around foods, such as maple sugar (early





spring), corn (late spring and late summer), and strawberries (early summer), as well as curing.

After death, spirits were said to travel to an afterlife. Names were given with the benefit of a personal vision by the name giver, which enhanced his or her status. Chiefs often served as religious as well as political leaders of the village. Shamans of both sexes were responsible for holding the curing ceremonies.

Each of the three autonomous divisions maintained its own territory; there was never any political unity. Each village group of several hundred people had its own hereditary chief (sachem or sagamore). The chief had no coercive powers, instead acting as mediator, adviser, and hunt leader. With the chief, other lineage leaders and elders formed a council. Village groups were autonomous, but they often acted in concert for purposes of hunting drives and defense.

There were traditionally three matrilineal clans. Women grew and prepared foods, took care of children, gathered firewood, and prepared skins. Men hunted, fished, traded, fought, cured, made houses and most tools, and served as chiefs. People from the coast tended to visit the interior in the spring, when they moved to fishing and hunting camps, whereas people from the interior visited the coast in the summer. Murder was generally expiated by a payment.

Premarital girls were secluded and observed strict behavioral taboos during their periods. Premarital sexual relations were condoned, but adultery was not, except when consent was given, such as in wife lending on the part of a polygynous chief. Divorce was easily and frequently obtained. Corpses were buried in a sitting position with some possessions. Mourners blackened their faces and visited the grave annually.

Each of thirty to forty villages, located on river and tributary meadows, was surrounded by fields and hunting grounds. Houses were circular, domed wigwams or thirty- to sixty-foot (but up to 100-foot) multifamily, grass or bark-covered, single-doorway longhouses with both pitched and arched roofs. Both dwellings contained smoke holes. Interior longhouses may have been palisaded in times of war.

From at least about 1300, inland groups depended mostly on corn; beans and squash were also important. Game hunted in seasonal trips included deer, elk, bear, raccoons, rabbit, wolves, squirrel, and fowl. Fire surrounds were used as part of a general practice of burning the undergrowth of

certain lands. Men also trapped various small mammals, turkeys, and other birds. Coastal people depended mainly on fish and shellfish (generally dried and preserved), seaweed, birds, berries, and meat and oil from stranded whales. Women gathered various roots, greens, wild fruits, and nuts as well as maple sap. Tobacco was also grown.

The Walum Olum ("red score") was a pictographic history, painted or engraved on wood or bark, of the people's legends and early migrations. A later manuscript, the only one that survives in any form, interpreted the pictographs in the Lenápe language. Men made dugout and bark canoes. The Lenápes traded in, among other items, rounded-bottom pots; grass mats, bags, and baskets; wampum (polished shell); and bark and skin containers. Woven items, such as baskets, were decorated with painted spruce roots or porcupine quills.

Women made clothing of deerskins and furs. People generally wore few clothes, such as breechclouts for men and skin kilts for women, in warm weather. Both added leggings, deerskin moccasins, and robes of bear or other skins in the winter. Other items of clothing included turkey feather cloaks, leather belts, and temporary cornhusk footwear. People dressed their hair and bodies with bear or raccoon grease mixed with onion, in part as a protection against the sun and insects. Various personal adornments included earrings and necklaces, tattoos, and body paint.

According to the Walum Olum, the Lenápes may have originated to the northeast, possibly in Labrador, where they were united with the Shawnees and the Nanticokes. They may have passed through the eastern Great Lakes region and the Ohio Valley, where they met and possibly defeated Hopewell Mound Builder people. They likely encountered non-Natives in the early to mid-sixteenth century.

Contact with Henry Hudson in 1609 was followed by the people's rapid involvement in the fur trade. In short order, their dependence on items of non-Native manufacture, such as metal items, guns, and cloth, fundamentally altered their economy as well as their relations with neighboring peoples. Other changes in material culture included the introduction of new foods such as pigs, chickens, and melons. In 1626, the Manhattan band of Lenápes traded the use of Manhattan Island to a Dutchman for about \$24 worth of goods. This arrangement was quickly interpreted as a sale by the Dutch, who, unlike the Lenápes, valued property ownership.





Growing numbers of non-Natives, Indian land cessions and pressure for more, and intertribal rivalries brought on by competition over furs led to conflict with the Dutch from the 1640s until the British took possession of the colony in 1663. In 1683, the Lenápe people, represented by Chief Tamanend (from whose name the designation of Tammany Hall was taken), signed a treaty of friendship with the Quaker William Penn (who gave his name to the state of Pennsylvania).

By the late seventeenth century, the Lenápe population had been decimated by disease and warfare. In the early eighteenth century, the Iroquois Confederacy dominated the Lenápe people, even going so far as to sell some of their land to the British. By the middle of that century, more and more Lenápes had moved into western Pennsylvania and the Ohio River Valley. A group of Lenápes established farms in eastern Ohio, but hostilities with non-Natives increased as the frontier moved west. About 100 Lenápes were slaughtered by Kentucky frontiersmen at a Moravian mission in 1782.

Unami speakers living in the lower Allegheny and upper Ohio Valleys in the mideighteenth century formed the nucleus of the emerging Lenápe or Delaware tribe. These people were organized into three groups, or clans—Turkey, Turtle, and Wolf—each with a chief living in a main village. One of the chiefs acted as tribal spokesman. The Lenápes fought the British in the French and Indian War and were generally divided in the Revolutionary War. In 1762, a Lenápe medicine man called Delaware Prophet helped to unite the local Indians to fight in Pontiac's Rebellion. Some Lenápe also participated in Little Turtle's war (1790–1794) and in Tecumseh's Rebellion (1809–1811).

As the non-Natives kept coming, groups of Lenápes continued west into Missouri and even Texas, where they remained until forced into western Oklahoma in 1859. These "absentee Delawares" began hunting buffalo and assumed some aspects of Plains life.

After the Lenápes remaining in Ohio were defeated, with their Indian allies, in the 1794 Battle of Fallen Timbers, they moved to Indiana, Missouri, and Kansas. From their base in Kansas they fought with the Pawnees, who claimed their land, as well as with other Plains tribes. Many also served as scouts in the U.S. Army. After living in Kansas for a couple of generations as farmers, trappers, and guides, they were forced to relocate to Oklahoma in the 1860s.

Following a court battle, these Lenápes became citizens of the Cherokee Nation.

Meanwhile, groups of Munsee speakers had joined the Stockbridge Indians in Massachusetts and New York and moved with them to a reservation in Wisconsin. Others joined the Cayugas in New York and migrated with them to the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario in the late eighteenth century. Still others moved to Canada as well, one group founding a Moravian village in 1792 along the Thames River and another group living at Munceytown. Yet another group joined the Swan Lake and Black River Chippewas near Ottawa, Kansas.

*See also* Algonquin; French and Indian War; Little Turtle; Tecumseh; Women in Native Woodlands Societies.

## Mahican

"Mahican" comes from *Muh-he-con-ne-ok*, "People of the Waters That Are Never Still." This tribe is often confused with the Mohegans, a Connecticut tribe, in part because of the James Fenimore Cooper book *Last of the Mohicans*, a fictional story about a fictional tribe of Indians. There were originally several members of the Mahican confederacy, including, in the late seventeenth century, the Housatonics, Wyachtonocs, and Wappingers.

The Mahican proper (roughly 4,000 to 5,000 in 1600) lived on both sides of the northern Hudson (Mahicanituck) River, in present-day eastern New York and western Vermont. The confederacy was centered around Schodac, near present-day Albany, and included tribes living along the lower Hudson River as well as in western Massachusetts and Connecticut. Mahican was an Algonquin language.

Manitou, the Great Spirit, was present in all things. Some families owned sacred dolls whose spirits were said to protect the owners. The Mahicans celebrated the Green Corn Dance at the beginning of harvest season as well as various first fruits and first game rituals.

Each autonomous village had its own chief and councilors. The positions of lineage leaders and clan chiefs (who may also have been village chiefs) were inherited matrilineally. The head chief, or sachem, kept the tribal bag of peace, which contained wampum, at least in the historical period. As Mahican local and regional power grew, the sachem





acquired three assistants: owl, or orator and town crier; runner, or messenger; and hero, or war chief.

The three matrilineal clans may have inhabited separate villages. Men helped women with the harvest after celebrating the Green Corn festival. Families scattered into the woods in the late fall and remained through the midwinter, when they returned to the villages. Old people remained in the villages all winter long, generally doing craft work. There may have been a recognized system of social status. People were buried in a sitting position. Graves were stocked with provisions for use in the afterlife.

Villages were often located on a hill near a river. At least from the seventeenth century on they were often palisaded. Roughly 200 people lived in a village. Each village contained from three to sixteen long, rectangular bark lodges, as well as domed wigwams, framed with hickory saplings and covered with birch, elm, or basswood bark pressed flat. Longhouses averaged three fireplaces and as many nuclear families. Animal skins were hung on the interior walls for insulation. Villages were moved every ten years or so owing to exhaustion of the land and firewood.

The Mahicans practiced slash-and-burn field clearing and regular rotation of fields. They used fish and ash as fertilizer. Women grew beans, squash, probably sunflowers, and several varieties of corn. Women also gathered waterlily roots, greens, mushrooms, nuts, and berries and made sassafras and wintergreen tea. Maple sap may have been boiled into sugar.

Men hunted game such as bear, deer, moose, beaver, rabbit, otter, squirrel, raccoon, turkey, passenger pigeons, and many other birds. Deer were hunted in fall, moose in spring. In the summer, men gathered mussels and caught herring, shad, and other fish.

Corn was stored in bark containers or bark-lined pits. Most Mahican technology was wood based: Wooden or bark items included bowls, utensils, and containers. Mortars were fire-hollowed stumps. Men made dugout and birchbark canoes as well as snowshoes. Women made pottery and wove baskets, bags, and mats. Containers and clothing were decorated with porcupine quills and paints. Mahicans acted as intermediaries in the shell bead trade from the coast to the Saint Lawrence Valley.

Women made most clothing from finely tanned skins. Men wore breechclouts, and women wore skirts. Both wore shirts, blankets, high leggings, and

moccasins. Both also wore long braids dressed with bear grease and tattooed their faces.

The Mahicans were drawn into the fur trade shortly after they encountered Henry Hudson in 1609. They soon began collecting tribute from the Mohawks for access to a Dutch trade post established in Mahican country in 1614. Shell beads, or wampum, came into use at that time as currency. For a time the Mahicans, trading with the Algonquins to the north, monopolized the regional fur trade.

As nearby fur areas became trapped out, the European powers had some success encouraging their Indian partners to expand through intertribal conflict. With the help of French firearms, for instance, Mohawks drove the Mahicans east of the Hudson River Valley in 1628. The latter reestablished their council fire to the north, around Schaghticoke. Some defeated New England tribes joined this group in the 1670s.

Throughout the late seventeenth century, the Mahicans fought the Munsees, Iroquois, and others in the Piedmont and the Ohio Valley in their quest for pelts. They even ranged as far west as Miami territory, where some of them remained. By 1700 or so, Mahican culture was in retreat, and the people began to sell or otherwise abandon traditional lands to non-Natives. Traditional social and political structures began to break down owing to the demands of the fur trade, as did traditional manufacture and economies. The people also underwent a general moral breakdown, due in part to the influence of alcohol and the general cultural disruption.

In the 1670s, some groups withdrew to live among the Housatonic band of Mahicans, in Westenhunk, although Mahicans also remained in the Hudson River Valley. Some Mahicans also merged with the Saint Francis Abenakis in the Saint Lawrence Valley and joined other Indian communities as well. In the mid-1730s, a group migrated to Wyoming, Pennsylvania, and some resettled in the mission town of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. The so-called Stockbridge Indians fought with the British in the French and Indian War and with the Patriots in the American Revolution. In the mid-1740s, Moravian missionaries persuaded local Indians to remove to the area of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. This group ultimately settled in Ottawa, Canada.

By the mid- to late eighteenth century, the Mahicans had completely lost their subsistence economy. Most survived by selling splint baskets, other crafts, and their labor. Despite assisting the colonies in their various wars of this period, the Stockbridge Mahi-





cans were soon dispossessed, and many joined their relatives in the Susquehanna River area in Pennsylvania, there to merge with other tribes, especially the Algonquin Delawares.

By the end of the American Revolution, most of the dispirited remnant of the Mahican nation had left Stockbridge and nearby areas and settled near the Oneida Indians in New York, where they established a thriving non-Native-style farm and craft community. Between 1818 and 1829, these Indians left the Oneida country and migrated west to Wisconsin, where missionaries had purchased land for them. They moved again several years later, after the Wisconsin Indians repudiated their land sales.

Some of this group dispersed to Kansas or died along the way after an abortive move to the Missouri River in 1839. In 1856, they were granted a reservation in Wisconsin, with the Munsee band of Delaware Indians and, later, a group of Brothertown Indians. (*See also* Pequot.) The community was marked by factionalism and various removals for years.

The tribe lost a significant amount of land in the post-1887 allotment process. It was officially terminated in 1910. In the 1930s, the Stockbridge-Munsee, landless and destitute, reorganized under the Indian Reorganization Act and acquired 2,250 acres of land.

Longtime president of the tribe Arvid Miller helped establish the Great Lakes Intertribal Council in the 1960s. Today, the people observe a traditional twelve-day new year celebration. Most Stockbridge-Munsees are Christians, although some participate in sweat lodge ceremonies. Some people study the Munsee-Mahican language and would like to teach it. Most traditional culture has been lost. The tribe hosts a large powwow in early August.

*See also* American Revolution, Native American Participation; Cooper, James Fenimore; Fur Trade.

## Maliseet

"Maliseet," or "Malicite," is probably a Micmac word for "lazy speakers" or "broken talkers." The tribe may be of Passamaquoddy (maritime) and Natick (inland) extraction. Together with the Passamaquoddys, they have also been known as the Etchemin tribe. (*See also* Abenaki; Micmac; Passamaquoddy.) The Maliseets (roughly 1,000 in 1600) traditionally lived along the Saint John River

drainage in present-day New Brunswick, Canada, as well as in northeastern Maine. Maliseets and Passamaquoddys spoke dialects of the same Algonquin language.

Guardian spirits gave people the ability to protect subsistence areas from trespass. They also gave shamans the power to cure, which they did by chanting, blowing, and possibly sucking. Sweat lodges and dances were associated with spiritual power.

Skilled hunters generally provided local leadership. In the seventeenth century there was a supreme hereditary chief who lived at the main village. In general, leadership was more formalized under the confederacy, with graduated civil offices and a war chief. The Maliseets were part of the Abenaki Confederacy from the mideighteenth century to the mid- to late nineteenth century, when the confederacy ceased to exist.

The people came together in large villages in the summer and dispersed into small hunting camps in the winter. They preferred football, a kicking game, to lacrosse. They also played any number of dice gambling games. Herb doctors could be men or women.

Men served their prospective in-laws for at least a year before marriage. During this period, the woman made the man's clothing and footwear. Weddings were marked by feasting, oratory, and the formal recognition of the groom's ancestry. At least in the historical period, sexual mores were strict, and divorce was rare. Children were generally treated gently and with a high degree of freedom, at least when compared with the early French in the area.

Some summer villages were palisaded. They included multi- and single-family dwellings. The former were conical, pole-frame wigwams covered with birchbark; the latter, as well as council houses, were rectangular log-frame structures with birchbark roofs. Council houses could hold up to 100 people.

Farming, especially of corn, was the key economic activity. Harvested corn was either stored or taken on the winter hunts. Men hunted inland animals such as moose, bear, otter, and muskrat. They also fished for salmon, bass, and sturgeon. This, with wild grapes and roots gathered by the women, made up most of the summer diet. Women also gathered fiddlehead ferns in early spring.

Corn was stored in bark-lined pits. Various birchbark items included canoes, containers, baskets, dishes, and boxes, some of which were decorated





with porcupine quills. Cordage came from spruce roots or cedar bark. The crooked knife was an important woodworking tool. Men made lightweight canoes of birchbark, moose hide, or spruce bark. They also made snowshoes. They summoned moose with a birchbark calling instrument. Musical instruments included boards (for beating time), drums, rattles, flageolets, and flutes. Although part of a wide-ranging network, the Maliseets traded mainly among local groups.

The basic dress was breechclouts for men, dresses for women, and moccasins. Furs and heavy skins were used in cold weather. Beaverskin caps protected people's heads from the cold. There were also temporary raincoats made of birchbark.

The Maliseet people may have come to their historical territory from the southwest, where they probably had contact with the Ohio Mound Builders in ancient times. They may also have been united with the Passamaquoddys in the distant past. Their first contact with non-Natives probably occurred in the early seventeenth century when they met Samuel de Champlain, although they may have encountered fishers from northern and western Europe as much as a century earlier.

A growing involvement in the French fur trade led to a parallel dependence on items of non-Native manufacture. The people also accepted Catholic missionaries in the seventeenth century. Throughout the eighteenth century, the Maliseet population declined sharply as a result of disease, abuse of alcohol, and loss of land. They joined the pro-French Abenaki Confederacy in the mideighteenth century. They also sided with the French in the colonial wars and intermarried with them.

By the late eighteenth century, British settlers had pushed the Maliseets out of many of their best subsistence areas, and the traditional annual round of subsistence activities had been seriously disrupted. Reserves were established from 1876 on, although the Maliseets resisted a sedentary lifestyle for a long time. In the mid- to late nineteenth century, many Maliseets worked as loggers, stevedores, craftspeople, guides, and farm laborers. Logging and potato farming transformed the region in the 1870s. Local Maliseets, such as the several families who roamed around Houlton, Maine, also worked as house cleaners and in the mills, made baskets, and hunted, fished, and gathered foods where possible.

In the twentieth century, some old communities were abandoned, as many people congregated in a few reservations or moved off the reservations alto-

gether. Along with other landless Indians, Maliseets formed the Association of Aroostook Indians in 1970.

Services by the state of Maine date from 1973. Although the Houlton band receives numerous benefits as a party to the 1980 Maine Indian Land Claims Settlement Act, such as cash, land, and access to federal services, many unaffiliated Maliseet families remain without services or recognition. Maliseets and Passamaquoddys have long enjoyed close relations and continue to intermarry. Canadian Maliseets have largely assimilated into French society. Few people outside of New Brunswick speak the Native language fluently. The Tobique Reservation operates its own school as well as shops selling locally made arts and crafts. The Wabanaki Aboriginal Music Festival is held there over Labor Day weekend. Saint-Anne Day is celebrated in July.

*See also* Agriculture; Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act; Ohio Valley Mound Culture.

## Menominee

"Menominee" comes from *Manomini*, Anishinabe for "Wild Rice People." The Menominees were culturally related to the Winnebagos and Anishinabes. Prior to contact with non-natives, roughly 3,000 Menominees controlled nearly 10 million acres along the northwestern shore of Lake Michigan and west into central Wisconsin. Menominees speak an Algonquin language.

Mecawetok, who may have been identified with the sun, was the Great Spirit and supreme creative force. There were many levels of deities and spirits, some friendly and some evil; the latter were assumed to reside below the earth. Most people sought to obtain spiritual power with the help of a guardian spirit, which one acquired in a vision through fasting and dreaming. Dreams were in some ways the entire basis of living: They determined an individual's sacred songs, dances, and ceremonies. One's power was said to increase with age.

Medicine bundles contained various personal sacred charms. There may have been several old religious cults made up of medicine men or people with outstanding power. People with particularly strong powers included witches and "jugglers." The latter were curers and diviners.

The Midewiwin, or Medicine Lodge Society, was a secret society of shamans. Membership was by invitation or inheritance; initiation was highly ritual-





ized. Each member possessed a medicine bag as well as strong and benevolent medicines. The Dream Dance or Drum Dance contained some pre-contact elements.

Clan chiefs were probably hereditary. Chiefs of the Bear Clan served as tribal chiefs, and the various lineage chiefs made up the village council. Non-hereditary chiefs achieved status through their dreams or war exploits. These people might be war leaders, lead public celebrations, or enjoy other duties and responsibilities.

A band system replaced clans and villages during the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century. Bands tended to follow clan lines but were mostly based on friendships. The hereditary system of leadership became less important, replaced by skills such as excellence in trapping and an ability to negotiate with non-Natives. There was also a tribal council from this time on.

The Menominees were divided into two divisions: Bear and Thunderbird. Each was in turn divided into patrilineal clans. Smoking tobacco accompanied nearly every important activity. Certain relatives were allowed or encouraged to joke with each other as a means of maintaining social mores and order.

The male sphere included ceremonies, tool and weapon manufacture, and war. Women saw to the home and children; grew, collected, and prepared all food; were responsible for firewood, water, and carrying goods; and made clothing and items associated with food and the home. Women could also participate in many male activities, such as fishing, hunting, dancing, and some power ceremonies.

Boys and girls undertook ten-day dream fasts at puberty; these were the culmination of short childhood fasts. There was also a feast following a boy's first game kill. Children were toughened by icy plunges into water and other ordeals. Women were isolated during their menstrual periods and after childbirth because they were thought to threaten the balance of spiritual power.

Marriages were generally arranged by elders, who took their lead from a couple to a greater or lesser degree. Men might have more than one wife. Corpses were placed on scaffolds, but in the later historical period they were painted red and placed in birchbark coffins, along with personal items. Mourners blackened their faces with charcoal, but funerals were accompanied by feasting and sport.

Winter houses were domed wigwams, with cattail and reed mats placed over bent saplings. These

structures were especially used after contact with non-Natives in winter hunting camps. Rectangular summer houses were made of bark over a pole framework. Other hut-type buildings were used for sweat lodges, for women's seclusion, and for ceremonial purposes. Permanent villages usually contained a lacrosse field.

Wild rice—which is not rice but a grass seed—gave this tribe its name and was a staple, along with fish. It was collected in the summer by people, usually women, in canoes. The method entailed bending the plants over and knocking them with paddles; the seeds fell into the bottom of the canoes. They were then dried, pounded, and winnowed, with the grain boiled and served in a stew or with maple syrup.

Men hunted large game, such as deer and buffalo. They also hunted small game from canoes. Men also fished for sturgeon and other fish in Green Bay and in nearby streams. They fished through the ice in the winter. Women grew small gardens of corn, beans, squash, and tobacco. They also gathered berries and maple sap.

Fish were caught using traps, hooks, spears, and woven bark fiber gill nets. Women wove pouches of plant fibers and buffalo hair. They also wove and dyed cattail, rush, or cedar-bark mats and winnowing trays, and they made pottery. Menominee women made especially fine pottery, pouches, and clothing decorated with porcupine quills and animal hair. Men made bark and dugout canoes as well as snowshoes. Wild rice was a major export, as were items made of stone and wood. The people imported buffalo hides and other Prairie items, catlinite (pipe-stone), and copper.

Men wore deerskin breechcloths, shirts, leggings, and moccasins. Women wore woven nettle shirts as well as deerskin robes, leggings, and moccasins. Both decorated their clothing with paint and porcupine quills. Both also wore copper jewelry and rubbed oil and grease on their hair and bodies.

Shortly after the first non-Natives made contact with the Menominee people in the midseventeenth century, Iroquois warriors drove the Menominees into the Green Bay area, possibly from Michilimackinac. Jesuit missionaries arrived among them in 1671. The people maintained generally friendly relations with non-Natives, especially the French, with whom they occasionally intermarried.

Participation in the fur trade from the late seventeenth century through the early nineteenth century broke the tribe into small, mobile bands of hunters-trappers. They avoided many of the colonial





and other wars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, although some sided with the British in the American Revolution and the War of 1812. With the fur-bearing animals depleted, and under pressure from non-Natives, the Menominees in 1854 ceded all of their remaining lands except for a reservation on the Wolf River in north central Wisconsin.

On the reservation, a split soon developed between traditionalists and progressives. Some people tried farming in the later nineteenth century, but because this was generally unsuccessful, many soon turned to lumbering. In the early twentieth century, with the help of the U.S. Forest Service, the Menominees began harvesting their prime timber resources for sustained yield. Their sawmill became the center of economic activity and the tribe's most important employer. Despite the government's mismanagement of the tribe's timber resources (for which the tribe won a legal judgment and collected an award of over \$7.5 million in 1951), the Menominees were among the country's most economically stable and prosperous tribes by the early 1950s.

However, in 1961, the tribe was officially terminated (removed from its special relationship with the federal government). The reservation became a county and the tribe a corporation. The Menominees are perhaps the classic termination disaster. Termination-related expenses soon depleted their cash reserves. When the hospital was forced to close, the people experienced a sharp rise in tuberculosis and other health problems. The low tax base could not finance needed government services, and the tribe sank into poverty. Faced with total financial collapse, it was forced in the late 1960s to sell off prime waterfront real estate to non-Natives—perhaps the point of the termination in the first place.

In reaction to these developments and to the related possibility that non-Natives would make up a majority of the county's voters, a new organization, the Determination of Rights and Unity for Menominee Shareholders (DRUMS), called for a new federal trust relationship for the tribe as well as tribal self-determination. Although termination was reversed in 1973, and most of the former reservation was restored, the tribe has yet to recover from the devastating effects of the termination.

Today, most tribal members are Christians, although the Big Drum religion is also popular, as are the Ojibwa-based Warrior's Dance, the Native American Church, and Medicine Lodge ceremonies. A renewed clan structure exists among the people. The language is in use and taught in school. The Col-

lege of the Menominee Nation is located in Keshena. The people host an annual powwow. Substance abuse remains a daunting challenge. The tribe is committed to maintaining its sovereignty and its Indian identity.

*See also* Fur Trade; Language and Language Renewal; Termination.

## Miami

"Miami" is possibly from the Ojibwa word *Omaumeg* ("People of the Peninsula") or from their own word for pigeon. Their original name may have been Twaatwaa, in imitation of a crane. The traditional bands were the Atchatchakangouens, Kilatikas, Mengakonkias, Pepicokias, Weas, and Piankashaws. Miamis were culturally and linguistically related to the Illinois. From a position possibly south of Lake Michigan, roughly 4,500 Miamis moved into northern Illinois and southern Wisconsin in the midseventeenth century. Miami is an Algonquin language.

In addition to the supreme Miami deity, the sun, there were also lesser manitous, or spirits. Both sexes undertook a vision quest at puberty, for which they began training by fasting at a young age. Some men were directed by their guardian spirit to act and dress like women; this role was generally accepted, although if they engaged in warfare they did so as men. Priests who cured with magic powers made up the Midewiwin, or Grand Medicine Society. There were also shamans who cured with herbs and plant medicines. The most important ceremonies focused on the harvest and the return from the winter hunt.

The six traditional bands had consolidated by the eighteenth century into four: the Miamis proper, the Pepicokias, the Weas, and the Piankashaws. Of these, the second soon merged into the last two, which by the nineteenth century acted as separate tribes. Even in the nineteenth century, each of the three Miami tribes was divided into bands.

Each village had a council made up of clan chiefs; the council in turn confirmed a village chief, generally a patrilineally inherited position, who was responsible for civil functions and was in turn supported by the people. There was also a war chief who oversaw war rituals. This person generally inherited his position but might obtain it by merit (as was the case with Little Turtle). There were also parallel female peace and war chiefs: The former





supervised feasts, and the latter provisioned war parties and could demand an end to various types of hostilities.

The village council also sent delegates to the band council, which in turn sent delegates to the tribal council. All leaders enjoyed respect and a great deal of authority. In fact, early tribal chiefs may have had a semidivine status, reflecting the influence of Mound Builder culture.

The Miamis recognized roughly five patrilineal clans and possibly a dual division. Names were clan specific, although adults might change names to alter their luck or to avert bad luck. Children were rarely punished; parental instruction and discipline consisted mostly of lectures and behavior modeling. Marriages were either arranged or initiated by couples. Killing an adulterous wife (or clipping off the end of her nose) or an abusive husband was condoned; however, other murders were avenged either by blood or by money or property.

Burial, either extended or seated, took place on scaffolds, in hollowed-out logs, and in small, sealed huts. Only food and water and perhaps some personal adornments went with the corpse. Postfuneral activities included a performance of the dead's favorite dance or activity and, if a parent, a ceremonial adoption of a new parent a year later.

The people built small summer villages along river valleys. Private houses were made of an oval pole framework covered with woven cattail or rush mats. There were also village council houses. Structures in winter hunting camps tended to be covered with elm bark or hides. Miamis developed and grew a particularly fine variety of corn, in addition to beans, squash, and, later, melons. Men hunted buffalo on the open prairies, using fire surrounds and bow and arrow before they acquired horses. Women also gathered wild roots and other plant food.

Miamis exported agricultural products, pipes, and buffalo products. They imported shell beads, among other items. Except for soft-soled moccasins, men often went naked in the summer; women wore a wraparound skirt, leggings, and a poncho. In the winter, men wore deerskin shirts and breechclouts. Men wore their hair in a roach and were extensively painted and tattooed. Some items of clothing were decorated by quillwork with bands in a twining or geometric pattern. Buffalo skin robes were also painted with representational and geometric designs.

With the help of the council, war chiefs decided whether to wage war. War rituals, such as the all-night war dance and the homecoming of a successful

war party, were clan based, and leaders of war parties were not considered responsible for deaths or members of their own clan. Warriors carried large buffalo hide shields.

Miami culture evolved at least in part from the prehistoric Ohio Mound Builders. In the midseventeenth century, the people effected a temporary retreat west of the Mississippi in the face of Iroquois war parties; Dakota pressure, including a huge military defeat, sent them back east (with French assistance). Peace was established between the Miamis and the Iroquois in 1701.

Miamis traded with the French from the mid-seventeenth century on but tended to side with the British in the colonial wars. Some Miamis guided Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet down the Mississippi in the 1670s. The tribe experienced early factionalism over the issue of Christianity. The Miamis participated in Pontiac's Rebellion (1763), after which they ceded most of their Ohio lands and concentrated in Indiana. They fought with the British against the Americans in the Revolutionary War.

The Miami War, also known as Little Turtle's War, was led by the great strategist Michikinikwa, or Little Turtle. The Indian coalition included Objibwas, Ottawas, Lenápes, Shawnees, Potawatomis, and Illinois as well as Miamis. The war was a defensive one, fought to contain non-Native settlement of the Ohio Valley. The coalition enjoyed significant victories in the early years, thanks mainly to Michikinikwa's strategy of guerrilla warfare. In the end, however, sheer numbers of non-Native soldiers wore the Indians down. Although Michikinikwa foresaw the inevitable defeat and advised a cessation of hostilities, the coalition replaced him with another leader and was decisively defeated at the Battle of Fallen Timbers in 1794. The ensuing Treaty of Greenville forced local Indians to cede all of Ohio and most of Indiana to the United States.

The Miamis underwent a dramatic population decline beginning in the late eighteenth century. Groups of Weas and Piankashaws began moving to Missouri as early as 1814. The United States forcibly removed a group of about six hundred Miamis to Kansas in 1846. In 1854, these groups came together to join the remnants of the Illinois tribe, forming the Confederated Peoria Tribe. They were later relocated to Oklahoma. There, in 1873, the Miamis joined that confederacy, which changed its name to the United Peoria and Miami. The group that remained in Indiana consisted of about 1,500 people whose chiefs had been granted private land.





By the early twentieth century, Miami land in both Oklahoma and Indiana had largely been lost through allotment and tax foreclosure. With the loss of their lands, both communities, but especially the one in Indiana, suffered significant population loss, as people moved away to try to survive. Forty years after the Indiana Miamis lost federal recognition in 1897, they organized a nonprofit corporation in an effort to maintain their identity.

The Indiana Miamis meet twice annually and hold an annual picnic in August. Their agenda for years has focused on reinstating federal recognition, reacquiring land, and economic development. Both Miami tribes, in Indiana and Oklahoma, helped found the Minnetrista Council for Great Lakes Native American Studies, in Muncie, Indiana, an organization dedicated to preserving and promoting Woodlands culture.

*See also* Algonquin; Little Turtle; Ohio Valley Mound Culture; Pontiac.

## Micmac

"Micmac," or "Mi'kmaq," means "allies." The Micmacs called their land *Megumaage* and may have called themselves *Souriquois*. They were members of the Abenaki Confederacy in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Culturally similar to the Maliseets, Penobscots, and Passamaquoddys, they were known to the seventeenth-century British as Tarantines, possibly meaning "traders." The people were traditionally located in southeast Quebec, the Maritime Provinces, and the Gaspé Peninsula of eastern Canada. The Micmac population was between 3,000 and 5,000 in the sixteenth century. Micmac was an Algonquin language.

Manitou, the ubiquitous creative spirit, was identified with the sun. Other deities in human form could be prevailed upon to assist mortals. All animals, but especially bears, were treated with respect, in part because it was believed that they could transform themselves into other species. The Micmacs' rich mythology included Gluscap, the culture hero, as well as several types and levels of magical beings, including cannibalistic giants. Shamans were generally men and could be quite powerful. They cured, predicted the future, and advised hunters.

Small winter hunting groups, composed of households, came together in the summer as bands,

in seven defined districts. They also joined forces for war. Bands were identified in part through the use of distinctive symbols. There were three levels of chiefs, all with relatively little authority. Local hunting groups of at least thirty to forty people were led by a hereditary headman (sagamore), usually an eldest son of an important family. These groups were loosely defined and of flexible membership. Chiefs of local groups provided dogs for the hunt, canoes, and food reserves. Sagamores also kept all game killed by unmarried men, and some of the game killed by married men.

The general Micmac worldview valued moderation, equality, generosity, bravery, and respect for all living things. When the people gathered together from the spring through the fall, each group camped at a traditional place along the coast. There was a recognized social ranking in which commoners came below three levels of chiefs but above slaves, who were taken in war.

Children as well as the elderly were treated with respect and affection, although little or no effort was made to help ill or old people remain alive. There were many occasions for feasting and dancing, especially as part of life cycle events. The Micmacs probably observed a woman's puberty ceremony; boys were considered men when they had killed their first large game. There were elaborate menstrual taboos, including seclusion. Older brothers and sisters generally avoided each other. Men used the sweat lodge for purification.

Marriages were generally arranged. A prospective husband, usually no less than twenty years of age, spent at least two years working for his future father-in-law as a hunter and general provider. After the probationary period, he provided game for a big wedding feast, including dancing (first marriages only). The birth of children formalized a marriage. Adultery was rare, although polygyny was practiced. Longevity (life spans over 100 years) was not unusual before contact with Europeans.

Micmacs built their inland winter camps near streams. Single extended families lived in conical wigwams of birchbark, skins, or woven mats. Each had a central indoor fireplace. The inside was divided into several compartments for cooking, eating, sleeping, and other activities. Floors were covered with boughs, and fur-covered boughs served as beds. The people may have had rectangular, open, multifamily summer houses.

In the winter, small bands hunted game such as moose, bear, caribou, and porcupine. They also





trapped smaller game and ate land and water birds (and their eggs). Meat and fish were eaten fresh, roasted, broiled, boiled, or smoked. Pounded moose bones yielded a nutritious “butter.” People fished in the spring and summer for eel, salmon, cod, herring, sturgeon, and smelt. They also collected shellfish and hunted seals and other marine animals. They also gathered a number of wild berries, roots, and nuts. They occasionally ate dog, especially at funeral feasts, but they generally avoided snakes, amphibians, and skunks.

Men made birchbark moose calls and boxes. They also made double-edged moose-bone-blade spears and bows and stone-pointed arrows for hunting as well as snares and deadfalls for trapping. Women made reed and coiled spruce-root baskets, woven mats, and possibly pottery. Micmacs generally served as trade intermediaries between northern hunters and southern farmers. Men built eight- to ten-foot-long, seaworthy birchbark and caribou skin canoes. They made two types of square-toed snowshoes, one for powder and one for frozen surfaces.

People dressed in skin robes fastened with one (men) or two (women) belts, moose skin or deerskin leggings, and moccasins. Men also wore loincloths. Both sexes wore their hair long. People tattooed band symbols on their bodies.

Small population groups came together as bands for war. The people were allied with southern Algonquins as members of the Abenaki Confederacy. The Micmacs adopted some Iroquois war customs, such as the torture of prisoners by women. There was some interband fighting (intraband disputes were generally resolved by individual fighting or wrestling). Captives were taken as slaves, tortured and killed, or, especially in the case of young women, adopted.

The Micmacs were originally from the Great Lakes area, where they probably had contact with the Ohio Mound Builders and were exposed to agriculture. They may have encountered Vikings around 1000. The Cabots, early explorers, captured three Micmacs at their first encounter. Friendly meetings with Jacques Cartier (1523) and Samuel de Champlain (1603) led to a long-term French alliance.

The Micmacs were involved with the fur trade by the seventeenth century, becoming intermediaries between the French and Indian tribes to the south. A growing reliance on non-Native manufactured metal goods and foods changed their cultural and economic patterns, and war, alcohol, and disease vastly diminished their population. In 1610, the Grand

Chief Membertou converted to Catholicism after being cured by priests.

In the eighteenth century, the French armed Micmacs with flintlocks and encouraged them, with scalp bounties, to kill people from the neighboring Beothuk tribe. This they did to great effect, nearly annihilating those Indians, after which they occupied their former territory in Newfoundland. British attempts at genocide against the Indians included feeding them poisoned food, trading them disease-contaminated cloth, and indiscriminate individual and mass murder.

By the mideighteenth century, most Micmacs had become Catholics. They continued fighting the British until 1763. Much of this fighting took place at sea, where the people showed their excellent nautical skills. Following the American Revolution and the end of the fur trade, Micmacs remained in their much diminished traditional area, which was increasingly invaded by non-Natives.

In the nineteenth century, Micmacs were forced to accept non-Indian approval of their leadership as well as a general trimming of lands guaranteed by treaty. The people continued some traditional subsistence activities during the nineteenth century but also moved toward working in the lumber, construction, and shipping industries and as migrant farm labor. They were generally excluded from higher-paying skilled or permanent jobs. Starvation and disease also stalked the people during those years.

Micmacs had lost most of their Canadian reserves by the early 1900s. Schools were located on many of those that remained. Hockey and baseball became very popular before the Depression. Significant economic activities in the early to midtwentieth century included logging, selling splint baskets, and local seasonal labor, such as blueberry raking and potato picking. An administrative centralization of reserves in the 1950s led to increased factionalism and population flight.

In the 1960s, many Micmac men began working in high-steel construction, on projects mainly in Boston. Women used vocational training to find work as nurses, teachers, and social workers. They also became increasingly active in band politics. Canadian Micmacs formed the Union of New Brunswick Indians and the Union of Nova Scotia Indians in 1969 to coordinate service programs and document land claims. They and other landless tribes formed the Association of Aroostook Indians in 1970 to try to raise their standard of living and





fight discrimination. The tribe formed the Aroostook Micmac Council in 1982.

Many Micmacs still speak the Native language, and they tend to be active in various pan-Indian organizations. Most are Catholics. There have been some gains in Canadian Micmacs' quest to regain their hunting and fishing rights. Canadian Micmacs still face severe problems such as substance abuse, discrimination, and a high suicide rate.

*See also* Algonquin; French and Indian War; Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act.

## Mohawk

"Mohawk" is Algonquin for "eaters of men." The Mohawk self-designation was *Kaniengehawa*, "People of the Place of Flint." The Mohawks are one of the five original tribes of the Iroquois League and the Keepers of the Eastern Door of the League. The name "Iroquois" ("real adders") comes from the French adaptation of the Algonquin name for these people. Their self-designation was *Kanonsionni*, "League of the United (Extended) Households." Iroquois today refer to themselves as Haudenosaunee, "People of the Longhouse."

The Mohawks were located mainly along the middle Mohawk River Valley but also north into the Adirondack Mountains and south nearly to Oneonta. At the height of their power, the Iroquois controlled land from the Hudson to the Illinois Rivers and from the Ottawa to the Tennessee Rivers. Today, Mohawks live in southern Quebec and Ontario, Canada, and in the extreme north of New York. There were perhaps 15,000 to 20,000 members of the Iroquois League around 1500 and roughly four thousand Mohawks in the midseventeenth century. Mohawks spoke a northern Iroquois dialect.

The Mohawks recognized Orenda as the supreme creator. Other animate and inanimate objects and natural forces were also considered to be of a spiritual nature. The Mohawks held important festivals to celebrate maple sap and strawberries, as well as corn planting, ripening (Green Corn ceremony), and harvest.

The eight-day new year's festival may have been most important of all. Held in the midwinter, it was a time to give thanks, to forget past wrongs, and to kindle new fires, with much attention paid to new

and old dreams. A condolence ceremony had quasi religious components. Medicine groups such as the False Face Society, whose members wore carved wooden masks, and the Medicine, Dark Dance, and Death Feast Societies (the last two controlled by women) also conducted ceremonies, since most illness was thought to be of supernatural origin. In the early nineteenth century, many Iroquois embraced the teachings of Handsome Lake.

The Iroquois League comprised fifty hereditary chiefs, or sachems, from the constituent tribes. Each position was named for the original holder and had specific responsibilities. Sachems were men, except where a woman acted as regent, but they were appointed by women. The Mohawk sent nine sachems (three from each clan) to meetings of the Iroquois Great Council, which met in the fall and for emergencies. Their symbol at this gathering was the shield.

Debates within the great council were a matter of strict clan, division, and tribal protocols, in a complex system of checks and balances. Politically, individual league members often pursued their own best interests while maintaining an essential solidarity with the other members. The creators of the U.S. government used the Iroquois League as a model of democracy.

Locally, the village structure was governed by a headman and a council of elders (clan chiefs, elders, wise men). Matters before the local councils were handled according to a definite protocol based on the clan and division memberships of the chiefs. Village chiefs were chosen from groups as small as a single household. Women nominated and recalled clan chiefs. Tribal chiefs represented the village and the nation at the general council of the league. The entire system was hierarchical and intertwined, from the family up to the great council. Decisions at all levels were reached by consensus.

Mohawk society was composed of three matrilineal, animal-named clans (Wolf, Bear, and Turtle). The clans in turn were composed of matrilineal lineages. Each owned a set number of personal names, some of which were linked with particular activities and responsibilities.

Women enjoyed a high degree of prestige, being largely equated with the "three sisters" (corn, beans, and squash), and they were in charge of most village activities, including marriage. Great intravillage lacrosse games included heavy gambling. Personal health and luck were maintained by performing various individual rituals, including singing and danc-





ing, learned in dreams. Shamans also used up to 200 or more plant medicines to cure illness.

Young men's mothers arranged marriages with a prospective bride's mother. Divorce was possible but not readily obtained because it was considered a discredit. The dead were buried in a sitting position, with food and tools for use on the way to the land of the dead. A ceremony was held after ten days. The condolence ceremony mourned dead league chiefs and installed successors. A modified version also applied to common people.

In the seventeenth century, Mohawks lived in three main villages (Caughnawagas, Kanagaros, and Tionnontoguens) of thirty or more longhouses, each village with 500 or more people, and other smaller villages as well. The people built their villages near water and often on a hill after about 1300. Some villages were palisaded. Other Iroquois villages had up to 150 longhouses and 1,000 or more people. Villages were moved about twice in a generation, when the firewood and soil were exhausted.

Iroquois Indians built elm-bark longhouses, fifty to 100 feet long, depending on how many people lived there, from about the twelfth century on. The houses held generally two or three but as many as twenty families. There were smoke holes over each two-family fire. Beds were raised platforms; people slept on mats, their feet to the fire, covered by pelts. Upper platforms were used for food and gear storage. Roofs were shingled with elm bark. The people also built some single-family houses.

Women grew corn, beans, squash, and gourds. Corn was the staple and was used in soups, stews, breads, and puddings. It was stored in bark-lined cellars. Women also gathered a variety of greens, nuts, seeds, roots, berries, fruits, and mushrooms. Tobacco was grown for ceremonial and social smoking.

After the harvest, men and some women took to the woods for several months to hunt and dry meat. Men hunted large game and trapped smaller game, mostly for the fur. They also caught waterfowl and other birds, and they fished. The people grew peaches, pears, and apples in orchards from the eighteenth century on.

Iroquois used porcupine quills and wampum belts as a record of events. Wampum was also used as a gift connoting sincerity and, later, as trade money. These shell disks, strung or woven into belts, were probably a postcontact technological innovation. Mohawks obtained birchbark products from the Huron. Elm-bark canoes were roughly twenty-

five feet long. The people were also great runners and preferred to travel on land. Women used woven and decorated tumplines to support their burdens. They used snowshoes in the winter.

Women made most clothing from deerskins. Men wore shirts and short breechclouts and tunics in cooler weather; women wore skirts. Both wore leggings, moccasins, and corn husk slippers in the summer. Robes were made of lighter or heavier skins or pelts, depending on the season. These were often painted. Clothing was decorated with feathers and porcupine quills. Both men and women tattooed their bodies extensively. Men often wore their hair in a roach, whereas women wore theirs in a single braid doubled up and fastened with a thong.

Boys began developing war skills at a young age. Prestige and leadership were often gained through war, which was in many ways the most important activity. Mohawks were known as particularly fierce fighters. In traditional warfare, at least among the Mohawk, large groups met face to face and fired a few arrows after a period of jeering, then engaged in another period of hand-to-hand combat using clubs and spears.

All aspects of warfare, from the initiation to the conclusion, were highly ritualized. War could be decided as a matter of policy or undertaken as a vendetta. Women had a large, sometimes decisive, say in the question of whether or not to fight. During war season, generally the fall, Iroquois war parties ranged up to 1,000 or more. Male prisoners were often forced to run the gauntlet: Those who made it through were adopted, but those who did not might be tortured by widows. Women and children prisoners were regularly adopted. Some captives were eaten.

The Iroquois began cultivating crops shortly after the first phase of their culture in New York was established around 800. Deganawida, a Huron prophet, and Hiawatha, a Mohawk shaman living among the Onondaga, founded the Iroquois League or Confederacy some time between 1000 and 1150.

The Iroquois first met non-Natives in the sixteenth century. There were sporadic Jesuit missions in Mohawk country throughout the midseventeenth century. During these and subsequent years, the people became heavily involved in the fur trade. Trading, fighting, and political intrigue characterized the period. Although they were good at playing the European powers against each other, the Iroquois increasingly became British allies in trade and in the





colonial wars and were instrumental in the ultimate British victory over the French.

Shortly after 1667, a year in which peace was concluded with the French, a group of Mohawk and Oneida Indians migrated north to La Prairie, a Jesuit mission on the south side of the Saint Lawrence River. This group eventually settled south of Montreal at Sault Saint Louis, or Kahnawake (Caughnawaga). Although they were heavily influenced by the French, most even adopting Catholicism, and tended to split their military allegiance between France and Britain, they remained part of the Iroquois League. Some of this group and other Iroquois eventually moved to Ohio, where they became known as the Seneca of Sandusky. They ultimately settled in Indian Territory (Oklahoma).

At about the same time, a group of Iroquois settled on the island of Montreal and became known as Iroquois of the Mountain. Like the people at Caughnawaga, they drew increasingly close to the French. The community moved in 1721 to the Lake of Two Mountains and was joined by other Indians at that time. This community later became the Oka reserve. Other Mohawks traveled to the far west as trappers and guides and merged with Indian tribes there.

Early in the eighteenth century, the first big push of non-Native settlers drove into Mohawk country. Mohawks at that time had two principal settlements and were relatively prosperous from their fur trade activities. The establishment of St. Regis in the mideighteenth century by some Iroquois from Caughnawaga all but completed the migration to the Saint Lawrence area. Most of these people joined the French in the French and Indian War, and their allegiance was split during the American Revolution.

The British victory in 1763 meant that the Iroquois no longer controlled the balance of power in the region. Despite the long-standing British alliance, some Indians joined anti-British rebellions as a defensive gesture. The confederacy split its allegiance in the Revolutionary War, with most Mohawks, at the urging of Theyendanegea (Joseph Brant), siding with the British. This split resulted in the council fire's being extinguished for the first time in roughly 200 years.

The British-educated Mohawk Joseph Brant proved an able military leader in the American Revolutionary War. Despite his leadership and that of others, however, the Mohawks suffered depredations throughout the war, and by war's end their villages had been permanently destroyed. When the

1783 Treaty of Paris divided Indian land between Britain and the United States, British Canadian officials established the Six Nations Reserve for their loyal allies, to which most Mohawks repaired. Others went to a reserve at the Bay of Quinté, which later became the Tyendinaga (Deseronto) Reserve.

The Iroquois council officially split into two parts during that time. One branch was located at the Six Nations Reserve and the other at Buffalo Creek. Gradually, the reservations, as well as relations with the United States and Canada, assumed more significance than intraconfederacy matters. In the 1840s, when the Buffalo Creek Reservation was sold, the fire there was rekindled at Onondaga.

In Canada, traditional structures were further weakened by the allotment of reservation lands in the 1840s; the requirement under Canadian law, from 1869 on, of patrilineal descent; and the transition of league councils and other political structures to a municipal government. In 1924, the Canadian government terminated confederacy rule entirely, mandating an all-male elected system of government on the reserve.

The Native economy gradually shifted from primarily hunting to farming, dependence on annuities received for the sale of land, and some wage labor. The people faced increasing pressure from non-Natives to adopt Christianity and sell more land. The old religion declined during that time, although on some reservations the Handsome Lake religion grew in importance. During the nineteenth century, Mohawks worked as rowers with shipping companies, at one point leading an expedition up the Nile in Egypt. They also began working in construction during that period, particularly on high steel scaffolding.

At Akwesasne (*see* Reservation Economic and Social Conditions), most people farmed, fished, and trapped during the nineteenth century. Almost all resident Indians were Catholic. Government was provided by three United States-appointed trustees and, in Canada, by a mandated elected council. With other members of the confederacy, Mohawks resisted the 1924 citizenship act, selective service, and all federal and state intrusions on their sovereignty.

Mohawks, particularly those from Kahnawake, have earned a first-rate reputation as high-steel workers throughout the United States since the late nineteenth century. People from Kahnawake have pursued self-determination particularly strongly. In 1990 there was a major incident, sparked by the





expansion of a golf course, that resulted in an armed standoff involving local non-Natives and the communities of Oka, Kahnawake, and Kanesatake. Akwesasne Mohawks have continued to battle the U.S. and Canadian governments over a number of issues. In 1968, by blocking the Cornwall International Bridge, they won concessions making it easier for them to cross the international border. The same year, a Mohawk school boycott brought attention to the failure of Indian education. In 1974, they and others established a territory called Ganienkeh on a parcel of disputed land. In 1977, New York established the Ganienkeh Reservation in Altoona. The Akwesasne community has also been beset by fighting from within. Community leaders have had difficulty uniting around divisive issues such as gambling, state sales and cigarette taxes, pollution, sovereignty, and land claims.

As a result of generations having worked in high steel, Mohawk communities exist in some Northeastern cities. Most of these people remain spiritually tied to their traditions, however, and frequently return to the reservations to participate in ceremonies, including Longhouse ceremonies, which have been active at least since the 1930s.

In general, traditional political and social (clan) structures remain intact. One major exception is caused by Canada's requirement that band membership be reckoned patrilineally. The political structure of the Iroquois League continues to be a source of controversy for many Iroquois (Haudenosaunee). Some recognize two seats—at Onondaga and Six Nations—whereas others consider the government at Six Nations a reflection of, or corollary to, the traditional seat at Onondaga. Important issues concerning the confederacy in the later twentieth century include Indian burial sites, sovereignty, gambling casinos, and land claims.

The Six Nations Reserve is still marked by the existence of progressive and traditional factions, with the former generally supporting the elected band council and following the Christian faith and the latter supporting the confederacy and the Longhouse religion. Traditional Iroquois Indians celebrate at least ten traditional or quasi traditional events, including the Midwinter, Green Corn, and Strawberry ceremonies. Iroquois still observe condolence ceremonies as one way to hold the League together after roughly 500 years of existence. The code of Handsome Lake, as well as the Longhouse religion, based on traditional thanksgiving ceremonies, is

alive on the Six Nations Reserve and in other Iroquois communities.

*See also* Agriculture; Brant, Joseph; French and Indian War; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Hiawatha; Wampum.

## Mohegan

*See* Mahican; Pequot.

## Nanticoke

"Nanticoke" comes from *Nentego*, "Tidewater People." The Nanticokes were one of a group of similar Algonquin Indian tribes that also included the Choptanks, Assateagues, Pocomokes, Patuxents, Conoys, and Piscataways. (*See also* Lenápe.) In 1600, roughly 12,000 Nanticokes lived on the peninsula between Delaware and Chesapeake Bays. Nanticokes and their neighbors spoke Algonquin languages.

The people recognized good and evil deities, and there may have been a formal priesthood. First fruits ceremonies were directed at a benevolent deity. A great chief or sachem was the overall leader. Each village may also have been ruled by a lesser chief, who might be a woman. The office of chief was probably inherited. The people also recognized war captains.

Descent was matrilineal. There may have been a social hierarchy, with the chiefs and their councilors having more material worth and respect. The people poisoned their enemies and even other tribal members. Shell bead money could be used as compensation for crimes and to purchase trade goods. The people may have observed a male puberty ceremony as well as polygyny.

Corpses were buried or placed on scaffolds. In the historical period, their bones were stored temporarily in log houses, whose shelves also held pipes and other personal belongings. Bones of up to several hundred people were later buried to the accompaniment of a spirit dance, which was meant to send them off to the afterlife. Chiefs' bones were preserved in temples.





There were at least five Nanticoke towns in the early seventeenth century. These were built along stream banks, and some were palisaded, especially those closest to the Iroquois. The Nanticokes were notable traders. Their art included pottery, woven baskets, and carved wood bowls. Baskets were decorated with spruce or porcupine quills.

Women planted corn, beans, and pumpkins. They pounded corn in mortars to make meat, fish, or vegetable hominy. They also gathered nuts and other wild foods. Fishing and shellfishing took place in the summer. The whole village removed to the woods for the fall hunt for deer, bear, turkey, squirrel, and other small game and fowl.

Skin clothing consisted of breechclouts and knee-length aprons fastened with a belt. Children generally remained naked. People wore fur cloaks in the winter and cloaks without fur in the summer. They painted their faces and bodies and covered themselves with bear grease.

The Nanticokes may have originated toward the northeast, possibly in Labrador, with the Shawnees and the Lenápes. They may also have passed through the eastern Great Lakes region and the Ohio Valley, where they met and possibly defeated Hopewell Mound Builder people.

Contact in 1608 with British Captain John Smith probably came a generation or two later than their neighbors' encounters with earlier British and Spanish explorers. In any case, the people soon became involved in the local beaver trade. Some groups allied themselves with the British as protection against Iroquois raids. In eastern Maryland, some groups, including the Nanticokes, continued to have problems with the British, based on the presence of alcohol and disease, throughout most of the seventeenth century.

British settlers granted the Nanticokes a reservation in 1684 between Chicacoan Creek and the Nanticoke River. The British also reserved the right to confirm Nanticoke leaders and to collect a formal tribute. Nanticokes and other neighboring tribes also became subordinate to the Iroquois Confederacy during that time. After non-Natives usurped their original reservation, in 1707 the people obtained a 3,000-acre tract on Delaware's Broad Creek, which was sold in 1768. In 1742, they were forced to eliminate the position of grand chief. In 1744, with Iroquois permission, they settled near Wyoming, Pennsylvania, and along the Juniata River, although ten years later they were living farther up the

Susquehanna in a former Onondaga town. At about that time they merged with the Piscataways and became administratively linked with the Iroquois Confederacy.

Nanticokes (and many Conoys who had joined them in the 1740s) remained neutral in the French and Indian War, but they sided with the British during the American Revolution. In 1778, about 200 Nanticokes moved to Fort Niagara and subsequently to the Six Nations Reserve in Canada. Some Nanticokes also remained at Buffalo Creek, New York, while another group of Nanticokes and Conoys went west with the Lenápes, ending up in Kansas and, after 1867, in Oklahoma.

Throughout the later nineteenth century and into the twentieth century, the Nanticokes remaining in Delaware gradually lost their official tribal status and were in danger of losing their Indian identity completely. In 1922, the Delaware Nanticokes incorporated as the Nanticoke Indian Association. They elected a chief and assistant chief and began to recapture interest in some of their former traditions. The annual powwow dates from that time.

The Nanticoke Indian Heritage Project, dating from 1977, established a tribal museum and encourages the continued exploration of Indian traditions. The Nanticoke Leni-Lenápe Indians maintain a museum and library, and they host an annual powwow.

*See also* Agriculture, Algonquin; French and Indian War; Smith, John.

## Narragansett

"Narragansett" means "People of the Small Point." It was the name both of a specific tribe and a group of tribes—such as Shawomets, Pawtuxets, Cowesets (Nipmucs), and eastern Niantics—dominated by Narragansett sachems. (*See also* Pequot.) In the sixteenth century, at least 3,000 Narragansetts were located in south central Rhode Island, although the greater Narragansett territory extended throughout all but northwest and the extreme southwest of Rhode Island. Narragansetts spoke an eastern Algonquin language.

Cautantowwit, the supreme deity, lived to the southwest. There were also numerous other spirits or deities, who could and did communicate with people through dreams and visions. Priests or medi-





cine men (powwows) were in charge of religious matters. They were usually men who realized their profession in a dream or a vision experience. Their main responsibilities included curing, bringing rain, and ensuring success in war. A harvest ritual was held in a longhouse near the sachem's house. At one important ceremony, possibly held in the winter, participants burned their material possessions.

Narragansetts recognized a dual (junior and senior) chief or sagamore. Power was shared with a council of elders, sachems, and other leaders. Sachems were responsible for seeing to the public welfare and defense and for administering punishment. The office of sagamore may have been inheritable and was occasionally held by a woman. Within the larger administrative body there were smaller groups presided over by lesser sachems.

People changed their names at various life cycle ceremonies. They were generally monogamous. The dead were wrapped in skins or woven mats and then buried with tools and weapons to accompany them to an afterworld located to the southwest. Narragansetts lived in dome-shaped, circular wigwams about ten to twenty feet in diameter, covered with birch and chestnut bark in the summer and with mats in the winter. Smoke passed through an opening at the top. Winter hunting lodges were small and built of bark and rushes. People erected temporary field houses where they stayed when guarding the crops. Villages were often stockaded.

Women grew corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers; men grew tobacco. The men also hunted moose, bear, deer, wolves, and other game, and they trapped beaver, squirrels, and other small animals and fowl. Deer were stalked and may have been hunted communally. People fished in freshwater and saltwater. They gathered much marine life, including the occasional stranded whale, as well as strawberries and a number of other wild foods.

The Narragansetts were notable traders. They dealt in wampum, skins, clay pots, carved bowls, and chestnuts. They imported carved stone and wooden pipes from the Mohawks. People generally wore deerskin breechclouts, skirts, and leggings. They might also wear turkey feather mantles and moccasins. In the winter they donned bear and rabbit skin robes, caps, and mittens.

This group may have originated well to the southwest of their historical territory. They were the most powerful New England tribe until 1675, dominating neighbors such as the Niantics and Nipmucs.

They may have encountered non-Natives in 1524, although there was no significant contact for another century or so afterward.

Trade with the British and Dutch was under way by 1623. Although the Narragansetts largely avoided the epidemics of 1617–1619, smallpox and other diseases dramatically weakened the people in 1633 and thereafter. As British allies, some Narragansetts fought against the Indians in the Pequot War of 1636–1637. In 1636, the grand sachem Canonius sold land to Roger Williams, on which he established the future state of Rhode Island.

In an effort to protect themselves from non-Native depredations, the tribe voluntarily submitted to Britain in 1644. Despite Williams's entreaties to treat the Indians fairly, many British remained extremely hostile. Eventually, they forced the Narragansett people to join the Nipmucs and Wampanoags in King Philip's War (1675–1676). A huge defeat in December 1675, in which more than 600 Narragansetts were killed and hundreds more captured and sold into slavery, signaled the beginning of the end of the war as well as the virtual destruction of the tribe itself.

After the war, survivors dispersed among the Mahicans, Abenakis, and Niantics, the last group thenceforth assuming the name Narragansett. Some of the Mahicans joined the Brotherton Indians in 1788 (*see* Pequot) and later moved with them to Wisconsin. Those who remained in Rhode Island (probably fewer than 100) worked as servants or slaves of the non-Native settlers, who moved quickly to occupy the vacated Narragansett lands.

The people underwent a general conversion to Christianity in the mideighteenth century, at which time a Christian reservation community was established in Charlestown. After the last hereditary sachem died during that period, government changed to an elected president and council. The last Native speaker died in the early nineteenth century. A constitution was adopted in 1849. All of the Narragansett Reservation, except for two acres, was sold in 1880, and the tribe was terminated by the state at that time. The Rhode Island Narragansetts incorporated in 1934 under the terms of the Indian Reorganization Act.

In 1985, the state of Rhode Island returned two pieces of land of about 900 acres each. The August annual meeting and powwow have been held for the last 250 or more years on the old meeting ground in Charlestown. Other ceremonies are both religious





(such as the Fall Harvest Festival held in the long-house) and secular (such as the commemoration of the 1675 battle) in nature. There are tribal programs for the elderly and for children. Tribal representatives are involved in local non-Native cultural and educational programs.

*See also* Metacom and King Philip's War; Trade; Williams, Roger.

## Ojibwa

*See* Anishinabe.

## Oneida

"Oneida" means "People of the Standing Stone," in reference to a large boulder near their main village. The Oneidas are one of the five original tribes of the Iroquois League. The name Iroquois ("real adders") comes from the French adaptation of the Algonquin name for these people. Their self-designation was *Kanonsionni*, "League of the United (Extended) Households." Iroquois today refer to themselves as Haudenosaunee, "People of the Longhouse."

The Oneidas were located between the Mohawks and the Onondagas, between Lake Ontario and the upper Susquehanna River, especially around Oneida Creek. There were perhaps 15,000–20,000 members of the Iroquois League around 1500, and roughly 1,000 Oneidas in the midseventeenth century. The Oneidas spoke a northern Iroquois dialect.

The Oneidas recognized Orenda as the supreme creator. Other animate and inanimate objects and natural forces were also considered of a spiritual nature. They held important festivals to celebrate maple sap and strawberries as well as corn planting, ripening (Green Corn ceremony), and harvest. The eight-day new year's festival may have been the most important of all. Held in the midwinter, it was a time to give thanks, to forget past wrongs, and to kindle new fires, with much attention paid to new and old dreams. Medicine groups such as the False Face Society, which wore carved wooden masks, and the Medicine, Dark Dance, and Death Feast Societies (the last two controlled by women) also conducted ceremonies, since most ill-

ness was thought to be of supernatural origin. In the early nineteenth century, many Iroquois embraced the teachings of Handsome Lake.

The Iroquois League comprised fifty hereditary chiefs, or sachems, from the constituent tribes. Each position was named for the original holder and had specific responsibilities. Sachems were men, except when a woman acted as regent, but they were appointed by women. The Oneidas sent nine sachems to meetings of the Iroquois Great Council, which met in the fall and for emergencies. Their symbol at this gathering was the great tree.

Locally, the village structure was governed by a headman and a council of elders. Matters before the local councils were handled according to a definite protocol based on the clan and division memberships of the chiefs. Village chiefs were chosen from groups as small as a single household. Women nominated and recalled clan chiefs. Tribal chiefs represented the village and the nation at the general council of the league. The entire system was hierarchical and intertwined, from the family up to the great council. Decisions at all levels were reached by consensus.

The Oneidas recognized a dual division, each composed of probably three matrilineal, animal-named clans. The clans in turn were composed of matrilineal lineages. Each owned a set number of personal names, some of which were linked with particular activities and responsibilities.

Women enjoyed a high degree of prestige, being largely equated with the "three sisters" (corn, beans, and squash), and they were in charge of most village activities, including marriage. Personal health and luck were maintained by performing various individual rituals, including singing and dancing, learned in dreams. Shamans also used up to 200 or more plant medicines to cure illness.

Young men's mothers arranged marriages with a prospective bride's mother. Divorce was possible but not readily obtained because it was considered a discredit. The dead were buried in a sitting position, with food and tools for use on the way to the land of the dead. A ceremony was held after ten days. The condolence ceremony mourned dead league chiefs and installed successors. A modified version also applied to common people.

The main aboriginal village, Onenote, had over sixty longhouses and was palisaded. The people built their villages near water and often on a hill after about 1300. Some Iroquois villages had up to 150 longhouses and 1,000 or more people. Villages





were moved about twice in a generation, when firewood and soil were exhausted.

Iroquois Indians built elm-bark longhouses, fifty to 100 feet long, depending on how many people lived there, from about the twelfth century on. They held around two or three but as many as twenty families, related maternally (lineage segments), as well as their dogs. The people also built some single-family houses.

Women grew corn, beans, squash, and gourds. Corn was the staple and used in soups, stews, breads, and puddings. It was stored in bark-lined cellars. Women also gathered a variety of greens, nuts, seeds, roots, berries, fruits, and mushrooms. Tobacco was grown for ceremonial and social smoking.

After the harvest, men and some women took to the woods for several months to hunt and dry meat. Men hunted large game and trapped smaller game, mostly for the fur. They also caught waterfowl and other birds, and they fished. The people grew peaches, pears, and apples in orchards from the eighteenth century on.

The Iroquois used porcupine quills and wampum belts as a record of events. Wampum was also used as a gift connoting sincerity and, later, as trade money. These shell disks, strung or woven into belts, were probably a postcontact technological innovation.

Oneidas obtained birchbark products from the Huron. They imported copper and shells and exported carved wooden and stone pipes as well as dried salmon. They also raised and traded ginseng with other tribes. Elm-bark canoes were roughly twenty-five feet long. The people were also great runners and preferred to travel on land. They used snowshoes in the winter.

Women made most clothing from deerskins. Men wore shirts and short breechclouts and tunics in cooler weather; women wore skirts. Both wore leggings, moccasins, and corn husk slippers in the summer. Robes were made of light or heavy skins or pelts, depending on the season. These were often painted. Clothing was decorated with feathers and porcupine quills. Both men and women tattooed their bodies extensively. Men often wore their hair in a roach; women wore theirs in a single braid doubled up and fastened with a thong.

Boys began developing war skills at a young age. Prestige and leadership were often gained through war, which was in many ways the most important activity. The title of Pine Tree Chief was a historical invention to honor especially brave war-

riors. Oneidas were known as particularly fierce fighters. In traditional warfare, large groups met face to face and fired a few arrows after a period of jeering, then engaged in another period of hand-to-hand combat using clubs and spears. Population losses were partially offset by the adoption of captives. Former enemies became Oneidas because they were brought in to fill specific roles in specific lineages; the clan mothers could order the death of anyone who did not do what was expected of him.

All aspects of warfare, from the initiation to the conclusion, were highly ritualized. War could be decided as a matter of policy or undertaken as a vendetta. Women had a large, sometimes decisive, say in the question of whether to fight. During war season, generally the fall, Iroquois war parties ranged up to 1,000 miles or more. Male prisoners were often forced to run the gauntlet: Those who made it through were adopted, but those who did not might be tortured by widows. Some captives were eaten.

The Iroquois began cultivating crops shortly after the first phase of their culture in New York was established around 800. Deganawida, a Huron prophet, and Hiawatha, a Mohawk shaman living among the Onondaga, founded the Iroquois League or Confederacy some time between 1000 and 1150. Iroquois first met non-Natives in the sixteenth century. During these and subsequent years, the people became heavily involved in the fur trade. Trading, fighting, and political intrigue characterized the period. Although they were good at playing the European powers against each other, the Iroquois increasingly became British allies in trade and in the colonial wars and were instrumental in the ultimate British victory over the French.

In the late seventeenth century, battles with the French and allied Indian tribes as well as disease epidemics severely reduced the Oneidas' already small population. As much as two-thirds of the tribe members in those years were enemies, such as Hurons and Algonquins. Following the Tuscarora Wars in 1711–1713, people of that tribe began resettling on Oneida land. The Oneidas sponsored the Tuscarora tribe as the sixth member of the Iroquois Confederacy in the early 1720s. Some Oneidas began to drift into the Ohio Valley as early as the mideighteenth century. By that time, longhouse living had seriously declined, with houses of nuclear families taking their places.

The British victory in 1763 meant that the Iroquois no longer controlled the balance of power in





the region. Despite the long-standing British alliance, some Indians joined anti-British rebellions as a defensive gesture. From 1767 on, evangelical missionaries provided a theoretical/religious basis for the new Pine Tree Chiefs/warriors, such as the Susquehannock Shenendoah, to oppose the traditional chiefs. The missionaries attacked traditional religion and politics, and in this were aided by the warriors, who saw a way to topple control by the clan mothers and traditional chiefs. The 1760s were also a time of famine, increased pressure from non-Natives for land, and growing alcohol abuse, all of which provided fertile ground for the missionaries and their new converts.

The confederacy split its allegiance in the Revolutionary War, with most Oneidas (and Tuscaroras), after a period of neutrality, siding with the patriots at the warriors' urging. This split resulted in the council fire's being extinguished for the first time in roughly 200 years. The Oneidas participated in American attacks on the Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca villages. The Iroquois suffered a defeat in 1779 that broke the power of the confederacy. The Oneidas ended the war a scattered people, alienated from their fellow Iroquois, with little food and their traditional social, political, and economic systems in ruins.

The Oneidas welcomed two more groups of Indians in the late eighteenth century. Stockbridge Indians arrived to build the community of New Stockbridge, New York, in 1785. Three years later, a group of Mohegans, Mahicans, Narragansetts, Pequots, Montauks, and other Algonquin Indians, as well as some Oneidas, formed the Brothertown Community near New Stockbridge.

Following the Revolutionary War, New York State and the new U.S. government guaranteed the territorial integrity of nearly 6 million acres of Oneida land. However, the Oneidas bowed to pressure and sold most of their lands in New York, gradually relocating westward. Under the influence of an Episcopal missionary and despite the objections of most Oneidas, about half of the tribe settled around Green Bay, Wisconsin, in the 1820s and 1830s, on land they purchased from the Menominee tribe. Following the Treaty of Buffalo Creek (1838), which called for the removal of all Iroquois from New York to Kansas, other Oneidas moved to the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, Canada, to the Thames River near London, Ontario, to the Onondaga Reservation near Syracuse, and to their original territory near Utica.

The Iroquois council officially split into two parts during that time. One branch was located at the new Six Nations Reserve and the other at Buffalo Creek. Gradually, the reservations as well as relations with the United States and Canada assumed more significance than intraconfederacy matters. In the 1840s, when the Buffalo Creek Reservation was sold, the fire there was rekindled at Onondaga.

In Wisconsin, most people practiced Christianity, with few elements of their traditional religion. Political leadership was based mainly on personal qualities and affiliations, although a hereditary council maintained considerable power. Most land had been allotted by 1908; as usual, the allotments were lost through tax default and foreclosure. At the same time, municipal governments began to replace the tribal structures. Although many people left the community permanently or seasonally to find work, Indian life remained centered on family, medicine societies, church, and several associations.

The Oneida community in Ontario reestablished the traditional tribal council shortly after they arrived in 1839 (although most power was exercised by a general assembly). Clan leaders also represented the tribe at the Council held at the Six Nations Reserve. Kinship ties and traditional medicine societies remained strong. Most people farmed throughout the nineteenth century, with perhaps seasonal lumbering in the winter. In the twentieth century, the economic focus shifted to wage labor in white communities. This development led to increased factionalism and the eventual creation of a parallel tribal council supported by adherents of the Longhouse religion. After a third faction arose in the 1930s, the Canadian government unilaterally mandated an elective system. With other members of the confederacy, the Oneidas have tried to resist governmental intrusions on their sovereignty.

In Wisconsin, most Oneidas are either Episcopalians or Methodists, although some follow the Longhouse religion. Few people speak Oneida, although the tribal school teaches classes in the Native language. Although most people are Christian, there are also many adherents of the Handsome Lake religion among the Ontario Oneida community. Descent is patrilineal by Canadian law, and clan identification has lost much of its significance.

In New York, leadership has been in dispute since at least the 1950s, when a newly organized elective system was more or less successfully challenged by traditionalists. Sachems and clan mothers now hold the leadership positions. Most members





are Christians, although many are also members of the Longhouse religion. The nation operates a health center, youth and elderly programs, and a housing development. Some New York Oneidas still speak the language.

The political structure of the Iroquois League continues to be a source of controversy for many Iroquois (Haudenosaunee). Some recognize two seats—at Onondaga and Six Nations—whereas others consider the government at Six Nations a reflection of or corollary to the traditional seat at Onondaga. Important issues concerning the confederacy in the later twentieth century include Indian burial sites, sovereignty, gambling casinos, and land claims. The Six Nations Reserve is still marked by the existence of progressive and traditional factions, with the former generally supporting the elected band council and following the Christian faith and the latter supporting the confederacy and the Longhouse religion.

Traditional Iroquois Indians also celebrate at least ten traditional or quasi traditional ceremonies, including the Midwinter, Green Corn, and Strawberry. Iroquois still observe condolence ceremonies as one way to hold the League together after roughly 500 years of existence. Many Iroquois continue to see their relationship with the Canadian and U.S. governments as one between independent nations and allies, as opposed to one marked by paternalism and dependence.

*See also* American Revolution, Native American Participation; Deganawidah; Gambling; French and Indian War; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System.

## Onondaga

“Onondaga” means “People of the Hill.” The Onondagas were one of the five original tribes of the Iroquois League. As Keepers of the Council Fire, they hosted the annual great council. The name Iroquois (“real adders”) comes from the French adaptation of the Algonquin name for these people. Their self-designation was *Kanonsionni*, “League of the United (Extended) Households.” Iroquois today refer to themselves as Haudenosaunee, “People of the Longhouse.”

The Onondagas were the geographically central tribe of the Iroquois confederacy, located near Onondaga Lake and the Oswego River, near present-day Syracuse. There were perhaps 15,000 to 20,000

members of the Iroquois League around 1500, and approximately 1,000 Onondagas in the midseventeenth century. Onondagas spoke a northern Iroquois dialect.

The Onondagas recognized Ha-wah-ne-u as the supreme creator. Other animate and inanimate objects and natural forces were also considered of a spiritual nature. They held important festivals to celebrate maple sap and strawberries as well as corn planting, ripening (Green Corn ceremony), and harvest.

The eight-day new year’s festival may have been the most important of all. Held in the midwinter, it was a time to give thanks, to forget past wrongs, and to kindle new fires, with much attention paid to new and old dreams. Medicine groups such as the False Face Society and the Medicine, Dark Dance, and Death Feast Societies (the last two controlled by women) also conducted ceremonies, since most illness was thought to be of supernatural origin. In the early nineteenth century, many Iroquois embraced the teachings of Handsome Lake.

The Iroquois League comprised fifty hereditary chiefs, or sachems, from the constituent tribes. Each position was named for the original holder and had specific responsibilities. Sachems were men, except when a woman acted as regent, but they were appointed by women. The head of the council was always an Onondaga. This person was assisted by a council of two other Onondagas, and a third Onondaga kept the council wampum. The Onondagas sent fourteen sachems to the meetings of the Iroquois Great Council, which met in the fall and for emergencies.

Locally, the village structure was governed by a headman and a council of elders. Matters before the local councils were handled according to a definite protocol based on the clan and division memberships of the chiefs. Village chiefs were chosen from groups as small as a single household. Women nominated and recalled clan chiefs. Tribal chiefs represented the village and the nation at the general council of the league. The entire system was hierarchical and intertwined, from the family up to the great council. Decisions at all levels were reached by consensus.

The Onondagas probably recognized a dual division, each composed of eight matrilineal, animal-named clans. The clans in turn were composed of matrilineal lineages. Each owned a set number of personal names, some of which were linked with particular activities and responsibilities.





Women enjoyed a high degree of prestige, being largely equated with the “three sisters” (corn, beans, and squash), and they were in charge of most village activities, including marriage. Personal health and luck were maintained by performing various individual rituals, including singing and dancing, learned in dreams. Members of the False Face medicine society wore wooden masks carved from trees and used rattles and tobacco. Shamans also used up to 200 or more plant medicines to cure illness.

Dancing was popular; the Onondagas had up to thirty or more different types of dances. Young men’s mothers arranged marriages with a prospective bride’s mother. Divorce was possible but not readily obtained because it was considered a discredit. The dead were buried in a sitting position, with food and tools for use on the way to the land of the dead. A ceremony was held after ten days. The condolence ceremony mourned dead league chiefs and installed successors. A modified version also applied to common people.

In the seventeenth century, Onondagas probably lived in two villages, a large one (roughly 140 longhouses) and a small one (roughly twenty-four longhouses). The people built their villages near water and often on a hill after about 1300. Some villages were palisaded. Other Iroquois villages had up to 150 longhouses and 1,000 or more people. Villages were moved about twice in a generation, when firewood and soil were exhausted.

Women grew corn, beans, squash, and gourds. Corn was the staple and used in soups, stews, breads, and puddings. It was stored in bark-lined cellars. Women also gathered a variety of greens, nuts, seeds, roots, berries, fruits, and mushrooms. Tobacco was grown for ceremonial and social smoking.

After the harvest, men and some women took to the woods for several months to hunt and dry meat. Men hunted large game and trapped smaller game, mostly for the fur. Hunting was a source of potential prestige. They also caught waterfowl and other birds, and they fished. The people grew peaches, pears, and apples in orchards from the eighteenth century on.

Onondagas obtained birchbark products from the Huron. They imported copper and shells and exported carved wooden and stone pipes. Women made most clothing from deerskins. Men wore shirts and short breechclouts and tunics in cool weather; women wore skirts. Both wore leggings, moccasins, and corn-husk slippers in the summer. Robes were made of light or heavy skins or pelts,

depending on the season. Clothing was decorated with feathers and porcupine quills. Both men and women tattooed their bodies extensively. Men often wore their hair in a roach; women wore theirs in a single braid doubled up and fastened with a thong.

Boys began developing war skills at a young age. Prestige and leadership were often gained through war, which was in many ways the most important activity. The title of Pine Tree Chief was a historical invention to honor especially brave warriors. All aspects of warfare, from the initiation to the conclusion, were highly ritualized. War could be decided as a matter of policy or undertaken as a vendetta. Women had a large, sometimes decisive, say in the question of whether to fight. Male prisoners were often forced to run the gauntlet: Those who made it through were adopted, but those who did not might be tortured by widows. Women and children prisoners were regularly adopted. Some captives were eaten.

There were Indians in upper New York at least 10,000 years ago. The Iroquois began cultivating crops shortly after the first phase of their culture in New York was established around 800. Deganawida, a Huron prophet, and Hiawatha, a Mohawk shaman living among the Onondagas, founded the Iroquois League or Confederacy some time between 1000 and 11500.

Iroquois first met non-Natives in the sixteenth century. During those and subsequent years, the people became heavily involved in the fur trade. Trading, fighting, and political intrigue characterized the period. Although they were good at playing the European powers against each other, the Iroquois increasingly became British allies in trade and in the colonial wars and were instrumental in the ultimate British victory over the French.

Still, as a result of trade-motivated efforts to make peace with the French, a pro-French faction existed among the Onondagas from the midseventeenth century on. The French also established a Catholic mission in their territory about that time. By the midseventeenth century, war with the Susquehannocks was taking a heavy toll on the Onondagas and other Iroquois tribes. In fact, captive foreigners outnumbered Onondagas in the tribe by the time the war ended in 1675.

Fighting with the French at the end of the seventeenth century led to the torching and temporary abandonment of the main Onondaga village. In the mideighteenth century, a number of Onondagas and





other Iroquois went to live at Oswegatchie, a mission on the upper Saint Lawrence River. These people became French allies in the French and Indian War, although they sided with the British in the American Revolutionary War.

The British victory in 1763 meant that the Iroquois no longer controlled the balance of power in the region. Despite the long-standing British alliance, some Indians joined anti-British rebellions as a defensive gesture. The Onondagas and the confederacy as a whole split their allegiance in the Revolutionary War. This split resulted in the council fire's being extinguished for the first time in roughly 200 years.

The Iroquois suffered a defeat in 1779 that broke the power of the confederacy. By war's end most of their villages had been destroyed. When the 1783 Treaty of Paris divided Indian land between Britain and the United States, British Canadian officials established the Six Nations Reserve for their loyal allies, to which over 200 Onondagas repaired. Several hundred others moved to Buffalo Creek, New York, where groups of Senecas and Cayugas were living. A 100-square-mile Onondaga Reservation was established in 1788, although most of it had been lost by the early nineteenth century. In 1806, the Oswegatchies were removed. They scattered to St. Regis, Onondaga, and elsewhere in New York.

The Iroquois council officially split into two parts during that time. One branch was located at the Six Nations Reserve and the other at Buffalo Creek. Gradually, the reservations as well as relations with the United States and Canada assumed more significance than intraconfederacy matters. In the 1840s, when the Buffalo Creek Reservation was sold, the fire there was rekindled at Onondaga.

In Canada, the Onondagas, referred to along with the Cayugas and Senecas as the lower tribes, tended to retain more of their traditional beliefs than did the upper Iroquois tribes. Many subsequently adopted the Handsome Lake religion. Slowly, the general influence of non-Natives increased, as tribal councils, consensus decision making, and other aspects of traditional culture fell by the wayside. Traditional structures were further weakened by the allotment of reservation lands in the 1840s. The council eventually came to resemble a municipal government. In 1924, the Canadian government terminated confederacy rule entirely, mandating an all-male elected system of government on the reserve.

In the midnineteenth century there were significant Onondaga communities at Onondaga (Onondaga Reservation), on the Six Nations Reserve, and on Seneca and Tuscarora land, especially the Allegany Reservation. The Native economy gradually shifted from primarily hunting to farming, dependence on annuities received for the sale of land, and some wage labor. There was also increasing pressure for Indians to sell more land and adopt Christianity, although the Onondagas remained fairly resistant to both. The old religion declined in importance during that time, though among some Iroquois, including many Onondaga, the Handsome Lake religion grew in importance.

In 1898, the wampum belts remaining among the Onondaga were placed in the keeping of the New York State Museum. With other members of the Confederacy, the Onondagas resisted the 1924 citizenship act, selective service, the Indian Reorganization Act, and all federal and state intrusions on their sovereignty.

Onondagas today are considered to be the most conservative of the Six Nations. The Onondaga Reservation is again the capital of the Iroquois Confederacy. The leader of the Iroquois League, who alone can summon meetings of the Great Council, is always an Onondaga. Recent political activism has resulted in the return of wampum belts, education reforms, and the prevention of the acquisition of reservation land for road widening by New York State. In 1994 the tribe ceased seeking or accepting federal grants.

Although most Onondagas are Christian, all chiefs must adhere to the Longhouse religion. This requirement ties them to other Iroquois Longhouse communities throughout the United States and Canada. A hereditary council heads both political and religious life. Many people speak Onondaga, although English is the official tribal language. The community is known for its artists and athletes, especially its lacrosse players. Mutual aid remains strong.

In general, traditional political and social (clan) structures remain intact. One major exception is caused by Canada's requirement that band membership be reckoned patrilineally. The political structure of the Iroquois League continues to be a source of controversy for many Iroquois (Haudenosaunees). Some recognize two seats—at Onondaga and Six Nations—whereas others consider the government at Six Nations a reflection of or corollary to the traditional seat at Onondaga.





Important issues concerning the confederacy in the later twentieth century include Indian burial sites, sovereignty, gambling casinos, and land claims.

The Six Nations Reserve is still marked by the existence of progressive and traditional factions, with the former generally supporting the elected band council and following the Christian faith and the latter supporting the confederacy and the Longhouse religion. Traditional Iroquois Indians celebrate at least ten traditional or quasi traditional events, including the Midwinter, Green Corn, and Strawberry ceremonies. Iroquois still observe condolence ceremonies as one way to hold the league together after roughly 500 years of existence.

Many Iroquois continue to see their relationship with the Canadian and U.S. governments as one between independent nations and allies, as opposed to one marked by paternalism and dependence. Occasionally, the frustrations inherent in this type of situation boil over into serious confrontations.

*See also* American Revolution, Native American Participation; Deganawidah; French and Indian War; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Treaty Diplomacy, with Summary of Selected Treaties; Wampum.

## Ottawa

"Ottawa," or "Odawa," is from *adawe*, "to trade." Before about 1600, the name was loosely applied to several groups of upper Algonquins. Their self-designation was *Anishinabe* ("People"). (*See also* Anishinabe.) Roughly 8,000 Ottawas lived in the northern Lake Huron region, specifically Manitoulin Island, Georgian Bay, and the Bruce Peninsula, in the early seventeenth century. Ottawas spoke a dialect of Anishinabe, an Algonquin language.

The Ottawas recognized Manitou, the great spirit, along with many lesser spirits, both good and evil. Around puberty, boys and girls sought visions through dreams or in isolated areas. There were three religious cults, as well as the Midewiwin, or Medicine Lodge Society; the latter, open to both men and women initiates, was designed to channel spiritual power toward the well-being of members. Shamans cured through their intercession with the spirits.

At least four, or possibly up to seven bands, had their own relatively weak chief or chiefs. These bands were composed of local villages, each

with their own leadership. Small hunting groups left the villages during the winter, returning to plant crops in spring. Men might have more than one wife. The dead were cremated, buried, or placed on scaffolds. A feast honoring the dead was held every year or so.

Permanent villages were sometimes palisaded. The Ottawas built longhouses of fir or cedar bark on pole frames with barrel roofs. They also used temporary mat-covered conical lodges while on trips. People navigated lakes and rivers in birchbark canoes. They wore two kinds of snowshoes—round for women and children and tailed for men—when traveling in snow. Men carved various wooden objects. The Ottawas were also known for their woven mats. The people decorated many birchbark items with the use of templates. Decorative styles included zigzag bands and floral motifs. Most designs were symmetrical. Southern bands decorated items with porcupine quillwork.

Men hunted and trapped large and small game and birds. Game was often taken in fire drives. Fishing was of key importance, especially around the lake shores. Women gathered various berries and other plant food. They also grew corn, beans, and squash and collected maple sap. They baked cornmeal bread in ashes and hot sand.

In the summer, men went naked or wore a light robe; they added fitted, decorated breechclouts for special occasions. They added leggings and heavier robes made of skin or pelts in the winter. They wore their hair short and brushed up in front. Women wore wraparound skirts, with added ponchos and robes in the winter. They generally wore their hair in one braid wrapped with fur or snakeskin. Moccasins were of deer or moose skin, with attached retractable cuffs.

According to legend, the Ottawas migrated from the Northwest as one people with the Anishinabes and the Potawatomis. They probably arrived on the east side of Lake Huron in about 1400. They first encountered non-Natives in 1615, in the person of Samuel de Champlain. The people traded furs to Huron intermediaries, in exchange for European goods, until the 1649 Iroquois defeat of the Huron. At that point, the Ottawas took over direct trade with the French, taking their canoes up the Saint Lawrence River to Montreal.

In 1660, the Ottawas suffered their own military defeat at the hands of the Dutch-armed Iroquois, at which time they moved west to the Green Bay area. Some groups continued even farther west, to around





Lake Superior and the Mississippi River (these were soon driven back by Dakota warriors). With a guarantee of French protection, many returned to their old homes in 1670. By 1680, most had joined the Hurons at Mackinaw. There were many Ottawa settlements around Lakes Michigan and Huron in the eighteenth century.

Like most Algonquins, the Ottawas took the French side in the colonial wars. The Ottawa chief Pontiac led a coalition of regional Indians in an anti-British rebellion in 1763, after the latter's decisive victory over French forces. The coalition at first enjoyed much success, although the end result was failure. The people tried to remain neutral during the American Revolution, although some actively sided with the Americans; they were similarly divided in the War of 1812. Most Ottawas had converted to Catholicism by the early nineteenth century. By the terms of an 1833 treaty, Ottawas south and west of Lake Michigan, about 500 people, were relocated to Iowa and Kansas with some Chippewas and Potawatomis, with whom they had united in an alliance called the Three Fires.

Other groups, forced to move by the scarcity of game and pressure from non-Natives, relocated to the Lake Huron islands or to Michigan reservations or allotments. In 1867, most Kansas Ottawas bought land on the Quapaw Reservation in Indian Territory (Oklahoma). This land was allotted in severalty in the 1890s. The tribe was officially terminated in 1956 but was reinstated in 1978. In 1965, the people received just over \$400,000 in land claims settlements pertaining to their time in Kansas.

During the mid- and later nineteenth century, when many Ottawa groups merged or otherwise became associated with the Ojibwa and Potawatomi Indians, the United States created an ersatz tribal entity called the Ottawa and Chippewa Bands. This bogus "tribe" was the basis on which the Michigan Ottawas were wrongly but effectively assumed to have been officially terminated. These people have been seeking redress for the loss of various benefits and payments for over 100 years. The government has consistently refused to recognize them, even under the Indian Reorganization Act.

Northern Ottawas farmed or worked in lumbering throughout most of the twentieth century. After World War II, however, many moved from local communities to regional cities in search of employment. In 1948 the people created the Northern Michigan Ottawa Association (NMOA) to represent them in all litigation.

Michigan Ottawas have regularly suffered arrest and other actions for asserting their treaty rights to hunt and fish. The language survives in Michigan mainly among elders, although the people have instituted various language and cultural preservation programs (many Ontario Ottawas speak their Native Algonquin language). Most Michigan Ottawas are Christian, although some celebrate quasi traditional feasts, naming ceremonies, and other festivals. The Oklahoma Ottawas are highly acculturated. Few people speak the Native language.

*See also* Algonquin; Dams, Fishing Rights, and Hydroelectric Power; Trade.

## Passamaquoddy

"Passamaquoddy" means "those who pursue the pollack" or "pollack-spearing place." Together with the Maliseets, the Passamaquoddys have also been known as the Etchemin tribe. (*See also* Abenaki; Maliseet; Penobscot.) The traditional location of the Passamaquoddys is in the vicinity of Passamaquoddy Bay and the St. Croix River. With the Maliseets, their population reached about 1,000 in the early seventeenth century. Maliseets and Passamaquoddys spoke dialects of the same Algonquin language.

Guardian spirits, acquired through vision quests, gave shamans the power to cure and regular people the ability to protect subsistence areas from trespass. Any number of supernatural beings included Kuloscop, the culture hero. Dances were mainly associated with spiritual power.

Skilled hunters provided local leadership. The people recognized a supreme hereditary chief in the seventeenth century who lived at the main village. The last such chief died in the 1870s. Leadership became more formalized under the confederacy, with graduated civil offices and a war chief. The people remained part of the Abenaki Confederacy from the mideighteenth century to the mid- to late nineteenth century, when the confederacy ceased to exist. War chiefs existed at least from the eighteenth century on. This position was never inherited or elected.

The people came together in large villages in the summer and dispersed into small hunting camps in the winter. They preferred football, a kicking game, to lacrosse. They also enjoyed any number of dice gambling games. Men served their prospective





in-laws for at least a year before marriage. Weddings were marked by feasting and oratory recognizing the groom's ancestry. At least after contact, sexual mores were strict, and divorce was rare. Children were generally treated gently and with a high degree of freedom, at least when compared with the region's early French. When death was expected, it was sometimes hastened by pouring cold water on the victim, who may also have been buried alive.

Summer villages were sometimes palisaded. They included multi- and single-family dwellings. The former were conical pole-frame wigwams covered with birchbark; the latter, as well as council houses, were rectangular log-frame structures with birchbark roofs. Council houses could hold up to a hundred people.

Farming, especially of corn, was the key economic activity. Harvested corn was stored and taken on the winter hunts. There was some hunting of inland animals such as moose, bear, otter, and muskrat. More important was the capture of marine animals such as seal and porpoise. The people also ate stranded whales as well as other marine foods, including lobster, shellfish, and sea birds and their eggs. Marine mammals were hunted in canoe teams. They also fished for salmon, bass, and sturgeon and gathered wild grapes, roots, and fiddlehead ferns. Maple sugaring may have predated contact with non-Natives.

Lightweight canoes were made of birchbark, moose hide, or spruce bark. Clothing was made from skins. Beaverskin caps shielded people's heads from the cold. They also wore temporary birchbark raincoats. Snowshoes were worn in the winter.

The Passamaquoddys may once have been united with the Maliseets. First contact with non-Natives probably occurred with Samuel de Champlain in the early seventeenth century, although the people may have met fishers from northern and western Europe as much as a century earlier.

With their growing involvement in the French fur trade, the people soon became dependent on items of non-Native manufacture. They also accepted Catholic missionaries. Their population declined severely throughout the eighteenth century, owing to disease, the abuse of alcohol, and the loss of land.

They joined the pro-French Abenaki Confederacy in the mideighteenth century. Many Passamaquoddys married French men and women. By the late eighteenth century, British settlers had pushed them out of many of their best subsistence

areas, and the traditional annual round of subsistence activities had been seriously disrupted. The state of Massachusetts set aside 23,000 acres of land for them in 1794 as part of a treaty never ratified by the federal government. The two reservations were founded around 1850 by competing political factions, the progressive one based at Sipayik and the conservatives at Motahkokmikuk.

In the mid- to late nineteenth century, many Passamaquoddys worked in sea-related industries and as farmers, loggers, and guides. They also worked as migrant laborers (picking potatoes and blueberries) and made baskets, paddles, moccasins, and other items for sale to the tourist trade. Both reservations became enclaves of poverty in a poor region, and by the 1960s many Indians had left to pursue economic opportunities elsewhere. During World War II, the government used part of Indian Township as a German prisoner of war camp; this land was later sold to non-Natives. This and other such actions ignited the Native rights struggle in Maine and led ultimately to the Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act.

Today, while the people enjoy free health care, the Native language is falling into disuse, with most speakers among the older population. It is taught in school, as are traditional crafts and tribal history. Alcoholism, high unemployment, and anti-Indian prejudice are obstacles that need be fully conquered. Most Passamaquoddys are Catholic. The tribe holds an annual festival.

*See also* Agriculture; Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act; Trade and Intercourse Acts.

## Penobscot

"Penobscot" means "where the rocks widen," referring to the falls on the Penobscot River. The Penobscots were members of the Abenaki Confederacy and sometimes referred to as being among the Eastern Abenaki people (others include the Kennebecs, Arosagunticooks, and Pigwackets). They are culturally similar to the Micmacs and Passamaquoddys. (*See also* Abenaki.)

Penobscots traditionally lived along the Penobscot River, from the headwaters to the mouth, including tributaries. There were perhaps 10,000 Eastern Abenakis around 1600 and about 1,000 Penobscots in the early eighteenth century. Penobscots spoke an eastern Algonquin language.





The summer was the time for religious ceremonies, led by shamans, who also cured illness of spiritual origin by blowing and dancing. Common ailments (those without a spiritual component) were cured with herbs and plant medicines. Tribal organization traditionally consisted of a loose grouping of villages, each with its own sagamore. These leaders, who might or might not be shamans, consolidated their power through multiple marriages and by supporting and making alliances with nonrelatives. Leaders were chosen by merit, although there was a weak hereditary component. Sagamores had various social obligations that included feasting the band.

The Eastern Abenakis were politically united prior to and through the time of the first European contact under one chief sagamore named Bashabes. Penobscots had a chief sagamore, sometimes in name only, from at least the early seventeenth century to 1870.

Penobscots were divided into patrilineal lineages, each with its own winter hunting territory that became more strictly defined in the fur trade era. They may have recognized a dual division. The tribe broke into small hunting groups in the winter but came together in summer villages along rivers.

Most socializing, such as playing the hoop-and-pole game (in which an arrow is shot through a hoop), took place in the summer gatherings. Women were secluded during their menstrual periods. The first kill of the season was given away, as was the first kill of any boy. Gifts to the bride's family formalized a marriage; the quantity and quality of the gifts reflected the desirability of the bride and the status of her family. Leading men might have more than one wife.

Common illness was treated by means of sweating, herbs, and plant medicines. An anticipated death might be hastened by starvation. Those material goods not given away before death were buried with the body.

There were no permanent villages until at least the eighteenth century. Some villages were palisaded, at least in the historical period. People lived in both square houses with pyramid roofs and cone-shaped wigwams. Both were covered with birchbark sheets and were about twelve feet in diameter.

Men hunted and trapped deer, moose, bears, beaver, otter, and other animals, especially in the winter. Most meat and fish were dried and stored for the winter. The people boiled maple sap for syrup. They gathered wild tubers, fruits, and berries, and they fished. On the spring and summer trips to the

ocean, they gathered shellfish and hunted porpoise, seals, and fowl. There may have been a small amount of corn cultivation.

Birchbark was a key material; in addition to houses and canoes, the people made it into folded containers, baskets, and other important items. They also made smaller containers of bark, sweetgrass, and hide. Pipes might have been made of clay or stone, but most vessels were of clay. Utensils were carved of wood.

Penobscots were part of a trade network that reached past the Mississippi to the west, almost to the Gulf Coast to the south, and north into Labrador. Still, most trade was local and included items such as canoes, pipes, pottery, and birchbark goods.

Most clothing, such as tunics, breechclouts, long skirts, and moccasins, came from tanned skins. In the winter people wore removable sleeves and leggings and moose hide coats. Beaver pelts were sometimes used for breechclouts and robes. Sagamores might wear special headgear. Men and women also engaged in extensive face and body painting.

Tribal tradition has these people originating in the Southwest. Shortly after their first encounter with non-Natives, in the sixteenth century, a story began to circulate in parts of Europe about Norumbega, a fantastic (and mythical) Penobscot town. This tale greatly encouraged British interest in the region.

Because early British visitors mistreated the Indians, the Penobscots showed a preference for contacts with French traders. Intertribal war with the Micmacs ended in 1615, about the same time that devastating epidemics drastically reduced the local Indian population. Involvement in the fur trade from the seventeenth century on signaled the virtual end of many aspects of traditional material culture, as the Indians became dependent on cloth, glass beads, corn, metal items, guns, and items of non-Native manufacture. Wampum became a currency as well as an important status symbol.

The winter dispersal into the forests and summer trips to the shore became less necessary, as village Indians could eat corn and other foods obtained in trade for furs. Some groups started growing their own corn at that time. Penobscots were often at war with the British, some of whom were pushing into Penobscot territory, during the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. However, since they needed the British as trade partners, they refrained from establishing a full-blown alliance with the French until the mideighteenth century, when they joined the Abenaki Confederacy. By that time, many





Penobscots had exchanged their traditional dwellings for log cabins. Much of western Maine was in British hands, and other Eastern Abenakis had left the area for residence in Quebec.

Although the Penobscots tried to remain neutral in the French and Indian War, British bounties on their scalps pushed them into the French camp. The British victory ended their access to the ocean, among other calamities. Around that time, the Penobscots joined a confederacy of former French allies whose center was at Caughnawaga, Quebec. They remained members until 1862, when regional intertribal affairs could no longer hold their interest sufficiently.

Although Penobscots fought with the Patriots in the American Revolution, Massachusetts took possession of most of their land in the late eighteenth century in exchange for in-kind payments (food, blankets, ammunition, and so on). An Indian agent appointed by the state of Maine was responsible for conducting the tribe's business after 1820.

In 1833, the tribe sold all but about 5,000 acres to Maine. Their traditional economy in ruins, Penobscots became farmers, seasonal wage laborers (loggers, hunting guides), artisans (snowshoes, canoes, moccasins), and basketmakers for the tourist trade. Traditional government was superseded by state-mandated elections in 1866, and the last sagamore (chief) died in 1870.

In the 1920s, the tribe actively sought to bring tourists to the reservation by means of pamphlets and pageants. They also benefited from increasing work in local industries (canoes, shoes, textiles). With other Maine Indians, the Penobscots in the 1960s pushed for and won improved services through a new state Indian Affairs department.

Recognition in 1980 brought a host of new projects and improvements in infrastructure and standards of living. Substance abuse remains a significant problem. There is some interest in traditional crafts and religious ideas, although most traditional culture was lost over 100 years ago. Although only a few elders still know the Native language, the people are attempting to preserve it. Most Penobscots are Catholic. The people regularly intermarry with Maliseets and Passamaquoddys as well as with people from other tribes and non-Natives.

*See also* Agriculture; French and Indian War; Maine Indian Claims Settlement Act; Trade and Intercourse Acts.

## Peoria

*See* Illinois.

## Pequot

Pequot, "destroyers." The tribe known as Mohegan ("wolf") sprang from a Pequot faction in the early seventeenth century. (*See also* Narragansett.) Roughly 4,000 Pequots lived in eastern Connecticut and extreme northeastern Rhode Island in the early seventeenth century. Their main villages were situated on the Thames and Mystic Rivers. Pequots spoke an Eastern Algonquin language.

The people recognized a supreme deity as well as lesser deities. Medicine men called powwows used herbs, sweats, plants, and songs to cure illness and banish evil spirits. The people also celebrated a variety of the Green Corn festival.

Village bands were led by sagamores, or chiefs, who maintained their influence through generosity and good judgment. A council of important men together took all major decisions. There may have been a hereditary component to the position of village sagamore. There may or may not have been a grand sachem who led the bands in precontact times. Certainly, that was the case in the early seventeenth century, when Sassacus dominated the Pequots as well as some Long Island bands.

Unlike many northeastern tribes, the Pequots dispersed in the summer to designated resource sites such as fishing weirs, shellfish gathering places, gardens, and marshlands and came together in winter villages. They also dispersed in the early winter to hunting camps. Leading men might have more than one wife, in part so that they could entertain more frequently and more lavishly and in part to build alliances with other families. Corpses were wrapped in skins and woven mats and buried in the ground with weapons, tools, and food. The ultimate destination was the land of the dead. Houses were abandoned after a death.

Villages were usually located on a hill and were often palisaded. Consisting of at least several houses, they were moved when the supply of firewood was exhausted. People lived in bark or woven mat houses, framed with saplings or poles bent and lashed together. Smaller houses (roughly fifteen feet in diameter) held two families. Larger bark-covered longhouses (up to 100 feet long and thirty feet wide) with multiple fires held up to fifty people. Tempo-





rary villages were located along the coast in the summer and in the woods in the winter.

Women grew corn, beans, and squash; men grew tobacco. Corn was used in stew; cornmeal was also made into cakes and baked in hot ashes. The people gathered shellfish along the coast in the summer. They also ate an occasional beached whale. Although deer was the animal staple, men hunted an enormous variety of large and small game as well as fowl, the latter including turkey, quail, pigeon, and geese.

Deer, especially the white-tailed deer, furnished most of the people's clothing. Men generally wore breechclouts, leggings (in the winter), and moccasins; women wore skirts or dresses and moccasins. Both donned fur robes in cold weather. Clothing was often decorated with quillwork as well as feathers, paints, and shells. Pottery was generally basic although often decorated by incision. Canoes were of the birchbark and more commonly the dugout variety.

The Pequots may have arrived in their historical territory from the Hudson River Valley–Lake Champlain area, wresting land from the Narragansetts and the Niantics in the late sixteenth century. In the early seventeenth century, the grand sachem Sassacus dominated twenty-six subordinate sagamores. However, the people were driven out of Rhode Island by the Narragansetts in 1635. About that time Uncas, son-in-law of Sassacus, led a group of Pequots to establish another village on the Thames River; that group became known as Mohegans.

Soon after the Dutch arrived in the region, they began trade with the Pequots, who sold them land at the future site of Hartford. However, control of that land had been disputed, and the British favored more local Indians. As tensions worsened, the Mohegans saw a chance to end their subordinate status. In 1637, they and the Narragansetts aided British forces in attacking a Pequot village, killing between 300 and 600 people. Sassacus and a large group of followers were killed by Mohawks while trying to escape. Many were captured, however, and sold into slavery or given to allied tribes as slaves. The rest of the tribe fled to the southwest. Some escaped to Long Island and Massachusetts, where they settled with other Algonquins. The surviving Pequots were forced to pay tribute to the Massachusetts Bay Colony and were prohibited from using the name "Pequot." Uncas then became chief of the Pequots and Mohegans, now all known as Mohegans. He remained firm in his friendship with the colonists,

fighting the Narragansetts in 1657 and Britain's enemies in King Philip's War.

Although the Pequot/Mohegans survived that conflict, they and other local Indians were severely diminished, and they ceased to have a significant independent role other than as servants or indigents. Some joined other Indian tribes, such as those who passed through Schaghticoke in upstate New York to join the Western Abenakis. In 1655, freed Pequot slaves in New England resettled on the Mystic River. The people suffered a continuing decline until well into the twentieth century.

The tribe divided in the late seventeenth century, into an eastern group (Paucatucks) and a western group (Mashantuckets). The former received a reservation in 1683, and the latter were granted land in 1666. Most of their land was later leased to non-Natives and lost to Indian control.

In the 1770s, some Mohegans joined a group of Narragansetts, Mahicans, Wappingers, and Montauks in creating the Brotherton (or Brothertown) tribe in Oneida territory (New York). The community was led by Samson Occom, an Indian minister. In the early nineteenth century, this community, joined by groups of Oneidas and Stockbridge (Mahican) Indians, was forced to migrate to Wisconsin, where they received a reservation on Lake Winnebago that they shared with the Munsee band of Delaware Indians. The reservation was later divided and sold.

By the early twentieth century, most Brotherton Indians had been dispossessed, but the community remained intact, mainly because members kept in close contact and returned regularly for gatherings and reunions. Mohegan Indians began a political revival in the early twentieth century, forming the Mohegan Indian Council and becoming involved with the Algonquin Indian Council of New England.

Paucatuck Pequots continue to fight for full federal recognition as well as full recognition by the state of Connecticut of their rights and land claims. They are also attempting to ease the factionalism that has troubled them for some time. The Mashantucket Pequots were recognized and their land claims settled by Congress in 1983. A museum and cultural center are planned. They publish the *Pequot Times* and own and operate Foxwoods, the largest resort casino in the world.

Elements of the Pequot language exist on paper and are known by some of the people, especially tribal elders. Various gatherings and family reunions continue among the Brotherton people of Wisconsin.





The spiritual center of the tribe is in Gresham, Wisconsin. Traditional culture has disappeared, but these people remain proud of their heritage.

The Mohegans have a land claim pending against the state of Connecticut for roughly 600 acres of land alienated in the seventeenth century. The Tantaquidgeon museum is a central point of reference for the tribe, as is the Mohegan church (1831) and the Fort Shantok burial ground. The people celebrate the wigwam festival or powwow, which has its origins in the Green Corn festival of ancient times.

*See also* Gambling; Land, Identity and Ownership of, Land Rights; Metacom and King Philip's War; Pequot War.

## Pokanoket

*See* Wampanoag

## Potawatomi

Potawatomi, a word of uncertain meaning. The commonly ascribed translation, "People of the Place of Fire" or "Keeper of the Fire" is probably apocryphal and refers to their traditional obligation to maintain a council fire uniting them with the Ottawas and Anishinabes. Their own self-designation was *Weshnabek*, "the People." (*See also* Anishinabe; Ottawa.) In the early seventeenth century, roughly 8,000 Potawatomis lived in southwest Michigan. Potawatomi is an Algonquin language.

The people may have recognized a chief deity that corresponded with the sun. Religion was based mainly on obtaining guardian spirits through fasting. Sacred bundles were probably part of religious practice from prehistoric times on; at some point they became associated with the supernatural power of clans. There were three types of shamans: doctors, diviners, and advisor-magicians. The people observed the calumet (peace pipe) ceremony. Other festivals included the Midewiwin Dance, the War Dance, and the Sacred Bundle ceremony.

There were clan chiefs, but the decision makers were generally the clan's warriors, elders, and shamans. Chiefs of semiautonomous villages, who were chosen from among several candidates of the appropriate clans, lacked authority, since the democratic impulse was strong among the

Potawatomis. There was no overall tribal chief, although a village chief, through his personal prestige, might lead a large number of villages. The chief was aided by a council of men. Women occasionally served as village chiefs. There was also an intratribal warrior society that exercised police functions in the villages.

At least thirty patrilineal clans owned certain supernatural powers, names, and ritual items. Over time, the clans died out, and new ones were created. They were a source of a child's name as well as part of his or her personal spirit power. A dual division by birth order had significance in games and some rituals. Lacrosse was a popular game, as were the woman's double ball game and dice games.

After the harvest, people generally broke into small hunting camps for the winter. Polygyny was common. Marriages were formalized by gift exchange between clans and by the approval of senior clan members. Babies were named after a year and weaned after several years. Both sexes were recognized as adults at puberty when they went through a time of isolation, women during their periods and men to fast and seek a vision. Young women might also have visions at this time. Corpses were dressed in their best clothes and buried in an east-west alignment (one clan practiced cremation) with considerable grave goods that included food, tools, and weapons.

Summer villages, numbering up to 1,500 people of several clans, were built along lakes and rivers and often contained members of the Anishinabe and Ottawa groups. Small winter camps lay in sheltered valleys. Some villages may have been palisaded. Summer houses were bark-covered rectangular structures with peaked roofs. The people built smaller, dome-shaped wigwams with mats covering a pole framework for their winter dwellings. They also built ramadas with roofs of bark or limbs for use as cooking shelters. Rush-mat menstrual huts were built away from the main part of the village.

Women grew corn, beans, squash, and tobacco, and they gathered wild rice, maple sap for sugar, beechnuts (which were pounded into flour), berries, roots, and other wild plant foods. Men fished and hunted buffalo (especially from the eighteenth century on), deer, bear, elk, beaver, and many other animals, including fowl. People made bark food storage containers, pottery, and stone or fired-clay pipes with wooden or reed stems. Pictographs on birch-bark scrolls served as mnemonic devices.





*Group portrait of Potawatomi men, women, and children dressed in western clothes, ca. 1906. (Library of Congress)*

Potawatomis used both dugout and bark-frame canoes. The latter were up to twenty-five feet long; construction and ownership of these vessels were limited. A litter slung between two horses could carry materials or ill people; woven rush mat saddlebags also held goods. Clothing was made of skins and furs. Men were tattooed, and both sexes painted their bodies. The Potawatomis wore personal adornments made of Native copper and shell.

Tradition has the people, once united with the Anishinabes and the Ottawas, coming to their historical territory from the northeast. Driven from southwest Michigan around 1640 by the Iroquois, Hurons, and others, the Potawatomis took refuge in upper Michigan and then the Green Bay area, where they met other refugee groups and built advantageous alliances and partnerships, notably with the French but also with other tribes. At this time they occupied a single village and became known to history as a single tribe with their present name.

By the late seventeenth century, however, having consolidated their position as French trade and political allies, the single village had collapsed, mainly under trade pressures. Forced by Dakota raiding parties, Potawatomi groups began moving southward to occupy former lands of the Illinois Confederacy and the Miamis. By the early eighteenth century there were multiclan Potawatomi villages in northern Illinois and southern Michigan. By the mideighteenth century, southern groups had acquired enough horses to make buffalo hunting a significant activity.

The French alliance remained in effect until 1763. The Potawatomis fought the British in Pontiac's Rebellion. They also joined the coalition of tribes to administer the final defeat to the Illinois about that time, evicting them from northern Illinois and moving into the region themselves. The Potawatomis fought on the side of the British, however, in the Revolutionary War and continued to





fight the American invasion of their territory in a series of wars in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries that included Little Turtle's War (1790–1794), Tecumseh's Rebellion (1809–1811), and the Black Hawk War of 1832. By that time, many southern Potawatomis had intermarried with non-Natives.

After all these Indian losses, the victorious non-Natives demanded and won significant land cessions (the people ultimately signed at least fifty-three treaties with the United States). The Potawatomis were forced to remove west of the Mississippi. Bands from the Illinois-Wisconsin area went to southwest Iowa while Michigan and Indiana Potawatomis went to eastern Kansas. In 1846 both groups were placed on a reservation near Topeka, Kansas. Some remained in Michigan and Wisconsin, however, and some managed to return there from the west. Others joined the Kickapoos in Mexico, and still others went to Canada.

Some of the Potawatomis in Kansas became relatively successful merchants and farmers. In 1861, a group of these people formed the Citizen Band as a separate entity from the Prairie Band. They were moved to Indian Territory in the 1870s, and their land there was allotted by 1890. Since much of the land was of marginal quality, however, people tended to leave the community in the early to midtwentieth century. Many Citizen Band Potawatomis were educated in Catholic boarding schools in the early twentieth century.

The Prairie Potawatomis remained in Kansas. Despite their strong resistance, lands along the Kaw River in Kansas were allotted by 1895. The tribal council disbanded by 1900, and all government annuities ended in 1909. By 1962, less than one-quarter of their former lands remained in their possession, and much of this was leased to non-Natives. The tribe rejected the 1934 Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) and was able to avoid termination in the 1950s.

Among those who refused to leave their homelands, a large group of Potawatomi refugees was still in Wisconsin in the midnineteenth century. These people had been joined by several Ottawa and Anishinabe families. With the help of an Anishinabe man, they obtained land and money to build a community, called Hannaville, in the 1880s. The U.S. Congress purchased additional land for them in 1913. The community adopted an IRA constitution and bylaws in 1936. Most people were farmers, and many also worked seasonally in the lumber industry.

By the early twentieth century, the land was exhausted, the lumber industry had declined, and the state refused them all services, contributing to the onset of widespread poverty and exacerbating anti-Indian prejudice.

In 1839, the Huron Potawatomis who had escaped removal purchased land for a community. The state of Michigan added another forty acres in 1848. The Methodist Episcopal church served as the focus of community life. Near Watervliet, Michigan, members of the future Pokagon band bought land near Catholic churches. They continued a subsistence economy based on small game hunting; gathering berries, maple sap, and other resources; and small-scale farming. They also worked on nearby farms when necessary. They created a formal government as early as 1866, which later pursued land claims against the United States. They and the Huron Potawatomis were denied federal recognition in the 1940s based on an arbitrary administrative ruling.

*See also* Black Hawk's War; Little Turtle; Tecumseh; Thorpe, Jim.

## Sauk

Sauk, or Sac, from *Osakiwugi*, "People of the Outlet" or "Yellow Earth People." The Sauks were culturally related to the Kickapoos and Potawatomis. (*See also* Fox.) For much of their history, the Sauks straddled the area between the Northeast Woodlands and the Prairie. In the sixteenth century they lived around Saginaw Bay in eastern Michigan. There were approximately 3,500 Sauks in the midseventeenth century. Sauk is an Algonquin language.

The Sauks recognized any number of nature-related spirits, or manitous, the most important of which were Wisaka, founder of the Medicine Dance, and those connected with the four directions. People might gain the attention and assistance of the manitous by offering tobacco, blackening their faces with charcoal, fasting, and wailing. A vision quest at puberty was meant to attract manitous. Those who obtained especially powerful spirits assembled a medicine pack or bundle; certain packs represented spiritual power that affected and were the property of entire lineages.

The Midewiwin, or Medicine Dance, was a key ceremony. Others included Green Corn, Naming, and Adoption. In the last, there was a formal adop-





tion to replace a family member who had died. The calumet, or sacred pipe, played a key role in all solemn activities, including peace negotiations. A head shaman instructed others in curing, in hunting, and in agricultural and other ceremonies.

The Sauks were divided into bands or villages, of fluid composition, that came together as one unit in the summer. There was also a dual peace and war political division. A hereditary, clan-based village peace chief held authority over gatherings, treaties, peace councils, intertribal negotiations, and rituals. In return for access to his property, the people regularly gave him gifts. Two war chiefs were chosen by other warriors on the basis of merit, although there may have been a hereditary component. The war chief commanded the camp police and presided over war councils.

Sauks recognized about twelve patrilineal clans. Membership in the dual division—peace/white and war/black—was determined by birth order. Birth took place in special lodges in the company of only women; the mother remained subject to special postpartum restrictions for up to a year or more. An elderly relative named a baby from the stock of clan names. As adults, people might acquire additional, nonclan names as a result of dreams or warfare.

Parents rarely engaged in corporal punishment of their children. At the onset of puberty, girls were secluded for ten days and were subject to various other restrictions. Boys marked puberty by undertaking a vision quest. Girls also sought visions, although not in seclusion. Vermilion face paint indicated adult status.

Marriages were generally arranged by the couple and were formalized when the families exchanged gifts. The couple lived with the wife's family for a year before establishing their own household. Some men had more than one wife.

Burial took place after various rituals had been performed. Warriors might be buried in a sitting position. All people were buried in their finest clothing and wrapped in bark or mats with their feet toward the west. The mourning period lasted for at least six months, during which time mourners were subject to a variety of behavioral restrictions.

Summer villages were located near fields in river bottoms. At least in the early nineteenth century, almost the entire tribe assembled at the summer villages. Each summer house was an economic unit as well. Extended families of some ten people lived in houses about fifty feet long and twenty feet wide and covered with elm bark. Houses were ori-

ented in an east-west direction and were built in parallel rows, with an open game and ceremonial area between the rows. Villages were moved when firewood became scarce or when attacks forced the people to move. In their winter camps, people lived in small, dome-shaped wigwams covered with reed mats and skins and located in sheltered river valleys. The camps ranged in size from one or two families to an entire band.

Women grew corn, beans, squash, and tobacco. They also gathered a number of wild plant foods, including nuts, honey, berries, fruits, and tubers. Men hunted a variety of large and small game, especially deer, as well as buffalo until about 1820. The Sauks mined and traded lead. They also exported corn. They imported deer tallow, feathers, and beeswax. Water transportation was by bark and dugout canoe. Clothing was made of skin and furs and consisted mainly of breechcloths, dresses, leggings, and moccasins. The people decorated their clothing with quillwork and paint. Body tattooing and painting were common.

The Sauks may once have been united with the Foxes and the Kickapoos. The Anishinabes and/or the Iroquois pushed the Sauks out of eastern Michigan and toward the lower Fox River sometime in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. French explorers arrived around 1667.

The Sauks got along well with the British. They also maintained good relations with the French until they began sheltering the Foxes and other French enemies. Fox Indians fleeing the French took refuge with the Sauks in 1733, beginning an alliance that lasted until the 1850s. At that time, the Sauks and Foxes moved away from the Green Bay area into eastern Iowa. They moved back to northern Illinois and southern Michigan after peace with the French was established in 1737.

In 1769 the Sauks, Foxes, and other tribes, under pressure from the French as well as the Menominees and Anishinabes, dealt a permanent defeat to the Illinois tribes. At that point the Sauks and Foxes moved south and west into some of the Illinois tribes' former territory. Later they headed back into Iowa, where they adapted rapidly to a prairie/plains existence, becoming highly capable buffalo hunters. Their parties traveled far to the west of the Mississippi in search of the herds. They also continued to grow corn.

In 1804, one Sauk band (the Missouri band) ceded all tribal lands, although they claimed they were ceding only a small parcel of land. The action





was not binding, however, because the tribal council, in whom authority for land cessions was vested, refused to ratify the treaty. Anger over this treaty on the part of the rest of the Sauk people forced the Missouri band to remain separate from the main group, ultimately settling on the eastern border of Kansas and Nebraska.

The Sauks took an active part in Little Turtle's War (1790–1794), but most remained neutral in Tecumseh's Rebellion (1809–1811). They sided with the British in the War of 1812. After the war, the Sauks divided into two factions. Black Hawk headed the anti-United States band, which refused to accept the treaty of 1804, and Keokuk headed the accommodationist party. In the 1820s, the United States exercised an increasingly important role in Sauk internal politics, ultimately vesting Keokuk as tribal chief, a man with no hereditary claim to the position.

Black Hawk's War (1832) resulted directly from the controversy over the 1804 treaty. Black Hawk (Makataimeshekiakiak), a Saukenuk (Rock Island) Sauk leader, attempted to form a pan-Indian alliance to defend his homeland against illegal non-Native usurpation. Despite the fact that Keokuk had agreed to relocate west of the Mississippi, Black Hawk and his people were determined to occupy their own lands. Some fighting ensued, after which the Sauks decided to retreat beyond the Mississippi. However, a U.S. steamer caught up with and shelled the Indians, many of whom were women and children, as they attempted to cross the river in rafts, slaughtering hundreds. Black Hawk himself surrendered several months later. Following his release from prison in 1833, he toured several cities and dictated his autobiography.

The Sauks and Foxes soon defeated Dakota warriors in Iowa (who had themselves killed many of the survivors of the Mississippi shelling) and occupied their land. Over the next few years, the factions hardened, and relations became strained with the Foxes, who resented the United States-backed Keokuk's control over the tribe. In 1842, the people were forced to cede their lands in Iowa and were relocated to a reservation in Kansas. They were joined by some members of the Missouri band at that time. Most Foxes returned to Iowa in the late 1850s. In 1867, the Sauks were forced into Indian Territory (Oklahoma). In 1890, most of the reservation was allotted in severalty, with the rest, almost 400,000 acres, opened to non-Native settlement.

Eleven clans remain in existence. Education will increase the number of people who speak the Native language, now estimated at about 200. Many traditions continue, including seasonal ceremonies, adoptions, and naming. Most people are Christians, but many adhere to the Native American Church. The tribe maintains its own police and court system. It publishes the *Sac and Fox News*. Local groundwater has been contaminated by oil. There is an annual all-Indian stampede and rodeo. Most of the Kansas Sauks are acculturated and assimilated into the local economy.

*See also* Black Hawk's War; Little Turtle; Thorpe, Jim.

## Schaghticoke

*See* Pequot.

## Seneca

The Senecas were the largest, most powerful, and westernmost of the five original tribes of the Iroquois League. Their self-designation was *Onotowaka*, "Great Hill People." The name Iroquois ("real adders") comes from the French adaptation of the Algonquin name for these people. Their self-designation was *Kanonsionni*, "League of the United (Extended) Households." Iroquois today refer to themselves as Haudenosaunee, "People of the Longhouse." (*See also* Cayuga.)

The Seneca homeland stretched north to south from Lake Ontario to the upper Allegheny and Susquehanna Rivers and west to east from Lake Erie to Seneca Lake, but especially from Lake Canandaigua to the Genesee River. There were perhaps 15,000 to 20,000 members of the Iroquois League around 1500 and about 5,000 Senecas in the midseventeenth century. The Senecas spoke a Northern Iroquois dialect.

The Senecas recognized an "earth holder" as well as other animate and inanimate objects and natural forces of a spiritual nature. They held important festivals to celebrate maple sap and strawberries as well as corn planting, ripening (Green Corn ceremony), and harvest. These festivals often included





*Jesse Cornplanter, descendant of Cornplanter, the famous Seneca chief, making a ceremonial mask in 1940, Tonawanda Community House, Tonawanda, New York. (National Archives and Records Administration)*

singing, male dancing, game playing, gambling, feasting, and food distribution.

The eight-day new year's festival may have been most important of all. Held in the midwinter, it was a time to give thanks, to forget past wrongs, and to kindle new fires, with much attention paid to new and old dreams. Medicine groups such as the False Face Society, and the Medicine, Dark Dance, and Death Feast Societies (the last two controlled by women) also conducted ceremonies, since most illness was thought to be of supernatural origin. In the early nineteenth century, many Iroquois embraced the teachings of Handsome Lake.

The Iroquois League comprised fifty hereditary chiefs, or sachems, from the constituent tribes. Each position was named for the original holder and had specific responsibilities. Sachems were men, except where a woman acted as regent, but they were appointed by women. The Seneca sent eight sachems to meetings of the Iroquois Great Council, which met in the fall and for emergencies.

Debates within the great council were a matter of strict clan, division, and tribal protocols, in a complex system of checks and balances. Politically, individual league members often pursued their own best

interests while maintaining an essential solidarity with the other members. The creators of the U.S. government used the Iroquois League as a model of democracy.

Locally, the village structure was governed by a headman and a council of elders (clan chiefs, elders, wise men). Matters before the local councils were handled according to a definite protocol based on the clan and division memberships of the chiefs. Village chiefs were chosen from groups as small as a single household. Women nominated and recalled clan chiefs. Tribal chiefs represented the village and the nation at the general council of the league. The entire system was hierarchical and intertwined, from the family up to the great council. Decisions at all levels were reached by consensus.

The Senecas recognized a dual division, each composed of eight matrilineal, animal-named clans. The clans in turn were composed of matrilineal lineages. Each owned a set number of personal names, some of which were linked with particular activities and responsibilities.

Women enjoyed a high degree of prestige, being largely equated with the "three sisters" (corn, beans, and squash), and they were in charge of most village activities, including marriage. Great intravillage lacrosse games included heavy gambling. Personal health and luck were maintained by performing various individual rituals, including singing and dancing, learned in dreams. Members of the False Face medicine society wore wooden masks carved from trees and used rattles and tobacco. Shamans also used up to 200 or more plant medicines to cure illness. People committed suicide on occasion for specific reasons (men who lost prestige, women who were abandoned, children who were treated harshly). Murder could be revenged or paid for with sufficient gifts.

Young men's mothers arranged marriages with a prospective bride's mother. Divorce was possible but not readily obtained because it was considered a discredit. The dead were buried in a sitting position, with food and tools for use on the way to the land of the dead. A ceremony was held after ten days. The condolence ceremony mourned dead league chiefs and installed successors. A modified version also applied to common people.

From the early sixteenth century on, scattered Seneca villages were consolidated into two large (100 or more houses) villages (one eastern and one western) and one or two smaller (about twenty-five houses) ones. Gandagaro, the large eastern village,





was also the main tribal village. The people built their villages near water and often on a hill after about 1300. Some villages were palisaded.

Iroquois Indians built elm-bark longhouses, fifty to 100 feet long, depending on how many people lived there, from about the twelfth century on. They held around two or three but as many as twenty families, related maternally (lineage segments), as well as their dogs. There were smoke holes over each two-family fire. Beds were raised platforms; people slept on mats, their feet to the fire, covered by pelts. Upper platforms were used for food and gear storage. Roofs were shingled with elm bark. The people also built some single-family houses.

Women grew corn, beans, squash, and gourds. Corn was the staple and was used in soups, stews, breads, and puddings. It was stored in bark-lined cellars. Women also gathered a variety of greens, nuts, seeds, roots, berries, fruits, and mushrooms. Tobacco was grown for ceremonial and social smoking.

After the harvest, men and some women took to the woods for several months to hunt and dry meat. Men hunted large game and trapped smaller game, mostly for the fur. Hunting was a source of potential prestige. They also caught waterfowl and other birds, and they fished. The people grew peaches, pears, and apples in orchards from the eighteenth century on.

The Iroquois used porcupine quills and wampum belts as a record of events. Wampum was also used as a gift connoting sincerity and, later, as trade money. These shell disks, strung or woven into belts, were probably a postcontact technological innovation. Other important material items included elm-bark containers, cordage from inner tree bark and fibers, and levers to move timbers. Men steamed wood or bent green wood to make many items, including lacrosse sticks. Unstable elm-bark canoes were roughly twenty-five feet long. The people were also great runners and preferred to travel on land. They used snowshoes in the winter and wood-frame backpacks to carry heavy loads such as fresh meat.

Women made most clothing from deerskins. Men wore shirts and short breechclouts and tunics in cool weather; women wore skirts. Both wore leggings, moccasins, and corn-husk slippers in the summer. Robes were made of light or heavy skins or pelts, depending on the season. These were often painted. Clothing was decorated with feathers and porcupine quills. Both men and women tattooed

their bodies extensively. Men often wore their hair in a roach; women wore theirs in a single braid doubled up and fastened with a thong. Some men wore feather caps or, in the winter, fur hoods.

Boys began developing war skills at a young age. Prestige and leadership were often gained through war, which was in many ways the most important activity. The title of Pine Tree Chief was a historical invention to honor especially brave warriors. All aspects of warfare, from the initiation to the conclusion, were highly ritualized. War could be decided as a matter of policy or undertaken as a vendetta. Women had a large, sometimes decisive, say in the question of whether to fight. During war season, generally the fall, Iroquois war parties ranged up to 1,000 miles or more. Male prisoners were often forced to run the gauntlet: Those who made it through were adopted, but those who did not might be tortured by widows. Women and children prisoners were regularly adopted. Some captives were eaten.

The Iroquois began cultivating crops shortly after the first phase of their culture in New York was established around 800. According to legend, Deganawida, a Huron prophet, and Hiawatha, a Mohawk shaman living among the Onondagas, founded the Iroquois League or Confederacy some time between 1000 and 1150. It originally consisted of five tribes: Cayugas, Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, and Senecas; the Tuscaroras joined in the early eighteenth century. The league's purpose was to end centuries of debilitating intertribal war and work for the common good.

There were two Seneca groups in the sixteenth century and perhaps as early as the founding of the league, each of which had its own large village. The people first encountered Jesuit missionaries shortly before the latter established a mission in Seneca country in 1668. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the people became heavily involved in the fur trade. Trading, fighting, and political intrigue characterized this period.

In the course of their expansion to get more furs, especially beaver, the Iroquois, often led by the Senecas, wiped out tribes, such as the Hurons and Eries, and fought many generally pro-French tribes, such as the Algonquins, Ottawas, Miamis, and Potawatomis. The Iroquois also fought and defeated the Iroquoian Susquehanna (or Conestoga) Indians during the early to midseventeenth century. Their power effectively blocked European westward expansion.





Although they were good at playing the European powers against each other, the Iroquois increasingly became British allies in trade and in the colonial wars, and they were instrumental in the ultimate British victory over the French. The western Senecas (Chenussios) remained pro-French, however, even in the French and Indian War and Pontiac's Rebellion of 1763.

The British victory in 1763 meant that the Iroquois no longer controlled the balance of power in the region. Despite the long-standing British alliance, some Indians joined anti-British rebellions as a defensive gesture. The confederacy split its allegiance in the Revolutionary War, with most Senecas siding with the British. This split resulted in the council fire's being extinguished for the first time in roughly 200 years.

Despite the leadership of Cornplanter and others, however, the Senecas suffered depredations throughout the war, and by war's end their villages had been permanently destroyed. When the 1783 Treaty of Paris divided Indian land between Britain and the United States, British Canadian officials established the Six Nations Reserve for their loyal allies, to which many Seneca repaired.

Seneca lands were formally defined in the 1794 Canandaigua (Pickering) Treaty. Most Seneca lands (except for 310 square miles) were sold in 1797. This action was the genesis of the Buffalo Creek, Tonawanda, Allegheny, Cattaraugus, and several other small reservations, most of which were soon sold. Chief Cornplanter also received a land grant from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania around that time, in consideration of services rendered during the war. After the war, both Cornplanter and the Pine Tree Chief Red Jacket recognized the sovereignty of the United States. Cornplanter favored alliance with the new government, whereas Red Jacket urged his people to continue to live as traditionally as possible.

The Iroquois council officially split into two parts during that time. One branch was located at the Six Nations Reserve and the other at Buffalo Creek. Gradually, the reservations as well as relations with the United States and Canada assumed more significance than intraconfederacy matters. In the 1840s, when the Buffalo Creek Reservation was sold, the fire there was rekindled at Onondaga. Some Senecas who had settled with the Cayuga at Buffalo Creek traveled to Ohio and were removed from there to the Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in the early 1830s.

The Seneca Handsome Lake (half brother of Cornplanter) founded the Longhouse religion in 1799. In 1838, the U.S. Senecas lost most of their remaining land in a fraudulent procedure. Four years later, a new treaty replaced the fraudulent one. However, it still included the sale of the Buffalo Creek and Tonawanda Reservations.

In 1848, an internal dispute over the payment of annuities led to the formal creation of the Seneca Nation of Indians (Allegheny and Cattaraugus) and the adoption of a U.S.-style constitution and government. With this action the people effectively withdrew from the Iroquois Confederacy and separated from the Tonawanda Reservation as well. In 1857, the Tonawanda Senecas won a long-standing fight to retain their reservation. In the midnineteenth century, illegal land leases led to the formation of several non-Native towns on the Allegheny reservation, the largest being Salamanca.

In Canada, the Senecas, referred to along with the Onondagas and Cayugas as the lower tribes, tended to retain more of their traditional beliefs than did the upper Iroquois tribes. Many subsequently adopted the Handsome Lake religion. Slowly, the general influence of non-Natives increased, as tribal councils, consensus decision making, and other aspects of traditional culture fell by the wayside. Traditional structures were further weakened by the allotment of reservation lands in the 1840s; the requirement under Canadian law, from 1869 on, of patrilineal descent; and the transition of league councils and other political structures to a municipal government. In 1924, the Canadian government terminated confederacy rule entirely, mandating an all-male elected system of government on the reserve.

In 1869, the Seneca Donehogawa (Ely Parker), a general in the U.S. Army, became the first Native American Commissioner of Indian Affairs. He stood for peace with the western tribes and fairness in general, shaking up the corrupt Indian Ring. However, trumped-up charges, of which he was fully exonerated, led to a congressional investigation and ultimately to his resignation in 1871.

The Native economy gradually shifted from primarily hunting to farming, dependence on annuities received for the sale of land, and some wage labor. By 1900 there were a number of missionary and state-supported schools on the reservations. Although there were also several churches, relatively few Senecas attended services. Instead, longhouses served as the place where the old ceremonies were maintained and continue to fill that role today. Most





Senecas spoke English by that time. With other members of the confederacy, the Senecas resisted the 1924 citizenship act, selective service, and all federal and state intrusions on their sovereignty.

The Senecas in Oklahoma elected a tribal council from the 1870s to 1937. By that time their land base had shrunk, mostly through allotment and outright theft, from about 65,000 acres to 140 acres. At that time they incorporated under state law as the Seneca-Cayuga tribe, adopted a constitution and bylaws, and elected a business committee. The tribe resisted termination in the 1950s.

In the 1960s, despite massive protests, the Army flooded over 9,000 acres of the Cornplanter tract and the Allegany Reservation to build the Kinzua Dam. Many important cultural and religious sites were lost. The tribe eventually received over \$15 million in damages.

Today in the Seneca Nation, the language remains intact, as do traditional political and social (clan) structures, with the exception of Canada's requirement that band membership be reckoned patrilineally. The people participate in Longhouse and many other celebrations, such as the midwinter, maple, Green Corn, and harvest ceremonies. Not all ceremonies are observed at all reservations, and, of those that are, there are occasionally local differences. A number of medicine ceremonies also continue to be performed.

There are a museum and library on the Allegany Reservation. The Cattaraugus Reservation features a museum, a library, and a sports arena. The community hosts a fall festival, an Indian fair, and two bazaars. Cayugas and Senecas have yet to resolve issues of Cayuga land ownership on the Cattaraugus Reservation. Few people there speak the Native language, but the community retains various traditional ceremonies.

Many Iroquois continue to see their relationship with the Canadian and U.S. governments as one between independent nations and allies, as opposed to one marked by paternalism and dependence. Occasionally, the frustrations inherent in this type of situation boil over into serious confrontations.

*See also* American Revolution, Native American Participation; Canandaigua (Pickering) Treaty; Cornplanter; French and Indian War; Handsome Lake; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System; Treaty Diplomacy, with Summary of Selected Treaties; Wampum.

## Shawnee

"Shawnee" is derived from *Shawanwa*, "southerner," their self-designation. These people acted in many ways as agents of cultural change and adaptation between the Northeast Woodlands and the Southeastern and Plains tribes. They were variously known to non-Natives as Ouchauanags, Chaouanons, Satanas, and Shawanos. They were culturally related to the Sauks, Foxes, and Kickapoos.

The Shawnees migrated often, but their territory in the late seventeenth century, when they may have numbered 50,000 or more, may have ranged from the Illinois River east to the Delaware, Susquehanna, and Savannah Rivers. Some scholars place them on the Cumberland River at or before that time. Shawnee villages have been located throughout an enormous area, ranging from the present states of New York and Illinois south to South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Their aboriginal home may have been around the south shore of Lake Erie, and they lived in southern Ohio during the second half of the eighteenth century. Shawnees spoke an Algonquin language.

A supreme deity, possibly female, controlled a large number of other deities, who in turn all had their places in Shawnee mythology. The people recognized twelve fundamental laws with religious/mythological origins. The Piqua division of the tribe was in charge of religious ceremonies. Each division was conceived of as ritually discrete, and each held a sacred pack.

Important communal ceremonies included the Bread Dance, held at planting and harvest times and organized by women. The ceremony featured dancing and a feast of meat hunted by twelve men and cooked by twelve women. The people also celebrated the Green Corn Dance (a harvest/thanksgiving/renewal ceremony) and various other sacred ceremonies.

The five Shawnee divisions were the Chilikothes, Kispokothas, Piquas, Hathawekelas, and Spitothas. They were linked through specific responsibilities, such as politics, ceremonialism, and war, and they were associated with specific territories and towns. Division membership was inherited patrilineally.

Political functions fell under either the peace or war organization. Tribal, clan, and division chiefs were hereditary (clan chiefs may have been associated more with ritual than politics) prior to the nine-





teenth century, although the office of war chief also had a merit component. There was also a tribal council made up of the chiefs as well as elderly men. Town councils probably existed as well.

Women related to male leaders could be chiefs on the town level. Women were also associated with peace and war organizations. Among their prerogatives were the right to ask for the cancellation of a war party, the right to spare prisoners, and direction over feasts and planting crops.

Another type of tribal division was geographical in nature. These groups were fluid in number, size, and composition as the tribe shifted its territory. This system was eventually responsible for the three formal Shawnee divisions of the late nineteenth century.

Up to twelve patrilineal clans controlled names; certain qualities associated with certain names also belonged to particular clans. Ritual and political appointments might follow from these qualities and were thus associated with clans. Birth occurred in a special, secluded hut, where mother and child remained for ten days, after which a naming ceremony was held. Marriage was probably arranged, at least in part, and was associated with gift giving. Only men buried Shawnee men, but both men and women buried women. Corpses were buried in their best clothing and usually prone, with the head facing west. Tobacco was sprinkled over the body. The mourning period of twelve days was bracketed with two feasts (spouses mourned for up to a year). Diverse death customs might include a condolence ceremony and, if a husband died, a replacement ceremony, when the widow chose a new husband about a year after the death.

The Shawnee created various house styles, depending on the period and location. Typical summer dwellings were bark-covered extended lodges. Town organization by division included ceremonial aspects as well, on the Southeast "town" model. Each Shawnee town had a large, wooden council house used for a number of purposes, including sacred and secular group functions and the ritual seclusion of warriors after fighting. Towns varied in size according to time and location, but the largest consisted of hundreds of houses and over one thousand people.

Women grew several varieties of corn. They also gathered a number of foods, including berries, cherries, and persimmon, and they tapped maple trees for their sap. Men hunted deer, bear, buffalo, and turkey. They also trapped a number of smaller mammals. The people left their summer towns in the fall

to establish winter camps. From there, able-bodied men and women left on months-long hunting trips. There was also a summer deer hunt. The Shawnee diet also included fish.

The people generally adopted the clothing of their neighbors, incorporating some styles of their former environs as well. In general, they wore little clothing. Items included buckskin breechclouts, aprons, and moccasins. Body painting and tattooing were extensively practiced. Personal ornamentation varied according to location.

According to tradition, the Shawnee people were once united with the Lenápes and the Nanticokes, perhaps in Labrador. They may have originated north of or in the Ohio Valley. They were probably associated with the Fort Ancient cultural complex (1000–1700), which was characterized by a mixed subsistence economy, including agriculture, with fortified villages having central courtyards. Town populations may have ranged up to 1,000 people.

The Iroquois may have begun pushing scattered Shawnee bands south into Ohio as early as the sixteenth century. Iroquois attacks on Shawnees in Ohio lasted until the mid- to late eighteenth century, when the Iroquois forced the last Shawnees out of that area. Shawnees pushed into Pennsylvania in the late seventeenth century, and a population center was established on the Savannah River by that time as well. In the early eighteenth century, bands began a general westward movement again, settling on the north bank of the Ohio River. By about 1750 most Shawnees had come to that location, with Iroquois permission. Some groups also joined the Creek Nation in Alabama about that time.

Heavy involvement in the fur trade from the early eighteenth century on soon left many Shawnee in the clutches of alcohol and debt. Most Shawnee bands were pro-French in the colonial wars, but some were steadfast British trade partners and military allies, especially the bands that came under the control of the Iroquois. Most Shawnees participated in Pontiac's Rebellion of 1763–1764. Under Chief Cornstalk, they also fought the British later in 1764 over the issue of land. Pressured by the colonies to cede land, the Shawnees joined the British cause in the American Revolution, hoping that the country that promulgated the Proclamation Line of 1763 would defend their interests against the rapacious colonials. The loss in that war and in Little Turtle's War (1794) led to further land cessions in Ohio and Indiana. In the 1790s, a group of Shawnees and





Lenápes moved to Missouri to occupy a Spanish land grant.

In the early nineteenth century, two Shawnees—twins by birth—achieved renown as among the last great military defenders of Indian land in the entire region. The shaman Tenskwatawa, or Shawnee Prophet, encouraged his people to return to their traditions and eschew all non-Native elements, particularly Christianity and alcohol. He also claimed to have special medicine that would help repulse the whites. His brother was Tecumseh, a brilliant orator and military strategist. Envisioning an Indian country from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico, he encouraged pan-Indian solidarity and resistance to the domination of the United States. In particular, he believed that no single Native American had the moral right to sell or cede any Indian land.

In 1812, Tenskwatawa foolishly moved against a non-Native military expedition before the alliance was complete. The Indian forces were defeated, and Tenskwatawa's power proved to be ineffective. This action fatally disrupted the alliance before it had a chance to coalesce. Tecumseh quickly joined the British cause in the War of 1812, hoping that what remained of his alliance, in conjunction with British forces, could defeat the Americans. Although as a general in the British Army he led many successful campaigns, many Indians refused to join the war. Tecumseh was fatally shot in October 1813.

Their power broken, many Ohio tribes, including the Shawnees, became refugees, drifting in scattered bands throughout the present-day states Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. Meanwhile, the Missouri Shawnees living on Spanish land were slowly joined by other Shawnee groups. Resulting tensions forced the groups apart once again. About 1845, groups of Shawnees gathered near Oklahoma's Canadian River and later became known as the Absentee Shawnees (this tribe was composed mostly of the former divisions of Hathawekelas, Kispokothas, and Piquas). Most members accepted allotments soon after the reservation was officially established in 1872, and by 1900 most had assimilated into the dominant society. Factionalism between progressives and traditionalists kept the two sides apart throughout the early twentieth century.

In 1825 the United States established a reservation in Kansas for the Indians still living on the Spanish land grant. Shawnees still in Ohio moved there in the early to mid-1830s, although they were eventually forced into Oklahoma, where the groups

split up. One part joined the Cherokees (known thereafter as the Cherokee Shawnees or Loyal Shawnees, from their Unionist stance during the Civil War), and the other joined the Absentee Shawnees.

In 1831, a group of Shawnees and Senecas who had been living in Ohio settled in Ottawa County, Oklahoma. When the groups separated in 1867, the Shawnees became known as the Eastern Shawnees. They organized formally as the Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma in 1937, when they officially broke apart from the Senecas. Despite their loyalty to the Union in the Civil War, most Shawnees were forced out of Kansas and into Oklahoma, where they merged with the Cherokees in 1869. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, scattered Shawnee communities in Ohio and Indiana retained their Indian identity and some of their traditions. These communities came together politically in 1971 as the United Remnant Band (URB).

The URB's main land holdings now serve as a ceremonial and cultural center, where the tribe conducts powwows, youth programs, and ceremonies. Most are well integrated into the surrounding non-Native population. The Absentee Shawnees maintain a police force, a tribal court system, and a clinic. Most of the people are Christians, especially Baptists and Quakers. The Native language is still spoken. The more traditional Big Jim band holds quasi traditional dances every year.

The facilities of the Eastern Shawnees include a tribal headquarters, a recreational park, and an eye clinic. The tribe also runs a nutrition clinic for the elderly, provides most of its own health care, and publishes a newsletter. Few speak their Native language. The Loyal Shawnees maintain a cultural center and several traditions, such as the Bread, Green Corn, and Buffalo Dances. The Native language among these people is practically defunct.

*See also* Agriculture; Algonquin; Tecumseh; Tenskwatawa

## Stockbridge-Munsee

*See* Mahican.

## Tuscarora

*See* Iroquois.





## Wampanoag

“Wampanoag” means “Eastern People.” They were formerly known as Pokanokets, which originally was the name of Massasoit’s village but came to be the designation of all the territory and people under that great sachem. The Wampanoags or Pokanokets also included the Nausets of Cape Cod, the Sakonets of Rhode Island, and various tribes of the off-shore islands. (*See also* Narragansett.)

Traditionally, Wampanoags lived in southern New England from just north of Cape Cod, but including Nantucket and Martha’s Vineyard, to Narragansett Bay. There were approximately 6,500 Wampanoags in 1600, including tributary island tribes. Wampanoags spoke the Massachusetts dialect of an Algonquin language.

The people recognized a supreme deity and many lesser deities. Priests, or medicine men, provided religious leadership. Their duties included mediating with the spirit world to cure, to forecast the weather, and to conduct ceremonies.

A chief sachem led the tribe. In theory his power was absolute, but in practice he was advised by a council of village and clan chiefs (sagamores). The village was the main political unit. Village leadership had a hereditary element, which may be responsible for the existence of women chiefs. Villages may have made their own temporary alliances. Overall political structure consolidated and became more hierarchical after the epidemics of 1616–1619.

Wampanoags were organized into a number of clans. Their annual round of activities took them from winter villages to gathering sites at summer fields. Women had clearly defined and significant political rights. Social stratification was reflected in leadership and marriage arrangements. Leading men might have more than one wife. The dead were wrapped in mats and buried with various possessions, mourners blackened their faces, and the souls of the dead were said to travel west.

There were at least thirty villages in the early seventeenth century, most of which were located by water. People lived in wigwams, both circular and rectangular. The largest measured up to 100 feet long; smaller ones were about fifteen feet in diameter. The houses consisted of pole frames covered with birchbark, hickory bark, or woven mats.

Wigwams tended to have central fires, but long-houses featured rows of several fires. Some houses may have been palisaded. Their larger structures

were probably built in winter villages. Mat beds stood on platforms against the walls or directly on the ground. Skins served as bedding. All towns featured a central open space used for ceremonies and meetings. The people also built sweat houses.

Men hunted fowl, as well as small and large game, with the white-tailed deer being the most important. They stalked, trapped, and snared deer and may have hunted them in communal drives. They also grew tobacco. The people ate seals and beached whales, and they gathered shellfish, often steaming them over hot rocks. They fished for freshwater and saltwater species in the winter (through the ice) and in the summer. Women gathered roots, wild fruits, berries, and nuts as well as maple sap for sugar. Women began growing corn, beans, and squash in the late prehistoric period. Fish may have been used as fertilizer.

Dugout canoes could hold up to forty passengers, with the average being ten to fifteen. There may also have been some number of birchbark canoes. Women wore skirts and poncho-style blouses as well as soft-soled moccasins. They donned rabbit and beaver robes in cold weather. Men wore skin leggings and breechcloths and soft-soled moccasins. They also wore turkey feather cloaks and bone and shell necklaces. They tended to pull out all their hair except for a scalp lock.

Wampanoag/Pokanoket culture developed steadily in their approximate historical location for about 8,000 years. They had already been weakened from disease and war with the Penobscots when they encountered non-Natives in the early seventeenth century. They had also been forced by the Narragansetts to accept tributary status.

The people greeted the Pilgrims in 1620, although there had been contact with the British some years earlier. The Grand Sachem Massasoit made a treaty of friendship with the British. His people helped the Europeans survive by showing them how to grow crops and otherwise survive in a land alien to them. Men named Squanto and Samoset are especially known in this regard. Largely as a result of Massasoit’s influence, the Wampanoags remained neutral in the Pequot War of 1636. Many Indian residents of Cape Cod and the islands of Nantucket and Martha’s Vineyard were Christianized during the midseventeenth century.

Massasoit died in 1662. At that time his second son, Metacomet, also known as Philip, renewed the peace. However, relations were strained by British abuses such as the illegal occupation of





land; trickery, often involving the use of alcohol; and the destruction of resources, including forests and game. Diseases also continued to take a toll on the population.

Finally, local tribes reached the breaking point. The Pokanoket, now mainly relocated to the Bristol, Rhode Island, area and led by Metacomet, took the lead in uniting Indians from southern and central New England in King Philip's War (1675–1676). This was an attempt by the Wampanoag, Narragansett, and other tribes to drive the British out of their territory. However, the fighting began before all the preparations had been completed. In the end, hundreds of non-Native settlers died, but the two main Indian tribes were nearly exterminated. The tribal name of Pokanoket was also officially banned.

Most Wampanoags were either enslaved or killed. Survivors fled into the interior or onto the Cape and the islands, whose tribes had not participated in the war. Some also fled to the Great Lakes region and Canada. For centuries following this event, local Indians were cheated, discriminated against, used as servants, or, at best, ignored.

The Indian population on Nantucket Island declined from possibly 1,500 in 1600 to 358 in 1763 to twenty in 1792, mainly owing to disease. The last of the indigenous population died in 1855. Indians at Mashpee, on Cape Cod, were assigned fifty square miles of land in 1660. Self-government continued until 1788, when the state of Massachusetts placed the Indians under its control. Most of their lands were allotted in 1842. Trespass by non-Natives was a large problem during the entire period. Near Mashpee, the 2,500-acre Herring Pond Reservation was allotted in 1850.

Indian land in Fall River was divided into lots in 1707, and a 160-acre reservation was created in 1709. The people's right of self-government was abrogated in the early nineteenth century. The reservation was eliminated entirely in 1907. Of the three reservations on Martha's Vineyard in the nineteenth century—Chappaquiddick, Christiantown, and Gay Head—only the latter remained by 1900. This group was never governed by non-Native overseers, and its isolation allowed the people to retain their identity and cohesion to a far greater extent than other Wampanoag communities.

Other groups of Wampanoag descendents maintained a separate existence until the nineteenth century, when most became fully assimilated. The Wampanoag Nation was founded in 1928 in response to the pan-Indian movement of the times.

Contemporary Wampanoag events, many of which have both sacred and secular/public components, include a powwow on the Fourth of July (Mashpee), Indian Day and Cranberry Day (Gay Head), and a new year's ceremony and the Strawberry Festival (Assonet). Many Gay Head people have left the island, but many also plan to return. The Mashpee people continue to seek a land base and hope that federal recognition will advance their prospects. The community is in the process of working out a fair relationship with the increasingly non-Native population of the town. The Pokanoket tribe, led by descendents of Massasoit, seeks federal recognition, as well as stewardship of 267 acres of land in Bristol, Rhode Island.

*See also* Canoes; Massasoit; Pequot War; Squanto.

## Winnebago

"Winnebago" is Algonquin for "People of the Filthy Water," referring to the lower Fox River and Lake Winnebago, which became clogged with dead fish every summer. This name was translated by the French into *Puants* and back into English as "Stinkards." The people's self-designation was *Hochungra*, "People of the Big (Real, or Parent) Speech (Voices)" or "Great Fish (Trout) Nation." Today they are known as the Ho-Chunk Nation.

The Winnebagos shared cultural characteristics with Plains Siouans such as the Otoes, Iowas, and Missourias as well as with Woodland/Plains Algonquins such as the Sauks, Foxes, and Menominees. Little is known of Winnebago culture prior to their brush with annihilation in the early seventeenth century. In the early seventeenth century, perhaps 3,000 Winnebagos were located in Wisconsin on the Door Peninsula, Green Bay, just south of the Menominees. The Winnebagos may also once have lived in west central Wisconsin. Winnebago belongs or is related to the Chiwere division of the Siouan language family.

The primary deity was the sun, or earth maker. The people also recognized other deities, some sex identified, and many lesser spirits. Winnebago cosmology was intricate and complex, and, although most people were unfamiliar with the details, most also observed the various rituals associated with aspects of traditional religious belief having to do with personal visions, clan membership, and life cycle events.





Young people undertook vision quests to acquire guardian spirits. These were said to provide luck and success in hunting, war, or curing. The Midewiwin (Medicine Dance) ceremony differed from the Algonquin version in that it dealt mainly with life and death as well as life after death. Clan feasts focused on making offerings to the clan animal. There was also a winter feast.

War bundle ceremonies, held under clan auspices, resulted from particular visions. They included ritual offerings and were meant to enhance the spiritual power of the military enterprise. There were several kinds of shamans: Those associated with war and curing were considered good, but those associated with hunting might be good or bad (witches). Certain older people used both medicinal plants and spiritual power to cure disease.

There was a hereditary head chief in former times. As the population dispersed during the eighteenth century, population centers became more autonomous. Dual chieftainships (peace and war chiefs) existed in villages and among head chiefs. Both civil and war chiefs were selected from hereditary candidates according to merit. One clan, the Bear, served as a tribal police force.

Generosity may have been the people's highest value. The tribe was organized into two divisions, earth and air. There were also twelve patrilineal clans, four among the air division and eight among the earth division. Clans were related to animals and were represented by mounds in the shape of animals. They governed marriage, leadership, and games such as lacrosse. Each clan also owned certain names, ceremonies, responsibilities, and restrictions. Descent may have been matrilineal in the distant past.

Berdaches (transvestites), thought to be divinely inspired, were accorded respect. The mother's brother(s) played an important role in raising a boy. Although menstruating women were isolated, some degree of courtship may have taken place at those times. Marriages were often arranged by close male relatives of a woman. In-laws were generally avoided out of respect.

People enjoyed various sports, such as lacrosse, as well as gambling games such as the moccasin game. The Winnebagos were cannibals. At four-night wakes held for the dead, people told stories and gambled for the souls of enemies, which would later assist the dead on their way to the afterlife. Corpses were buried on scaffolds.

The few large late seventeenth-century villages became forty or so scattered settlements by the early nineteenth century. People lived in rectangular bark- or mat-covered lodges. There was also a rectangular council house for meetings and ceremonies and similarly built sweat houses. From the eighteenth century on, as populations became less concentrated, people began to build domed wigwams.

Women grew gardens of corn, beans, and squash as well as tobacco. Men hunted buffalo communally on the nearby prairie and trapped small game. Other large game included deer and bear. Hunting parties probably included women. Runners traveled between winter hunting parties and the villages, exchanging fresh meat for dried vegetables. Fish was often caught at night by the light of pine pitch torches. Women gathered fruit, berries, and tubers as well as wild rice from canoes.

Most clothing was made from tanned buckskin. Men wore deer hair headdresses dyed red. They also wore breechclouts, leggings, and soft-soled moccasins, possibly fringed and/or decorated with quillwork. Women wore sleeveless dresses (consisting of two skins sewed together at the shoulder and belted) over a nettle fiber undershirt, leggings, and moccasins with a distinctive flap over the toe.

Winnebagos were known as enthusiastic fighters. Captured enemies were regularly eaten. Clans owned sacred war bundles, which contained items dictated in a vision by a particular war-related spirit. One clan, the Hawk, had the power of life and death over prisoners of war. War honors included counting coup.

According to tradition, the Winnebagos were united with the Chiwere Siouans in the distant past. Their ancestors were in Wisconsin as early as around 700. As the groups moved north and west, and then south and west, the Winnebagos may have remained in the forest while the other Chiwere speakers moved onto the prairie and Plains in the early to midseventeenth century. They probably participated in the fifteenth-century Mound Builder culture. They were also probably allied with the sixteenth-century Temple Mound people, based at Cahokia, near present-day St. Louis, and borrowed some of their cultural elements (perhaps including cannibalism).

The Winnebagos may have defeated the Illinois in the early seventeenth century. Shortly after the French arrival, around 1634, Michigan-area Algonquins fleeing from Iroquois attacks swarmed into Winnebago territory. Winnebago warfare against these people led to the defeat of most of the refugee





groups. Despite their strength and military capability, by the midseventeenth century the Winnebagos had been reduced to near extinction by disease and war with the Illinois, Ottawa, and other Algonquin tribes. At that point, the Winnebagos were forced to sue for peace with their enemies, adopting and marrying many of them to make up for their losses and in the process incorporating many aspects of Algonquin culture.

They became involved in the fur trade from the mid- to late seventeenth century. That development tended to disperse the tribe west and south of Lake Winnebago. Material changes and technological dependence soon followed. They were French allies during the colonial wars, but pro-British in the American Revolution. They participated in Tecumseh's Rebellion (1809–1811) and tentatively in Black Hawk's War (1832).

Unstable relations between the European and Euro-American powers had aided the Indian cause. The end of fighting between the United States and Britain in 1815 ushered in the era of land cessions and removals for the Winnebagos. They were powerless to prevent the United States from pressuring the Menominees to cede land traditionally belonging to the Winnebagos so that Indians from New York might have a home in the west.

Crowding by non-Natives and pressure from the U.S. government led the Winnebagos to cede their Wisconsin lands between 1825 and 1837 (at least the final treaty was blatantly fraudulent). By then two factions had developed within the tribe: those agreeing to removal and those determined not to leave. The former group, determined to acculturate, soon moved onto several successive reservations in Iowa, Minnesota, South Dakota, and finally Nebraska. Up to one-third of the people died during the removals, particularly on the move to South Dakota. There was an especially severe smallpox epidemic in 1836.

In Nebraska, people continued to grow gardens and hunt. Most of the land was allotted by 1900. Allotments were generally leased to non-Natives, who profited by the towns that grew up in the area, most notably the town of Winnebago. In the early twentieth century, most Winnebago land was sold to non-Natives. At the same time, forced attendance at boarding schools had a particularly destructive effect on the Winnebago. Demoralization set in, and factionalism, based on religious differences (such as Christian sects and the Native American Church), rent the tribe. As was the case

so often, educational and employment opportunities were closed to Indians.

The tribe reorganized in 1936 under the Indian Reorganization Act but was unable to stem the tide of despair, poverty, and growing social problems. Many aspects of traditional culture had vanished by that time. The government soon began a program of purchasing homes in scattered counties for tribal members. In the 1960s, the tribe benefited from both federal antipoverty programs and its own community development work.

Meanwhile, by the 1870s over half of the tribe had returned to Wisconsin, which some members had never left. In the 1880s, many members received scattered forty-acre parcels of land under the Homestead Act, most of which were later sold. The people lived in a semitrade manner until well into the twentieth century, despite the growing presence of missionaries and missionary schools. In 1906, the people lost much of their land to tax foreclosure.

In 1908, many Wisconsin Winnebagos became involved with the Native American Church. As in Nebraska, the tribe soon developed bitter factions based at least in part on religious differences. The people continued to gather berries and harvest fruit and vegetables where they could. Tourism—mainly craft sales (especially ash splint baskets)—became increasingly important after World War I.

The Wisconsin Winnebagos have retained their clan structure in the context of the two divisions, earth and air (or sky). Many people still observe traditional religious ceremonies such as the vision quest and various festivals. They celebrate a powwow around Labor Day. Gaming remains controversial, but even traditionalists defend it on grounds of sovereignty. Wisconsin Winnebagos are known in part for their dedicated service in the U.S. armed forces. The Native American Church remains popular in both locations.

*See also* Berdaches; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Fur Trade; Native American Church of North America.

## Wyandotte

"Wyandotte" or "Wyandot" is from *Wendat*, "islanders" or "People of the Peninsula," the self-designation of the Huron people. "Huron" is an archaic French reference to the hair on the head of a wild





boar, meaning “boarlike” or “boorish” and referring to the roached hairstyle, which is a slur to many Wyandottes. The Wyandottes are a successor tribe to the Huron Confederacy, which was destroyed in 1650 and which consisted of four or five tribes: Attignaouantans (“People of the Bear”), Attigneenongnahacs (“Barking Dogs or People of the Cord”), Arendahronons (“People of the Rock”), Tohontaenrats (“People of the Deer”), and possibly Ataronchronons (“People of the Marshes”). Contemporary Canadian Hurons are known as Hurons-Wendats.

In the sixteenth century, Hurons lived in the Saint Lawrence River Valley. By 1600 at the latest, they inhabited an area known as Huronia, which included land between Georgian Bay (Lake Huron) and Lake Ontario. From a level between 16,000 and 30,000 people in the early seventeenth century, the Huron population dropped to about 10,000 in the midseventeenth century and to fewer than 200 in Canada in the early nineteenth century. Huron/Wyandottes spoke mutually intelligible dialects of a Northern Iroquoian language.

The Hurons recognized an almost unlimited number of spirits and deities, the most powerful of which were the sun and sky. Dreams were considered important as foreshadowing good or evil. There were four types of annual religious feasts: prewar singing, the departure of a dying man, thanksgiving, and healing. Of these, the last were related to medicine societies.

The Dance of the Fire, which involved physical contact with boiling water and hot stones or coals, was meant to attract the assistance of a curing spirit. The most important celebration was the Feast of the Dead, held every ten years or so. Relatives cleaned, rewrapped, and buried bones in a common tribal grave. Then they feasted and honored their ancestors’ lives in story. This ceremony was accompanied by games, contests, and gift giving.

The tribes of the Huron Confederacy were led by a council of chiefs from each tribe. This council had no jurisdiction in purely local matters. The position of chief was inherited matrilineally, but within that context it was subject to merit criteria and a confirmation process. Large villages were governed by clan civil and war chiefs. The chiefs’ male relatives acted as their councilors. Decisions were made by consensus and were not, strictly speaking, binding on individuals or, if a tribal-level decision, on villages.

Generosity was valued to the point where stinginess could leave one open to charges of witch-

craft, a capital offense. Each of the constituent clan families was led by the senior mother. Collectively, these women also selected the chiefs from within the appropriate families. Certain lineages in clans were more important than others; holding feasts was a means to achieve status. Crimes against the body politic, such as witchcraft or treason, were punishable by death, but serious crimes like murder were subject to settlement, including compensation.

Premarital sexual relations, beginning shortly after puberty, were common and accepted, within certain clan restrictions. A couple need not marry in the eyes of society, but, if they chose to, marriages were apparently monogamous. Divorce was unusual after children had been born.

Corpses, wrapped in furs, lay in state for several days, during which time people gave speeches and feasted. A mourning period lasted a year, during which time a surviving spouse could not remarry. Every ten years or so the tribe held a feast of the dead.

There were at least eighteen villages in the early seventeenth century. Villages were located on high ground near waterways and woods. The larger ones were often palisaded with up to five rows of sharpened stakes. Public spaces were located between the longhouses. Larger villages had up to 100 longhouses and 2,000 people or more; the average size was perhaps 800 people. Villages were moved every ten to twenty years, after the local soil and firewood were exhausted.

The people built pole-frame, bark houses, twenty-five to thirty feet wide and high and about 100 to 150 (even up to 240) feet long. Each longhouse was home to eight to twenty-four families, with an average of about six people per family. The longhouses tended to be smoky, and fleas and mice were particular pests. The larger house of chiefs also served as council/ceremonial houses.

Villages were economically self-sufficient. Women grew corn, beans, squash, and sunflowers. Men may have grown some tobacco. Corn, the staple food, was eaten mainly as soup with some added foods. Women also gathered blueberries, nuts, and fruits as well as acorns in times of famine.

Men hunted deer, bear, numerous other large and small game, and fowl. Bears were occasionally trapped and then fattened for a year or two before being eaten for special feasts. Dogs were also eaten, as were fish, clams, crabs, and turtles.

The digging stick and an antler or bone hoe were the primary agricultural tools. Women wove mats, baskets, and nets of Indian hemp, reeds, bark, and





corn husks. They also made leather bags; these and the baskets were painted or decorated with porcupine quills. Men made wooden items such as utensils, bowls, and shields as well as stone or clay pipes and heavy stone tools such as axes. Pottery and wooden mortars were related to food preparation.

Most people traded to acquire goods to give away and thus acquire status. The Hurons were important traders even before the French arrived. They had a monopoly on corn and tobacco. They also dealt in furs and chert, wampum beads, dried berries, mats, fish, and hemp. Extensive trade routes took the Hurons all over much of the eastern Great Lakes and the Saint Lawrence River region and kept their society rich and stable. Trade routes were owned or controlled by the people who had made them as well as by other members of their lineage. Intratribal use of the trails entailed payment of a fee. Intertribal use was prohibited. Rivers were navigated via birchbark canoe.

Women made clothing from buckskin. It consisted generally of shirts, breechclouts, leggings, skirts, and moccasins. Fur capes were added in the winter. Clothing was decorated with fringe and brightly painted designs. Face painting and tattooing were popular, especially among men.

Hurons never achieved the kind of unity of purpose and command essential for defeating or even realistically engaging an enemy as powerful as the Iroquois. People fought mainly for blood revenge as well as to gain personal status. Most fighting was practiced by surprise attacks on small groups. Captives were often ritually tortured and sometimes eaten. Some, especially women and children, might be adopted.

The Hurons probably originated with other Iroquoians in the Mississippi Valley. They encountered Jacques Cartier in 1534 and Samuel de Champlain in 1609. The Iroquois wars probably began sometime in the sixteenth century, if not earlier, when those people drove the Huron tribes out of the Saint Lawrence Valley, lands that they may originally have taken by warfare from the Iroquois. Thereafter the Hurons sided with the Algonquins against the Iroquois.

The people entered the fur trade in the early seventeenth century, mainly as intermediaries between the French and other tribes. Catholic missionaries soon followed the traders, as did venereal disease and alcohol. Until the late 1640s, the Hurons dominated the French beaver pelt trade. The French, however, were reluctant to sell arms to unconverted Hurons, a policy that was to have disastrous conse-

quences. Severe epidemics in the late 1630s were followed by more Christian conversions and increased factionalism.

The Iroquois, armed with Dutch firearms, launched their final invasion in 1648. These tribes were allied with the British and sought to expand their trapping area and their control over neighboring tribes. Within two years they had destroyed the Hurons. Some Hurons escaped to Lorette, near Quebec City, where they were granted land. They continued to grow crops, hunt, and trap until the end of the nineteenth century, when craft sales and factory work became the most important economic activities. They also intermarried regularly with the French.

Other Hurons settled among tribes such as the Eries, who were themselves later destroyed by the Iroquois. Many were adopted by the victorious Iroquois nations. Some Hurons escaped to the west, where they joined with the Tionotati (Petun, or Tobacco nation), a related tribe. Under continuing pressure from the Iroquois, they began wandering around the Michilimackinac–Green Bay region, where they hunted and remained active in the fur trade. Although never a large tribe, membership in various alliances allowed them to play an important role in regional affairs.

Jesuits continued to minister to these people, who migrated to Detroit around 1700. They split into pro-British (at Sandusky) and pro-French groups in the mideighteenth century. The latter group became known as the Wyandottes and claimed territory north of the Ohio River, where they allowed Shawnee and Lenápe bands to settle. Wyandottes fought the British in Pontiac's Rebellion (1763).

Land cessions to non-Natives began in 1745 and continued into the nineteenth century. Wyandottes sold their lands on the Canadian side of the Detroit River in 1790 in exchange for reserves, most of which were ceded in the early nineteenth century; the rest were allotted in severalty later in the century. These people sided with the British in the Revolutionary War and split their allegiance in the War of 1812.

Their land in Ohio and Michigan was recognized by the United States after the War of 1812, but the tribe ceded most of it by 1819. With the decline of the fur trade, many Wyandottes began farming and acculturating to non-Native society. More land was ceded in 1832, and in 1842 the people had ceded all Ohio and Michigan lands and moved to the Indian Territory (Kansas), on land purchased from the Lenápes and on individual sections. During this





period, the question of slavery increased factionalism among tribal members; some were slaveholders, whereas others were adamant abolitionists.

An 1855 treaty provided for land allotment (most allotments were soon alienated) and divided the tribe into citizens and noncitizens. Three years later, roughly 200 Wyandottes settled on the Seneca Reservation. The more traditional (noncitizen) group relocated to the new Indian Territory (Oklahoma) in 1867, after the Seneca-Cayugas agreed to donate part of their reservation there. This reservation was allotted in 1893. The Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma was created in 1937. It was terminated in the 1950s but was rerecognized in 1978. The citizen group remained in Kansas, incorporating as the Wyandot Nation of Kansas in 1959.

The tribe in Oklahoma provides several important services, including student scholarships and meals for the elderly. The people are working on identifying and preserving aspects of their cultural traditions. The Hurons of Lorette (Quebec) are all Catholic and part French. The Canadian National Railway bisects the reserve. Most Indians own property. Children attend school on the reserve through grade four. The reserve is similar to neighboring towns in Quebec. There is some effort to revive the Native language.

*See also* Fur Trade; Disease, Historic and Contemporary; Deganawidah; Haudenosaunee Confederacy, Political System.



# *Native Americans of the Subarctic*



## **Beaver**

"Beaver" comes from *Tsattine*, "dwellers among the beaver." Today the people refer to themselves as *Deneza* or *Dunne-za*, "Real People." They were culturally similar to the Chipewyans and Sekanis. Traditional Beaver territory (in the mideighteenth century) is the prairies south of the Peace River and east of the Rocky Mountains and on the upper Peace River (present-day Alberta and British Columbia). They may once also have lived in the Lake Claire area and the upper parts of the Athapaska River. The Beaver population may have been between 1,000 and 1,500 in the seventeenth century. The Beaver people speak a Northern Athapaskan language.

A well-defined cosmology and mythology were intimately connected with vision quests. Young people fasted to acquire guardian spirits, mainly in dreams. Various food and behavioral taboos, as well as songs and medicine bundles, were associated with a particular animal spirit. The most important festival took place twice a year and involved the fire sacrifice of food to ensure continued bounty. Dreamers, or prophets—people in touch through dreams with the past and future—had special powers. Shamans were those who had acquired especially powerful guardian spirits. They cured by singing, blowing, and sucking illness-linked objects from the body.

Three or four independent bands had their own hunting areas and leaders. Leadership was based on skill and knowledge, which was in turn gained partly through experience and partly through dreaming. Bands were composed of hunting groups of roughly thirty people; the size and composition of

the bands varied. Groups grew in size during the summer and broke into constituent parts in the winter and early spring.

Men might have more than one wife. Newlyweds lived with the woman's family and served her parents for a period of time, but descent was patriarchal. Corpses were placed on birchbark strips and buried in tree scaffolds or on platforms. Mourners gave away their possessions.

The typical dwelling was a three-pole conical moose or caribou skin teepee. Winter lodges of logs were covered with moss and earth. In the summer, people mainly lived in conical brush shelters or simple lean-tos.

The Beaver people were basically nomadic hunters of moose, caribou, beaver, and other animals. Men drove buffalo into enclosures as late as the early nineteenth century. Fish were not an important part of the diet except in emergencies. People also snared smaller animals, such as rabbits, and women gathered berries and other plant food.

Food was often hot-rock boiled in containers of spruce or birch bark or woven spruce roots. Bags were generally made of moose and caribou skins. Bark containers were important as well. Arrowheads were mostly flint, as were knife blades, although people also used moose horn or beaver teeth for this purpose. To encourage certain plants and animals, people regularly burned parts of the prairie.

Favorite trade locations included Vermilion and the mouth of the Smoky River. The relation of oral tradition was taken very seriously and considered a fine art. Women made most clothing from moose skin. Clothing consisted of shirts, leggings, fur-lined





moccasins, and a knee-length coat. Men added breechclouts after being influenced by the Crees. Women sometimes wore a short apron. Clothing was decorated with porcupine quill embroidery. Women drew toboggans before the advent of dog power in the twentieth century. People traveled in spruce-bark and birchbark canoes as well as on snowshoes.

Ancestors of the Beavers were in their historical territory 10,000 years ago. The Beaver and Sekani people may once have been united. By the mideighteenth century, Crees, armed with guns, had confined the Beaver Indians to the Peace River basin. At that time, eastern Beaver groups joined the Crees, adopting many of their customs and habits, while western groups moved farther up the Peace River, toward the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. The Sarcees probably branched off from the Beaver Indians about that time as well.

In 1799, the leader Makenunatane (Swan Chief) sought to attract both missionaries and a trading post. The people became more and more involved in the fur trade during the nineteenth century. Most people had accepted Catholicism by about 1900, although many retained a core of their former religious ideas.

Although they had been obtaining arms and other items of non-Native manufacture for years, direct contact between the people and non-Native traders occurred only in 1876. New foods were introduced, and for the first time the people's subsistence activities were fundamentally altered. The Beavers signed Treaty 8 with Canada in 1899, under which the Indians accepted reserves but retained extensive subsistence rights. Canadian officials began appointing nominal chiefs after that.

In the early twentieth century, some Beaver people were raising horses and trapping for a living. By 1930, non-Native farmers had settled much of their territory. Construction of the Alaska Highway in the early 1940s disrupted the nomadic life of the last traditional Beaver bands, and in the 1950s and 1960s, oil and gas became major regional industries.

The ancient prophet tradition has waned in recent years, although dreamers' songs remain the basis for much ceremonialism as well as an important part of the summer gatherings known as Treaty 8 Days. The Alaska and Mackenzie Highway has separated the Beavers of Alberta and British Columbia from one another. Younger people are literate in English, although Beaver remains the first language for most.

Effective rule by Indian agents came to an end in the 1980s, when the people began to administer their own affairs through such organizations as the Treaty Eight Tribal Association. Children attend band and/or provincial and/or private schools. Most people have high school educations. In general, housing and social services are considered adequate.

*See also* Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan Peoples; Canada, Indian Policies of; Fur Trade.

## Carrier

"Carrier" comes from the French *Porteur* and is originally from a Sekani word referring to the custom among certain bands for widows to carry their dead husbands' bones on their backs in a birchbark container. They called themselves *Takulli* ("People Who Go upon the Water") in the nineteenth century, apparently a word given to them from without. The people usually refer to themselves by the subtribe or band name.

The Carriers were strongly influenced by Northwest Coast tribes and were culturally similar to the Sekanis and the Chilcotins. Carrier territory is the region of Eutsuk, Francis, Babine, and Stuart Lakes and the upper Skeena and Fraser Rivers in north central British Columbia. Their population numbered approximately 8,500 in the late eighteenth century. Carriers spoke dialects (Lower, Central, and Upper) of a Northern Athapaskan language.

Traditional religious belief may have included recognition of a supreme deity in the sky. Of key importance were a host of supernatural beings, mostly animal based, with whom the people tried to communicate through fasting and dreams. Through their rituals, the people sought to gain the favor and power of these spiritual beings. The people also believed in life after death, perhaps in a land to the west. Some especially Tsimshian-influenced groups adopted a secret cannibal society.

Young men fasted and dreamed in remote places in an effort to attract a guardian spirit protector (optional in the southern regions). Those with special power became shamans, who could cure illness, although they themselves might be killed if a patient died. Shamans could also retrieve lost souls and forecast the future.





Each of roughly fifteen independent subtribes/regional bands was composed of one or more villages/local bands. The subtribes were associated with specific subsistence areas. In the south, leaders were heads of extended families who acted as spokesmen and subsistence coordinators. Shamans were also politically important in the south.

The most important political unit in central and northern areas was the hereditary matrilineal clan, of which there were roughly twenty. They were divided into houses, which had hereditary chiefs who supervised subsistence areas, provided for the poor, and represented clan interests in councils.

Society was divided into ranked, hereditary social classes of nobles, commoners, and a few slaves. Depending on the specific location, descent could be through the mother's or father's line. Except on the Tsimshian border, commoners had the possibility of obtaining sufficient goods to give potlatches and attain the noble rank. Crests were displayed on totem poles, houses, and regalia. Crests, titles, and honors were considered clan property and could usually be bought and sold.

Trespass was considered a serious offense, but chiefs could often work out an arrangement or decide on appropriate compensation. The extended family was the main social and economic unit. Potlatching occurred in the north. Feasts were given and presents distributed at important life cycle events. The installation of a new chief was considered the most important occasion of all, requiring numerous potlatches. The entire potlatch complex became especially important from the late eighteenth through the late nineteenth centuries.

Women were responsible for most domestic tasks, such as carrying water and firewood, cooking, tanning skins, and sewing clothing. Men made houses, tools, and weapons; fought; and acquired animal foods. Women gave birth in a specially constructed hut assisted by their husbands and/or other women. Names were taken from a hereditary stock, if available, or from dreams if not.

At adolescence, boys were encouraged to increase their level of physical activity, whereas girls were secluded and their activity restricted for up to two years. Young women selected a mate with their parents' assistance. The couple was engaged after the man gave valuable items to his prospective mother-in-law, and married after the couple spent the night together at a later date. They lived with the woman's parents for up to a year while the new husband helped provide for his new in-laws.

Corpses were cremated. Widows were expected to hold their husband's burning body for as long as they could. In the east, women carried the charred bones of their husbands on their backs for several years.

Semipermanent villages served as bases for hunting and fishing expeditions. Rectangular winter houses were built of pole frames covered with spruce bark, whose gabled roofs extended to the ground. These houses held several families. Some southern groups built underground winter lodges similar to those of the Chilcotins and Shuswaps. Summer houses had low, plank walls and plank or bark gabled roofs. There were also specialty menstrual, fishing, sweat, and smoking structures.

Fish, especially salmon, was perhaps the most important item in the diet, although this was less true in the south. People fished through the ice for carp and other species. Before the snow fell, men hunted caribou, mountain goats, and bear as well as smaller game such as beaver, marmot, and hare. Women gathered a number of roots, bulbs, greens, and berries.

The Carriers imported woven baskets from the Bella Coolas, Chilcotins, and Shuswaps; Chilkat blankets, cedar boxes, and stone labrets from the Tsimshians; and wooden cooking boxes, eulachon (smelt) oil, shell ornaments, and copper bracelets from other coast tribes. There was also some intra-tribal trade. The people mainly exported prepared hides and furs.

Men made spruce- and birchbark canoes as well as cottonwood dugouts. Goods were carried overland with the help of a tumpline and backpack. Snowshoes and toboggans arrived with the non-Natives. Skin clothing consisted of robes, leggings, and moccasins, with fur caps and mittens added in cold weather. In warm weather, men sometimes went naked; women wore a knee-length apron. High-status men wore Chilkat blankets for special occasions, and similarly ranked northern women wore wooden labrets in their mouths. Other ornaments were made of dentalium, bone, and haliotis shell.

The Carriers may have originated east of the Rocky Mountains and were probably in their historic location for at least several centuries before contact with non-Natives. Major epidemics began in the late eighteenth century, about the time they met the Scotch trader and explorer Alexander Mackenzie (1793).





Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the Carriers began to acquire iron and other items of non-Native manufacture. With the growing value of the pelts of interior animals (beaver, marten, and lynx), Carrier wealth increased with their ability to export these products. Carrier control of some local trade networks in the early nineteenth century allowed some chiefs to amass wealth and power. Some high-ranking people began to intermarry with Bella Coola and Gitksan families around this time, as Northwest Coast cultural influences became much more pronounced.

The first local trade fort (James) was built in 1806 at Stuart Lake. A quasi Christian prophet movement arose among the Carriers beginning in the 1830s. An entire band was exterminated by smallpox in 1837. Catholic missionaries arrived in the 1840s. Penetration by miners, farmers, and ranchers from the midnineteenth century on led to increased disease and general problems for the Indians.

Another ramification of increased contact was the decline of the potlatching complex. Retention of material goods became more important than status gained by giving them away. Also, there was a growing need to accumulate items of non-Native manufacture just to survive, so giving them away became difficult. The Catholic Church also worked to eliminate potlatching.

Wage work, such as on ranches, as guides, in canneries, in sawmills, and at construction sites, began to take the place of traditional subsistence activities. The Carriers were prevented by law from preempting land after 1866. The Canadian Pacific Railway, completed in 1885, bisected Carrier territory. Most reserves were created in the later nineteenth century, although additional ones were established in the early twentieth century. Subsistence activities were increasingly government regulated by then.

Another railway line, completed in 1914, led to an influx of settlers and speculators. Commercial mining and lumbering began in the early twentieth century. Lumbering, including clear-cutting, expanded sharply after World War II. In the 1970s, the Carriers began organizing politically over the chronically unresolved issues of Native land title and rights.

Most Carriers today live in individual houses. Many still speak Carrier. Clans exist today, especially among the northern and central groups, although they are vastly less important than they

used to be. Potlatch privileges and responsibilities are rarely observed except among the groups nearest the Tsimshian people. Most people are Christian, at least nominally, although ancient beliefs linger as well, including the power of dreams and the efficacy of shamans. Children attend band and/or provincial and/or private schools.

Local anti-Indian sentiment remains deeply entrenched. Carrier bands along the Nechako River have strongly opposed the completion of a hydroelectric project, the initial stages of which created forced relocations and other hardships for the people beginning in the 1950s. Struggles also continue over issues such as land title and rights. One example is the development of the so-called Mackenzie Grease Trail, which continues against Indian wishes and portrays them (when they are not ignored entirely) as little more than tourist attractions.

*See also* Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan Peoples; Fur Trade; Canada, Indian Policies of; Potlatch.

## Chilcotin

"Chilcotin" means "Inhabitants of Young Man's River." The Chilcotins were culturally related to the Carriers, the Interior Salish tribes, the Bella Coolas, and the Kwakiutls. The territory of the Chilcotins is along the headwaters of the Chilcotin River and the Anahim Lake district and from the Coast Range to near the Fraser River, British Columbia.

The Chilcotin population stood at approximately 1,500 in the seventeenth century. It increased to possibly 3,500 in the late eighteenth century. Chilcotin is a Northern Athapaskan language.

Boys, and girls to some extent, went into seclusion at adolescence to acquire a guardian spirit. Spirits, which could be any natural phenomenon, gave the person songs and dances as well as protective power. A person who acquired many spirits might become a shaman and engage in curing and seeing what most people could not. Shamans could use their power for evil as well as good, although evil against an individual was generally considered to be practiced only for the general good. Illnesses that were not soul related were treated by medical specialists.

Three or four autonomous bands were each composed of camp groups. Bands were defined as





people sharing a wintering territory. There was no overall leadership, and the people never joined or acted together in any way.

Bands were divided into social classes of nobles, commoners, and slaves. Nobles and commoners were arranged into clans, the most powerful of which was Raven. Descent was bilateral. Although sharing was highly valued, some people accumulated more material goods than did others. In those cases, the surplus was generally given away—effectively exchanged for prestige—in feasts. High rank was obtained by giving potlatches.

Early adolescence was a time for adult training. Boys focused on endurance and survival skills. Girls were isolated during their first menstrual period, at which time they observed several behavioral restrictions and performed domestic tasks. Marriage occurred shortly after this adult training. Most marriages were arranged by parents with input from the children.

Women generally did all the camp work; men were responsible for getting animal foods, fighting, and making tools. The dead were buried in the ground, cremated, or simply left under a pile of rocks or branches. Social control was largely internalized. Extreme violators were ostracized or, rarely, killed.

People generally lived in rectangular, pole-framed, earth-covered lodges with bark or brush walls and gable roofs. An open space at the top served as a smoke hole. There were also small, subterranean winter houses and dome-shaped sweat houses.

Men hunted a variety of animals including caribou, elk, mountain goat, sheep, and sometimes bear. Small animals like marmots, beaver, and rabbits were trapped, as were fowl. Men and women caught fish such as trout, whitefish, and salmon. Women gathered camas and other roots as well as a variety of berries.

Chilcotins acquired salmon from the Shuswaps and Bella Coolas. They also imported shell ornaments, cedar-bark headbands, wooden containers, and stone pestles from the Bella Coolas. They sent dried berries, paints, and furs to the Bella Coolas and furs, dentalium shells, and goat hair blankets woven by the Bella Coolas to other tribes. The people made fine coiled basketry with designs of humans and animals as well as geometric shapes. Although most travel was overland, men carved spruce-bark and dugout canoes, some with pointed

prows like those of the interior Salish. Snowshoes were used for winter travel.

Dress generally consisted of moccasins, buckskin aprons, belts, and leggings. Cold weather gear included caps; robes of marmot, hare, or beaver; and woven wool and fur blankets. Men's hair was generally no longer than shoulder length, although women grew their hair long and often wore it in two braids. The people used a number of personal ornaments of bone, shell, teeth, and claws.

Trespass was a reason to fight, as were murder and feuding. Fighters wore red and black face paint. Ritual purification, including vomiting, took place after a raid. Those who had killed lived apart from others for a time.

Chilcotins first encountered non-Natives in either 1793 or 1815. Fort Alexandria, a trading post, was established in 1821. A gold strike around the Fraser River about 1860 led to the large-scale invasion of Indian lands and the widespread destruction of resources, with no compensation. Indian villages and even graves were looted by the newcomers.

There was a serious smallpox epidemic about 1862. Chilcotins sent out war parties to attack road builders. Several warriors, including Chiefs Tellot, Elexis, and Klatsassin, were captured and hanged. After the epidemics and the fighting, many survivors worked on non-Native-owned ranches, since Indians were explicitly excluded from preempting land, and much of their land was confiscated.

Missionaries helped establish villages that became reserves. They also significantly influenced the selection of chiefs, or headmen. Some groups merged with the Shuswaps and Carriers on the Fraser River at that time. Most were located on three reserves by 1900 and were largely acculturated. Stonies, or Stone Chilcotin bands, remained semitraditional in the western mountains. In the early twentieth century, most people hayed and/or sold a few head of cattle or some furs for a living. There was little contact with the outside world until the 1960s.

The westernmost people still cross the mountains to visit the Bella Coolas. Public lands containing natural resources from which Chilcotins traditionally derived subsistence have steadily decreased since the 1960s. Children attend various band and/or provincial and/or private schools.

*See also* Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan Peoples; Basketry; Canada, Indian Policies of; Potlatch.





## Chipewyan

"Chipewyan" meaning "pointed skins," comes from the Cree word *chipwayanewok*, referring to a style of drying beaver skins that left shirts pointed at the bottom. Their self-designation was *Dene*, "the People." Geographical divisions included the Athabaskans (Chipewyan proper), Desnedekenades, Ethaneldis (Caribou Eaters), and Thilantottines. The Yellowknives (Tatsantottines) are sometimes considered to be a Chipewyan division. The people were known to the French as Montagnais, not to be confused with the people of eastern Canada.

There were probably between 4,000 and 5,000 Chipewyans in the seventeenth century. In the early eighteenth century, Chipewyans occupied a huge expanse north of the Churchill River between the Great Slave Lake and Hudson Bay, in the present-day Northwest Territories and northern Manitoba, Alberta, and Saskatchewan. Chipewyan land straddled the northernmost taiga and the southern tundra. The people spoke an Athapaskan language. The word "Athapascan" is taken from one of their divisions.

Communication with the spirit world through dreams and visions provided success in hunting and other activities. Owing to the harsh environment there were no herbal curers: All illness was considered a function of witchcraft, and shamans, by virtue of their spirit powers, acted as curers. After death, only good souls were said to inhabit an island full of game.

There were many autonomous bands of various sizes in each division. Regional bands (at least 200 to 400 people) came together during caribou migration periods and broke into smaller local bands (perhaps fifty or so people) at other times. Bands were associated with particular subsistence areas. Leaders had little or no authority beyond an immediate activity such as hunting or war.

Men were named after seasons, animals, or places, but women's names always included the word for "marten." In general, weaker men were at the mercy of the stronger, and women fared worst of all. Girls were separated from boys around late childhood, and women did most of the hardest work and were the first to go without food in lean times. Women were segregated during their first menstrual periods and, on subsequent occasions, were subjected to behavioral taboos. Women were married at the onset of adolescence, often to considerably older men.

Good hunters had more than one wife. Old and/or sick people were often abandoned to starve to death. The dead were generally left on the ground. When someone died, their property was destroyed. Widows cut off their hair and observed a year-long mourning period.

People lived in temporary encampments in open country in the summer and in the woods in the winter. Dwellings were conical caribou skin tents with a smoke hole at the top. Spruce boughs and caribou skins served as floors. The teepees were semi-insulated with snow around the base in winter.

The annual round of subsistence activities revolved around following the caribou, which was the main food for all Chipewyan groups. Caribou were driven into pounds, snared with ropes, and shot from canoes or by men on foot. Men also hunted buffalo, deer, bear, musk oxen, and moose. Some groups mixed dried meat with fat to make pemmican, which they stored in caribou intestines.

The people also snared and trapped small game and fowl. They fished for trout, whitefish, and pike. Most fish were smoked or sun dried. There were also some plant foods, such as moss and lichen (the latter generally eaten fermented in an animal's stomach).

Most tools were of stone and bone. The use of copper for tools such as hatchets, awls, knives, and arrow and spearheads probably came from the Yellowknife people. Water could be stone boiled in birchbark and caribou skin pots. Moss was used for baby diapers. The people also made drums.

Birchbark items were acquired from the Crees. The people also imported shell, including dentalium, mainly for decorative purposes. There was some trade in copper in the late prehistoric period. Trade chiefs (captains) emerged in the mideighteenth century. Birchbark and spruce-bark canoes served as river transport. Snowshoes made from summer tent poles featured right and left sides. Women dragged heavy toboggans in the winter and served as pack animals in the summer, carrying goods, food, and skins on their backs. Dogs were not widely used as pack animals until the twentieth century.

Well-tanned caribou skin clothing consisted of shirts, leggings (sometimes joined to moccasins), breechclouts (for men), dresses (for women), caps, and mittens. Caribou robes were hooded and trimmed with fur. The hair on the hides was shaved off in the summer but left on and worn on the inside in the winter. Children wore body suits of rabbit skin.





The Chipewyans may have originated in the Rocky Mountains. The Hudson's Bay Company forced an uneasy truce between Chipewyans and Crees to their south in 1715, although fighting remained intermittent for another forty-five years. In 1717, the Hudson's Bay Company established a post at Churchill in Chipewyan territory.

The Chipewyans acquired firearms soon after contact with non-Natives, and they then expanded northward at the expense of the coast Inuits. They also harassed the Dogribs and the Yellowknives by excluding them from the fort, cheating them of goods, and kidnapping their women. Chipewyans generally served as intermediaries in the fur trade between the British and the Yellowknives and Dogribs until their monopoly was ended in the late eighteenth century. Chipewyans, such as the guides Thanadelther and Matonabee, helped non-Natives explore the northland.

The people suffered a mortality rate of up to 90 percent in a 1781 smallpox epidemic. Survivors continued to trade at Fort Chipewyan, a closer North West Company fort, after 1788. Some groups moved into the boreal forest, where there were more fur-bearing animals, but in so doing they gave up their traditional dependence on the caribou.

Their subsequent lives were characterized by dependence on non-Native goods and poor health caused by malnutrition and disease. Missionaries worked among them from the midnineteenth century. They accepted reserves and \$5 per-capita annuities in treaties signed from 1876 through 1906. Log cabin settlements were established in the 1920s. The post-World War II era saw increased school attendance, better health care, and the spread of social services among the people. In the 1960s, forcible relocation brought severe disruption to the most traditional group, the Caribou Eaters.

Hunting, fishing, and trapping remain important activities, although the bands live in permanent villages of log or frame houses. Most people are at least nominal Christians. Most people still speak Chipewyan as their first language. Some groups have moved from the more settled communities they were forced to inhabit back to more traditional areas, mainly to be closer to caribou.

*See also* Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan Peoples; Basketry; Canada, Indian Policies of; Canoes; Hudson's Bay Company; North West Company.

## Cree

"Cree" comes from from *Kristeneaux*, a French word for the name (possibly Kenistenoag) of a small Cree band. The self-designation is either *Ininiw* ("person"), *Nehiyawak* (among the Woodland Crees, "those who speak the same language"), *Atheneuwuck* ("People"), or *Sackawéé-thinyoowuk* ("Bush People"). Crees are commonly divided into Woodland (or Western Woods) Crees (west) and Muskegon (from Omaskekow), Swampy, or West Main Crees (east). Another division, the Plains Cree, is described elsewhere. The Eastern Crees, who live just east of James Bay, are generally regarded as being a division of the Naskapi/Montagnais (Innu). Cree speakers whose territory included land northwest of Quebec and Trois Rivières are known as Tête-de-Boules, or Attikameks. It should be noted, however, that all such labels are spurious and that originally such groups consisted of autonomous groups or "nations."

Three divisions make up the Woodland Crees: Rocky Crees, Western Swampy Crees, and Strongwoods Crees. Information about the traditional lives of these people should be considered sketchy and incomplete. There may also have been a fourth group, the Athabaska-Crees. Traditional Swampy Cree bands include the Abitibi, Albany, Attawapiskat, Monsoni, Moose River (Mousousiou), Nipigon, Piscotagami, Severn, Winisk, and Winnipeg Indians.

Around 1700, the Crees lived from south of James Bay westward into eastern Alberta, north to around Fort Churchill and Lake Athabaska, and south to a line running roughly from just north of Lake of the Woods to the Lesser Slave Lake. Swampy Cree land was roughly the easternmost 330 kilometers of this territory, including a considerable portion of coastline along James and Hudson Bays. There were at least 20,000 Crees in the sixteenth century. Crees spoke dialects of a Central Algonquin language.

Woodland Crees believed in the ubiquitous presence of Manitou, the great spirit power. Some coastal people also believed in a number of powerful creatures such as dwarfs and cannibalistic giants (Windigo). Some groups may have had the Midewin (Medicine Dance), which they probably borrowed from the Anishinabe.

Adolescents fasted and secluded themselves to obtain dream visions; the guardian spirits that they





*Interior of a Cree tent, ca. 1822. (Historical Picture Archive/Corbis)*

obtained in these visions were said to provide luck. Secret religious societies were dedicated to propitiating animal spirits. Shamans, or conjurers, wielded much authority, in part because of the general fear that they would use their powers for evil purposes (sorcery). Their legitimate functions were to divine the future and cure illness. The latter activity was often associated with a “shaking tent” ritual. Both men and women could become shamans. (Herbalists also cured illness.)

Small local bands, consisting of several extended families, were the basic political units. Bands remained separated except during the summer season, at which time they united on lake shores for ceremonies and councils. Band membership was fluid, and the bands probably had no clearly defined hunting territories. During the summer gatherings, temporary regional bands were led by chiefs, whose authority was based on merit as well as the possession of spiritual power.

In the west, local band chiefs might have as many as seven wives. Parents had a great deal of

influence regarding their childrens’ mates. Girls were often married before they reached puberty. Newly married men worked for their wives’ parents for a period of time. Among the eastern people, divorce was easily obtained. Men might temporarily exchange their wives with others and/or “lend” them to strangers as an act of hospitality, although adultery by the wife was severely punished.

Both twins were not permitted to live. If twins of both sexes were born, the girl was killed (infant girls may have been killed under other circumstances as well). Children were generally raised with great affection and without physical punishment. Girls were subjected to isolation and a number of behavioral restrictions during and immediately following their first menstrual periods; a feast was held when a young man killed his first big game.

Widows and orphans were protected by the group. Death was not generally feared, and the very old or sick were often abandoned or killed. Corpses were wrapped in bark and buried in the ground or





on a scaffold. The people held an annual feast of the dead.

Murder was avenged by relatives. Crees were forced into cannibalism during periods of starvation. They learned tobacco smoking from the people of the Saint Lawrence Valley, and this custom became important among some groups. All groups held numerous athletic contests and games of skill. Singing and dancing occurred both socially and for luck (as in hunting).

Toward the south, the people lived in conical or dome-shaped birchbark wigwams with a three-pole foundation. Farther north and west, the lodges were covered with pine bark or caribou, elk, or moose skin. These structures sheltered extended families of ten or more people. There were also sweat lodges (used in curing and for cleanliness), menstrual lodges, and various caches and ceremonial pavilions.

Cree men were considered superb hunters. They targeted caribou, elk, moose, and beaver. They killed bear when they could get them, and hare when they could not. Some southern groups also hunted buffalo. There were many behavioral taboos and customs designed to mollify spirits related to the hunt. Every hunter carried his personal medicine pouch, and hides were often painted with red stripes and dots.

Fowl were plentiful, especially in certain areas. Woodland people fished only out of necessity, but Swampy Crees relied on fish such as lake trout, pike, whitefish, and pickerel. People on the coast occasionally ate seals and beluga whales, spearing them with harpoons. Seal fat was often added to meat and fish in the east.

The people made birchbark cooking vessels, except in the east, where woven spruce-root pots or soapstone pots (around James Bay) were used. Some vessels were also made of clay. Some groups used an Inuit-style curved knife for scraping hides, although farther west the women used a Plains-style tool shaped more like a chisel. A balancing stick was used while walking on snowshoes or pulling toboggans. Fire was generally kept alive as coals in a birchbark container.

People made birchbark canoes, toboggans (of juniper in the west), and elongated birch-frame snowshoes.

Artistic expression took the forms of fine moose hair, bird feather, and porcupine quill embroidery, of carved wood items, and of face and body tattooing and painting. Clothing generally contained

painted geometric patterns and, later, beaded floral designs. There was some rock painting of both realistic and stylized animals, people, and mythological personages.

Moose, caribou, or elk skin clothing was often fringed. Clothing generally consisted of breechclouts (belted in the east), shirts, dresses, belts, moccasins (extended in the winter), and long leggings. Winter gear included beaver and caribou robes, socks, mittens, and hats as well as woven hare skin coats and blankets and caribou coats. Women generally tattooed the corners of their mouths and men their entire bodies. Eastern men and women plucked facial hair, and head hair was often braided.

The Crees and Anishinabes probably share a common origin. Crees have been in their known aboriginal territory for at least 4,000 years. They first encountered non-Natives when the Henry Hudson exploration arrived in 1610.

The first trade forts were founded among the Swampy Crees beginning around 1670 and in the west from the mideighteenth century on. Crees serving as guides and trappers increased their importance to local fur trade companies. French and Scottish trappers and traders regularly intermarried with Cree Indians. The mixed-race offspring, known as Métis, eventually developed their own culture. Some fought two wars with Canada in the mid- to late nineteenth century over the issues of land rights and sovereignty.

In the early trade days (seventeenth century in the east and mideighteenth to early nineteenth centuries in the west), the Indians prospered in part by playing the French and British against each other. Their acquisition of firearms from the Hudson's Bay Company, as well as the completion of an alliance with the Assiniboines, precipitated a tremendous expansion almost to the Arctic Sea, the Rocky Mountains, and the Red River region. Groups of Crees arriving on the Great Plains, near the end of the seventeenth century, adopted many elements of classic Plains culture, especially including dependence on the buffalo.

Jesuit missionaries began working among the Swampy Crees for a short time in the late seventeenth century. The region was devoid of missionaries, however, from then until 1823, when the Church of England established a presence. By 1717, the Swampy Crees had become dependent on non-Native traders for necessities such as cloth, blankets,





and even food, in addition to trade goods. New foods included sugar and flour; alcohol and tobacco were also valued. Many traditional customs changed or disappeared during the trade period.

The people were devastated by smallpox in the early 1780s. Survivors succumbed to alcohol and were often attacked by enemies, including the Blackfeet Confederacy. Furthermore, the Crees' strong trade position led to overtrapping as well as the depletion of the moose and caribou herds by the early nineteenth century. Although the effects were partially offset by the Indians' growing dependence on items of non-Native manufacture, these trends combined to shrink the Indians' land base. Also about that time, western Crees, now using an iron chisel and moving on dogsleds, began taking more of an interest in fishing.

When the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company merged in 1821, many Crees began to abandon their traditional nomadic lives in favor of settlement at or near trade posts. Eventually, all-Indian communities arose in these areas. There was a second devastating smallpox epidemic in 1838. The people never fully recovered from this event. Severe tuberculosis and influenza epidemics struck in the early twentieth century as well.

Heavy missionary activity began in the mid-nineteenth century. Most Indians were at least nominally Christian by the midtwentieth century, although many western groups retained a core of traditional beliefs and practices. In the midnineteenth century, northern and eastern groups adopted a missionary-devised syllabary that soon gained wide acceptance. Parallel to this development was the elimination of practically all traditional religion in favor of the Churches of Rome and England.

The treaty and reserve period began in the 1870s. People began slowly to settle into all-Native log cabin communities, and the election of chiefs was made mandatory in the 1920s. Although their land and resources were being gradually but steadily whittled away, Crees were able to use their land in at least a semitraditional way well into the twentieth century.

After World War II, however, many Swampy Crees, their land essentially trapped out, began working in local cities and towns such as Moosonee and Churchill. Many Woodland Crees altered their lives fundamentally for the first time, attending school, using non-Native medicine, accepting gov-

ernment financial assistance, and becoming connected to the outside world via road and air links. The advent of relatively extensive roads and rail lines in the 1950s and 1960s, as well as the expansion of the forestry industry, greatly increased pollution. At the same time there was a dramatic reduction in game animals. In 1975, the Eastern Crees and Inuits ceded over 640,000 square kilometers of land to the James Bay Hydroelectric Project, in exchange for promises of hundreds of millions of dollars and various other provisions.

In recent years, Crees have attained greater control over local services and resources and the ability to maintain legal pressure on non-Native governments. The Cree school system in Quebec is under Native control. Perhaps half of all Crees speak their Native language. Yet the people face several crises, including the destruction of natural resources, the need for appropriate economic development, and the need to forge a viable relationship with provincial and national governments. Crees still face severe morale problems stemming from over a century of chronic disease, ill treatment at the hands of non-Natives, and a diminished capability to pursue their traditional way of life. Clear- and overcutting of forests have also negatively affected Cree hunting and trapping lands.

The Lubicon band of Treaty 8 area never received the reserve promised them in 1939. The region around Lubicon Lake, in northern Alberta, is rich in oil. In the 1970s, the band unsuccessfully fought to prevent road construction into the drilling site. By the early 1980s there were hundreds of oil wells in and near the community, creating dangerous levels of pollution.

The band is pressing for compensation for "irreparable damage to their way of life." Once a self-sustaining hunting community, its people now depend on welfare to survive. However, two subgroups have settled with the government. The newly created Woodland Cree band (unrecognized by treaty chiefs) received a reserve of 142 square kilometers and a financial settlement of almost \$50 million. The Loon Lake people are negotiating for a \$30 million settlement.

*See also* Buffalo; Canada, Indian Policies of; Canoes; Coon Come, Matthew; Cree-Naskapi Act; James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement; Métis Nation Accord; Hudson's Bay Company; Trade.





## Dogrib

"Dogrib," from their self-designation *Thlingchadinne* ("Dog Flank People"), signifies their legendary descent from a dog. The people also call themselves *Done*, "Men" or "People." They are culturally related to the Slaveys. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Dogribs lived between Great Slave and Great Bear Lakes, Northwest Territories, an area that included both forest and tundra. There were perhaps 1,250 Dogribs in the late seventeenth century. Dogrib is a Northeastern Athapaskan language.

People acquired guardian spirits in dreams. They also made offerings to spirits that inhabited bodies of water. Shamans caused and cured disease and foretold the future.

There were traditionally four autonomous bands, or divisions (Lintchanres, Takfwelottines, Tsantieottines, and Tseottines). Band leadership was informal; a chief hunter had helpful spiritual power but little authority. Bands were composed of local hunting groups. Membership in all groups was fluid. When a young man killed his first game, his peers would strip him and wish him continued good luck. Only indirect address was considered polite. The people enjoyed games and dancing, the latter often accompanied by group male singing.

People's names often changed at the birth of their children. Brothers and sisters remained reserved with each other, as did a man with his brother-in-law and father-in-law. Men might have more than one wife, but they were required to serve their new in-laws for a period of time after the marriage. There may have been a practice of wrestling for wives as well as some female infanticide.

The elderly or ill were often abandoned. Streamers attached to burial scaffolds were meant to placate the spirits of the dead. Mourners destroyed most of their own property, and the women slashed their bodies. A memorial feast was held a year following the death.

Dogribs lived in conical teepees covered with as many as forty caribou skins sewn together with sinew or *babiche*. The sides were covered with snow in the winter. There were also some rectangular pole-and-brush winter huts. In the coldest weather, people often slept outside in skin bags to avoid the interior drafts.

Men hunted mainly caribou, which they snared in pounds and speared in lakes, in the forests, and on short trips onto the tundra. They also hunted musk ox, moose, hare and other small game, fowl,



A Dogrib man carries home meat after a successful caribou hunt in the late 1990s. (Lowell Georgia/Corbis)

and birds. There was some fishing; later, with decreasing game in the nineteenth century, fish gradually assumed a greater importance in the diet. Women gathered some berries and other plant foods as well as poplar sap. Food taboos included the weasel, wolf, skunk, and dog.

The people exported Native copper to the Slaveys and Yellowknives, among other groups. They also traded in caribou skins, flint, chert, and pyrites as well as Inuit bone and ivory knives. They exported moose and fish products. Women decorated a number of items, such as moccasins, shirts, and bags, with woven quillwork or moose hair. Musical instruments included drums and caribou hoof rattles. Most transportation was overland using sleds and snowshoes. Birchbark canoes were caulked with spruce gum. Typical clothing included a tailored skin shirt, breechclout, leggings, and moc-





casins. Winter items included moose hide blankets, fur robes, hats, and mittens.

The people may have come to their historic location from the south and east. They first encountered non-Natives in either 1744 or 1771. The first trade posts were built in the 1790s.

The fur trade and provisioning were the dominant economic activities throughout the nineteenth century, during which time the people gradually began settling around trade posts. Fort Rae (1852) marked the first permanent local post and the beginning of extensive contact for most Dogribs with non-Natives. Fur trading became much more important at that time, especially after 1900 and the end of the Hudson's Bay Company monopoly. In addition to the usual fur-bearing animals, musk ox robes were also in demand.

The people suffered severe epidemics from 1859 onward. Most Dogribs had been baptized Catholic by 1870. The first treaty with Canada was signed in 1900. In 1920, the Dogribs stopped accepting government payments as a protest against hunting and fishing restrictions. This issue was resolved when they accepted a special designation, but the signed agreement was later lost.

As part of a 1921 treaty, the leader Monphwi became a "government chief," and band leaders formed an official council. There was a brief local gold rush, at Great Bear Lake, in 1930. The people were largely monolingual and semitraditional through the 1940s.

Band membership is still recognized and considered important. Although the language is still in use, there is a high degree of acculturation among the people. Modern housing, non-Native education, welfare eligibility, and medical services date from the 1960s. Their lands are being rapidly developed, mainly by mineral extraction industries, without Dogrib input. This had led to a decision to negotiate a land claim settlement with the Canadian government in an effort to gain some control over development.

*See also* Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan People; Canada, Indian Policies of; Fur Trade; Hudson's Bay Company.

## Gwich'in

"Gwich'in" means "People." The Gwich'ins were a group of tribes or bands who called themselves by various names, each having the suffix "*-kutchin*."

The name of one band—*Tukkuth*, or "People of the Slanting Eyes"—was translated by the French to *Loucheux*, a name now commonly used to designate the Gwich'in people. Their self-designation is *Dindjie*, "Person." They were culturally related to the Hans, Tutchones, and Tananas and were culturally influenced by the Inuits as well as the Tlingits.

Gwich'in territory is the Peel River Basin to its junction with the Mackenzie River as well as the Yukon River drainage (Alaska and Yukon). The Gwich'in population was between 3,000 and 5,000 in the eighteenth century. Gwich'ins spoke dialects of Kutchin, a Northern Athapaskan language.

Shamans acquired spiritual power through fasting and dreaming. They could foretell the future, cure illness, and control the weather. They were quite powerful in the west but less so in the east. In general, most people seldom came in "official" contact with the shamans.

Spirits inhabiting nature were mollified with offerings of beads. Hunters prayed to moon-related deities, offering pieces of caribou fat thrown into the fire. Ceremonial feasts, including singing and dancing, were held on various occasions. The main ceremonies revolved around life cycle events, lunar eclipses, and memorial potlatches. Bear and caribou were considered to be especially deserving of respect, in part owing to a supposed physical connection (shared hearts) between people and caribou.

Tribal chiefs were chosen for their leadership qualities or wealth. In some cases the positions were hereditary, but leaders had no real power. Local groups (two or so extended families) lived in a defined area and used its resources.

Animal-associated matrilineal clans declined in importance from west to east. The clans had marriage and ceremonial functions, playing significant roles in feasts and games. There were three social classes that may have been ranked: the "dark people" (Crow), "fair people" (Wolf), and "halfway people" (no crest). There were also some slaves, although they probably were not purchased.

Women carried babies in their coats or in birch-bark containers. They also performed most of the hard work (except for cooking, which men did) and ate only after the men had finished. Women generally selected husbands for their daughters. Female infants, as well as the elderly, were sometimes killed. From shortly before puberty until marriage, young men moved away from their parents to live in a lodge with other such young men. This was a period of self-denial and skill sharpening.





Young women were segregated during their menstrual periods. At that time they observed many taboos, such as not looking at others, designed to prevent others from being “contaminated” by their “condition.” The dead were cremated. Their ashes were hung in bags from poles, or, if the person were particularly influential, the body was placed in a coffin in a tree until it decayed and then it was burned. Relatives destroyed their own property and cut their bodies.

Hospitality was a key value. The nuclear family was the basic unit, but grandparents might sleep in a nearby lodge and spend a great deal of time with the family. Rich men of certain tribes gave potlatches but usually only at funerals. Everyone enjoyed singing, dancing, games, and contests. Games included stick and hand games, ball games, and athletic contests. Witches were greatly feared.

Dome-shaped, caribou skin tents were stretched over curved spruce poles painted red. These portable lodges were about twelve to fourteen feet long and six to eight feet high. There was a smoke hole at the top, fir boughs for flooring, and bough and snow insulation. Some groups covered the lodges with birchbark instead of caribou skin. Some groups built semisubterranean dwellings of moss blocks covering a wood frame, with gabled roofs. When traveling, men sometimes built dugout snow houses glazed with fire.

Fishing took place mainly in the summer. Men hunted mainly caribou but also moose, hare, beaver, muskrat, and other game. Dogs often assisted in the hunt. People also ate waterfowl and plant foods, such as berries, rhubarb, and roots.

In addition to the many nonfood items derived from the caribou, important material items included wooden and birchbark trays, woven spruce and tamarack root baskets and cooking vessels, and other containers made of bentwood and birchbark. There were any number of tools with which to work hides, bone, and wood. Blades were mostly of stone and bone. Musical instruments included wooden gongs, drums, and willow whistles.

Sleds were made with high-framed runners, which might be covered with bone or frozen sod coated with water or blood. Inuit-style birchbark canoes had flat bottoms and nearly straight sides. The people also used moose skin canoes, toboggans, and particularly well-made long, narrow snowshoes with *babiche* netting.

Most clothing came from white caribou skin as well as furs. Shirts were pointed both front and rear.

Wide (Inuit-style) leggings attached to moccasins were beaded or embroidered with porcupine quill designs along the sides. Winter gear included long mittens, headbands, fur hats, and winter hoods. Most clothing was fringed and/or decorated with seeds or dentalium shell beads and/or painted and embroidered with porcupine quills.

Both sexes, but especially men, wore quill and dentalium shell personal ornamentation. Men also skewered their noses; women simply wore nose decorations. People took particular care of their hair. Men applied a large amount of grease to their hair and wore it in a ball at the neck, covered with bird down and feathers. They also painted their faces red and black. Women tattooed lines on their chins.

Gwich'in people encountered the Mackenzie expedition in 1789. The North West Company founded Fort Good Hope in 1806; other trading posts followed in 1839 (Fort MacPherson) and 1847 (Fort Yukon). Fur trapping gained in importance among the people during the nineteenth century. Catholic and Protestant (Church of England) missions worked in Gwich'in territory from the mid-nineteenth century on. Missionaries introduced a system of reading and writing (called Tukudh) in the 1870s.

Major epidemics stalked the people during the 1860s and 1870s, and again in 1897 and into the twentieth century. Many Gwich'ins left their immediate region to take advantage of the local whaling boom at the end of the nineteenth century. The Klondike gold rush (1896) brought an influx of non-Natives into the region, many of whom abused the Indians and stole their land. Religious residential schools existed from 1905.

Some groups live in small wood-frame houses. Although some have access to modern inventions such as snowmobiles, televisions, and satellite dishes, more than most other Indians the Gwich'ins have been able to retain a semiaboriginal lifestyle and culture, including religious beliefs, to a considerable degree (although less so in Fort Yukon). Most are fluent in English, although there are efforts to retain the Native language. The people are fighting to maintain the health and existence of the Porcupine caribou herd, which is threatened by development-related resource destruction.

*See also* Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan People; Canada, Indian Policies of; North West Company.





## Han

See Ingalik; Gwich'in.

## Hare

"Hare" comes from the people's reliance on the Arctic or snowshoe hare. Their self-designation was *Kawchottine*, "People of the Great Hares," or *Kasogottine*, "Big Willow People." They were culturally similar to the Kutchins and Dogribs. This description of "aboriginal" culture includes some postcontact influences.

Hare Indians lived and continue to live west (to just past the Mackenzie River) and northwest of Great Bear Lake, in the present-day Northwest Territories. They ranged in parts of Alberta, the Yukon, and Alaska. This territory includes tundra, taiga, mountains, and intermediary areas. There were probably no more than 800 Hares in the early eighteenth century. Hare is a Northern Athapaskan language.

Guardian spirits formed the basis of Hare religious belief. Spirit helpers were not formally sought out but appeared in dreams. Shamans were able to attract particularly powerful guardians through dreams and visions. Cures were effected by using medicinal plants, singing, and sucking. Shamans sometimes hung by ropes from trees or tent poles when communicating with the spirits. Religious feasts included a memorial to the dead a year after death and on the occasion of a new moon.

There were perhaps five to seven small, autonomous, nomadic bands of fluid size and composition. The bands had defined hunting territories but only informal leaders, with little authority other than their people's respect for their hunting and/or curing abilities.

Sharing and generosity were highly valued. The bands gathered together several times a year for ceremonies, socializing, and hunting and fishing during migration and spawning seasons. Girls entering puberty were isolated in special huts and required to observe food and behavior taboos. Certain of these taboos, such as those regarding fish and animals, were continued during every monthly period. A feast would be held for young men who killed their first big game.

Intermarriage was common with several peoples, such as the Bearlake Mountain (Kaska and other tribes) and Kutchin Indians. Marriage occurred

in the early teens and was generally arranged, although divorce was readily available. There was some period of bride service after marriage.

The elderly as well as some female babies were killed or left to die. Corpses were wrapped in blankets or moose skin and placed in aboveground enclosures. Relatives cut their hair and disposed of their own property. Ghosts were feared and provided with offerings to keep them at bay. Souls were said to be reborn at a later date.

In the winter, people lived in rectangular or A-frame pole-frame houses with gabled roofs, covered with spruce boughs, brush, and snow. Caribou hide teepees date from the nineteenth century. Summer lean-tos were common as well.

Caribou and musk ox were staples, although small animals (especially hare) and fish (such as trout and whitefish) contributed the bulk of the diet. Surpluses might be frozen or smoke dried. There was a severe lack of food every seven years or so when hares became scarce. Women gathered a few plant foods, such as berries and material predigested by caribou and other animals. Mosses and lichens were used to make beverages and medicines. Wolves and dogs were not eaten.

Trade partners probably included fellow Athapaskans such as the Yellowknife, Dogrib, Beaver, and Slavey Indians. Items exchanged included animal skins, copper, and various minerals. There may have been some trade in Inuit knives. Women decorated a number of items, such as moccasins, shirts, belts, and bags, with fringe and woven quillwork or moose hair. Musical instruments included drums and caribou hoof rattles. Most travel was overland. Snowshoes were used in the winter. Women pulled wooden toboggans before dogs took over in the twentieth century. Men also made spruce, birchbark, and occasionally moose hide canoes.

Most clothing came from hare pelts, supplemented by caribou and moose hides. The standard summer wardrobe was shirt, leggings, moccasins, and possibly a breechclout. In the winter, the people wore robes, mittens, and hats and added hoods to their shirts. The people wore caribou or hare hairbands. There was very little personal ornamentation except for facial tattooing and painting.

Shortly after the people encountered Alexander Mackenzie in 1789, the North West Company built Fort Good Hope (1806) in the area. Rapid involvement in the fur trade brought dependence on items of non-Native manufacture. Non-Native traders created trade chiefs among the people, so





that their political organization eventually became more hierarchical.

The people were decimated by epidemics throughout the nineteenth century. A local Catholic church was built around 1866. Gradually, nomadic band life was mitigated in favor of a growing concentration around the trade posts. As the government created “bands” for administrative purposes and assigned subsistence areas for such groups, ethnic and group identity became stronger. The people were largely acculturated, as Hare Indians, by 1900.

Treaties signed with the Canadian government in the early twentieth century provided for payments and services in exchange for land title, although the Indians retained the right to use land for subsistence activities. Children began attending Catholic boarding school in 1926. Tuberculosis was rampant between the 1930s and the 1960s, and the people suffered periodic outbreaks of other diseases as well.

During the 1920s, many people built log homes and left traditional manufacture further and further behind. The fur trade continued to flourish until World War II. People increasingly worked at seasonal wage labor after the war, mainly in the oil and construction industries. The more traditional Colville Lake community dates from around 1960.

*See also* Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan People; Canada, Indian Policies of; Fur Trade; North West Company.

## Ingalik

“Ingalik” comes from the Russian for an Inuit word for “Indian.” The name has been loosely used to include such culturally related—but separate—tribes as Koyukons, Tananas, and Hans. Their self-designation is *Deg Hit'an*, “People from Here.” They were heavily influenced by their Yup'ik neighbors.

The Ingalik shared the eastern parts of their traditional territory—the banks of the Anvik, Innoko, Kuskokwim, Holitna, and lower Yukon Rivers—with the Kuskowagamiut Inuits. The land consists of river valleys as well as forest and tundra. The Holikachuks, a related though distinct people, lived to their north. There were between 1,000 and 1,500 Ingaliks in the nineteenth century. Ingaliks speak a Northern Athapaskan language. However, by the later twentieth century most Kuskokwim Ingaliks

spoke the language of their Kuskowagamiut Inuit relatives.

Everything, animate or inanimate, was thought to have spirits. The Ingalik universe consisted of four levels, one higher and two lower than earth. Spirits of the dead might travel to any of the levels, depending on the method of death. A creator, spirits associated with nature, and various spiritual and superhuman beings, as well as people, inhabited the four worlds.

Most ceremonies were designed to maintain equilibrium with the spirit world. They included the two- to three-week Animals ceremony, the Bladder ceremony, the Doll ceremony, and four potlatch-type events with other villages. The single-village Bladder and Doll ceremonies involved paying respects to animal spirits and learning the future. Of the potlatch ceremonies, the Midwinter Death potlatch was the most solemn. Accompanying this ceremony was the so-called Hot Dance, a night of revelry.

The feast of the animals, involving songs, dances, costumes, and masks, was most important. Major roles were inherited. It involved a ritual enactment of hunting and fishing, with a clown providing comic relief. Other, more minor, ceremonies involved sharing food and occurred at life cycle events and on occasions such as eclipses.

Songs, or spells—which could be purchased from older people—helped keep the human, animal, and spiritual worlds in harmony. Songs were also associated with amulets, which could be bought, inherited, or made. Male and female shamans were said to have more powerful souls than other people. They acquired their powers through animal dream visions. Shamans' powerful songs, or spells, could be used for good or evil.

Each of four geographical groups contained at least one village that included a defined territory, and a chief society was divided into ranked status groups or social classes known as wealthy, common people, and idlers. People in the first group were expected to be generous with their surpluses and held potlatches as a redistributive method. The idlers were considered virtually unmarriageable; however, the classes tended to be fluid and were noninherited. Wealth consisted mostly of fish but also of items such as furs, meat, and any particularly well wrought item, such as a carved bowl, a canoe, or a drum.

Ingaliks often intermarried with, and borrowed culturally from, the nearby Inuits. Marriage depended in part on the ability of the man to per-





form bride service. With a first wife's permission, a wealthy man might have two wives. Both parents observed food and behavioral restrictions for at least three weeks following a birth. Young women endured segregation for a year at the onset of adolescence, during which time they mastered all the traditionally female tasks. The Ingaliks were a relatively peaceful people.

Punishments for inappropriate social behavior, such as theft, included banishment or death. This was a group decision, on the part of the men and older women, whereas murder required individual blood revenge. Corpses were placed in wooden coffins and buried in the ground or in vaults. Cremation was practiced on rare occasions. The dead's personal property was disposed of. Following funerals, the people observed a twenty-day mourning period and often held memorial potlatches.

Ingaliks maintained summer and winter villages, as well as canoe or spring camps. The winter dwelling was dome shaped and covered with earth and grass. Partially underground, it housed from one to three nuclear families. Ten to twelve such houses made up a winter village. Men used a larger, rectangular, semisubterranean communal house for sleeping, eating, working, sweating, and conducting ceremonies. This *kashim* was adapted from their Yup'ik neighbors.

Canoe camps, containing cone-shaped spruce pole and bough shelters, were built while people went in search of fresh fish. Summer houses were built of spruce plank, spruce bark, or cottonwood logs. There were also gabled-roof smoke houses and fish-drying racks. Temporary brush houses were located away from the village.

Among most groups, fish were the most important part of the diet. The people also ate a variety of large and small animals. Caribou, hunted by communal surround, were the most important. Others included moose, bear, sheep, and numerous fur-bearing animals, especially hare. Ingaliks also ate birds, mainly waterfowl, and their eggs, as well as berries and other plant foods. "Ice cream," a mixture of cottonwood pods, oil, snow, and berries, was eaten ceremonially and with some restrictions on who could receive it from whom.

Ingaliks moved around in birchbark canoes and on sleds and snowshoes. They did not trade extensively because they possessed rich natural resources. When they exchanged goods, it was mostly with Inuit groups, exporting wooden bowls, wolverine skins, and furs for seal products and caribou hides.

They might also trade furs, wolverine skins, spruce gum, and birchbark canoes for fish products and dentalia.

Most clothing was made from squirrel and other skins. Shirts and pants were common, as were parkas. Women's moccasins were attached to their pants; the men's were separate. Personal adornment included dentalium earrings and nose and neck decorations.

The people probably originated in Canada. They were driven west by the Crees to settle in present-day Alaska around 1200. They encountered Russian explorers in 1833. A trade post was constructed either around then or in 1867. There were Russian Orthodox missionaries in the region during that period. The major epidemics began in 1838–1839.

Steamboats began operating on the Yukon, expanding the fur trade, beginning in about 1867, the year the United States took possession of Alaska. Catholic and Anglican missionaries arrived in the 1880s and soon opened boarding schools. The caribou disappeared in the 1870s, leading to even more fishing and closer ties with the Kuskowagamiut Inuits. Non-Natives flooded into the region during the Yukon gold rush of the late 1890s. Most Ingaliks had accepted Christianity by the midtwentieth century.

For most people, life still revolves around the seasons. Frame or log houses have replaced traditional structures. Although many people struggle with a number of social problems related to high unemployment and cultural upheaval, and the people retain little aboriginal culture, traditional values remain palpable among the Ingaliks.

*See also* Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act; Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan People; Fur Trade; Potlatch; Russians, in the Arctic/Northwest.

## Innu

*See* Naskapi/Montagnais.

## Kaska

"Kaska" is taken from the local name for McDame Creek. The Kaskas were culturally related to the Sekanis. They are also known, or included, with the





Tahltans and others, among the people called Nahani (Nahane) or Mackenzie Mountain People. Kaskas lived and continue to live in northern British Columbia and the southern Yukon Territory, in a rough triangle from the Pelly River south to Dease Lake and east to the Fort Nelson River. The Kaskas probably numbered around 500 before contact with non-Natives. Kaska, along with Tahltan and Tagish, is a Northern Athapaskan language.

Young men and women fasted to acquire animal guardian spirits in dreams and visions. Illness was said to be caused by breaking taboos. Shamans cured and foretold the future with recourse to their powerful spirit guides. Curing methods included blowing water onto the body or transferring the illness to another object.

There were at least four divisions. Each was composed of independent regional bands that had no fixed membership but generally consisted of local bands of extended families. Local band leadership was provided by the best hunters. Women occasionally served in important leadership positions.

Two matrilineal clans, Wolf and Raven, were borrowed from coastal tribes, as was the institution of the memorial potlatch. Also from coastal cultures, women acquired the custom of attacking symbolic enemies while their husbands were away at war.

Birth took place apart from the community out of fear of spiritual contamination. From late childhood on, boys began training for the vision quest, as well as building strength, with icy water plunges and other physically demanding activities. Women were secluded and observed various taboos during their menstrual periods. Girls married in their mid-teens, boys slightly later or as soon as they could provide for a family. Men served their prospective in-laws for a year before the wedding; thereafter, they avoided speaking to one another. Though frowned upon, divorce was common. The dead were wrapped in skins and left under a pile of brush; later the tribe adopted cremation and underground burial.

The people enjoyed many games and contests. Most life cycle events were marked by feasts. Names were inherited, as were some material items. Peer pressure usually sufficed as a means of social control; more serious offenses might be dealt with by exile, payments, or revenge.

Two or more families lived in conical or A-frame lodges covered with sod, brush, or skin. Most people used simple brush lean-tos in the summer. From coastal groups, Kaskas learned to weave blankets

and ropes of sheep wool and goat hair. Babies were carried in skin bags padded with moss and rabbit fur. Men hunted with the bow and arrow as well as with spears, clubs, and especially *babiche* snares. Some groups may have used the atlatl. Men built dugouts and spruce-bark canoes; sewn caribou skin toboggans; two different types of snowshoes, depending on the quality of the snow; and moose skin boats.

Men hunted mainly caribou, but also buffalo, mountain goat, bighorn sheep, and numerous smaller types of game. They drove large game into pounds, snared them, or caught them in deadfalls or pitfalls. Beavers were clubbed to death. Salmon and other fish were caught in the summer. Women gathered berries and a few other wild plant foods, such as mushrooms, onions, lily bulbs, and rhubarb.

Most clothing was made of sewn caribou skins. Both sexes wore belted breechclouts, skin shirts (hooded in the winter), and leggings, belted and fastened to moccasins in the winter. Other winter gear included mittens and hide robes. Clothing was often decorated with porcupine quill embroidery, sewn fringe, and hard material obtained from moose stomach. People tattooed their bodies and wore ear and nose rings for personal ornamentation.

Wars were fought either to steal women or to avenge violent acts performed by strangers. War party leadership was selected on an ad hoc basis. Younger men carried the supplies while seasoned warriors did the fighting. There was some limited ceremonial cannibalism.

The people traded with non-Natives through Tlingit intermediaries until Fort Simpson, on the Laird and Mackenzie Rivers, was established in the early nineteenth century as the local trade center. Forts Laird and Nelson opened soon afterward. Fort Halkett, the first trade fort located directly in Kaska territory, was established soon after 1821. The people gradually came to rely on metal pots, nails, wire, and tools as well as items such as flour, soap, candles, guns and ammunition, and kerosene.

Kaska territory was invaded by gold seekers in the 1870s and again during the Klondike gold rush of 1897, seriously disrupting their traditional way of life. A Catholic mission was established in 1926. In the early 1940s the Alaskan Highway was built through their territory. Trapping remained important well into the contemporary period.

*See also* Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan People; Canada, Indian Policies of.





## Koyukon

See Ingalik.

## Mackenzie Mountain People

See Kaska.

## Nahani

See Kaska; Tahltn.

## Naskapi/Montagnais

"Naskapi/Montagnais" is a compound name. "Naskapi" is a Montagnais word that may mean "rude or uncivilized people." "Montagnais" is French for "mountaineers." Their self-designation was *Nenenot*, "the People." Contemporary Naskapis and Montagnais refer to themselves as Innus.

The territory of these groups, including the Eastern Crees, ran from the Gulf of Saint Lawrence to James Bay, along the northeastern coast of Hudson Bay to Ungava Bay, and east to the Labrador Sea. The division was more or less that the Eastern Crees occupied the west of this region, the Naskapis the north, and the Montagnais the south and east. Much of this territory is extremely rugged and remote. Moose lived in the wooded Montagnais country, whereas Naskapi country, more open and grassy, was favored by caribou. There were perhaps 4,000 Montagnais and 1,500 Naskapis in the fifteenth century. Montagnais and Naskapi are dialects of Cree, an Algonquin language.

People may have believed in a great sky spirit to whom pipe smoke was occasionally offered. The people certainly believed in any number of spirits or supernatural beings. The key to Naskapi/Montagnais religion was to maintain a healthy and respectful relationship with the spirit world. This could be done both by observing the various taboos and by mastering certain techniques.

They especially attempted not to offend the spirits or souls of the animals on which they depended for food, mainly by being as respectful as possible toward them. Ceremonies included the *Mokosjan*, in which people ate caribou bone marrow.

Feasting was considered a religious practice, as was drumming.

Prayer was always offered before beginning any important activity. Boys fasted to obtain spirit helpers. Male and female shamans cured and kept away evil spirits. Shamans sometimes demonstrated their magic powers. In the shaking tent rite, shamans communicated with their spirits in specially built lodges to learn of good hunting areas. People feared cannibalistic monsters called Windigo (Montagnais) or *Atsan* (Naskapi).

Society consisted of perhaps twenty-five to thirty small, independent winter hunting bands related by marriage. There were several lodge groups (families of fifteen to twenty people) to a band. A named band, or division, probably consisted of two or three of these winter bands (up to three hundred people or so) who shared a general area. Several named bands came together in the summer on lake shores or river mouths for fishing, group hunting, and socializing. In all cases, band affiliation was fluid. Traditional chiefs or headmen had little or no formal authority, and all decisions were made by consensus.

Within the context of group cooperation for survival, individuals answered to no one about their personal behavior. Most people were generous, patient, and good-natured. Joking, or kidding, was effective in maintaining social mores, because real criticism was taken very seriously and avoided if possible. Montagnais had defined and patrilineally inherited family hunting grounds. Although groups were associated with specific subsistence areas, in lean times they readily gave permission to share.

Within the lodge groups there was no real dependence of one individual on another, since sexual relations were not limited to marriage, divorce was easy to obtain, and children were in many ways considered a group responsibility. These structures and relations encouraged a general egalitarianism.

Although gender roles were not especially rigid, men generally worked with wood and stone and women with leather. Men hunted big game while women set snares and gathered berries. Women were secluded during their menstrual periods. Parents generally arranged marriages. Men tended to marry in their early twenties, and women in their late teens. Some men had two wives, but a few had more. Men were obligated to perform bride service for a year or so. Joking, or familiar, relationships with cousins sometimes led to marriages.





Children were raised with tolerance and gentleness by both men and women, regardless of whether or not they were “legitimate.” The old and sick were sometimes killed out of a sense of compassion. Dead Montagnais were wrapped in birchbark and buried in the ground. A memorial feast followed the funeral. Naskapis placed their dead on platforms or in trees.

The people tended to live in conical dwellings covered mainly in birchbark (Montagnais) and caribou skin (Naskapis). These held between fifteen and twenty people and featured central fires with top smoke holes. The ground was covered with branches and then mats or skins. The people also used temporary lean-tos, some made of snow. The Naskapis also built large A-frame or rectangular lodges to house several families and for winter dancing. This structure was covered with caribou skins and floored with boughs.

Men hunted primarily moose (Montagnais), caribou (Naskapis), and fowl as well as bear and other animals. The people used birchbark canoes to pursue big game after driving the animals into the water, and they wore snowshoes to run the game down. Small game, snared by women and sometimes men, included hares, porcupines, and beaver. The people also fished for salmon, eels, and trout. The Montagnais and Naskapi of Labrador also harpooned seals and fished through the ice, both activities probably borrowed from the Inuits. Some Montagnais had gardens and may have made maple syrup. Wild foods, such as berries, grapes, apples, and bulbs, played a small role in people’s diet. Food was unsparingly shared when necessary.

The Montagnais traded meat and skins at Tadoussac and other places with Great Lakes people for tobacco, corn, and even some wild rice. Northern bands acquired cedar to use for canoe ribbing. Some groups also traded for birchbark.

The Naskapis wore clothing of caribou skin that had been dressed, smoked, and sewn. Some southern groups wore breechclouts; leggings (sometimes attached with a belt); bear, moose, or beaver robes; and moccasins as well as attachable sleeves for winter wear. Clothing also included fur pants, sewn hare blankets, fur or hide headbands, and hide caps.

In the north, hooded winter coats had fur inside. Moccasins in the north were sometimes made of sealskin. The Naskapis tattooed themselves by simply rubbing charcoal or soot into a cut on the skin, unlike many neighboring groups, who ran a charcoal-coated thread through the skin. Red ochre

and greasepaint were applied to clothing in geometrical patterns with bone or antler pens or stamps. Skin objects, including clothing and bags, were painted with groups of parallel lines, triangles, and leaf shapes.

Humans—likely the direct ancestors of the Naskapi/Montagnais—have lived on the Labrador Peninsula for at least 5,000 years. Indians may have lived peacefully alongside the Inuits in ancient times. The Naskapi/Montagnais were among the first North American groups to come into contact with non-Natives, probably Basque and other European fishermen, in the early sixteenth century.

The Montagnais welcomed Champlain in 1603, whose French muskets proved to be of some help against the crippling Iroquois war parties. The people soon became heavily involved in the fur trade. They found it very competitive and profitable and soon began acquiring a large number of non-Native goods. Europeans created Indian trade chiefs, or captains. Missionaries arrived among the Montagnais in 1615. Tadoussac remained a key trade town from the midsixteenth century until Quebec was founded in 1608.

However, both moose and caribou were soon overhunted. As food supplies became less certain, some starvation ensued. Problems with alcohol abuse exacerbated the situation. The people were able to trade furs for supplies until non-Natives took over the best trapping grounds. Devastating disease epidemics reduced and weakened the Indian population, and further mass deaths resulted from relocating to the coast at the urging of missionaries.

The fur trade remained important during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The Naskapis became involved in the fur trade during that period. As they quickly increased their dependence on the trading posts and forsook the caribou hunt, they began to lose important elements of their traditional lives. By the midnineteenth century, traditional small local bands had generally become associated with a particular Hudson’s Bay Company trading post. As forestry operations began replacing the fur trade, and non-Natives continued to move into the Saint Lawrence Valley, the people’s hunting grounds became severely diminished. At that time the government created the first official Indian villages.

By the midtwentieth century, the trading post communities were being replaced by larger, permanent settlements. Also, well-defined trapping areas of at least several hundred square miles had





evolved. People generally remained around a settlement in the summer, retiring to their territory in small groups (ten to twenty people) to hunt and trap during the other seasons.

Since 1940, Canada has built over twenty hydroelectric dams and plants in Labrador. The government created several new reserves in the 1950s. In 1975, the Eastern Crees and Inuits ceded over 640,000 square kilometers of land to the James Bay Hydroelectric Project, in exchange for promises of hundreds of millions of dollars and various other provisions.

Among the Eastern Crees, many people retain elements of traditional religious belief either along with or instead of Christianity. Parts of these people's territory, such as north central Labrador, have only recently been explored by non-Natives. Most Innus, however, are Christian. In a marked departure from the pre-contact period, they have discarded former ideas about personal independence and duty to the group in favor of duty to individuals (women must obey men, children their parents, people their leaders). Few people remain self-sufficient.

Southeastern bands live in permanent frame-house villages. Hunting and trapping trips into the interior are far less important than they used to be, yet the cooperative ethic remains strong. Most people wear non-Native dress, and most children go to non-Native schools and are largely acculturated.

The Cree-Naskapi Act of Quebec (1984) replaced the Indian Act and provides for local self-government. The Labrador Innus (North West River) won an injunction in 1989, later overturned, preventing the military from continuing low-flying exercises over their region. The Naskapi-Montagnais Innu Association work for, among other issues, the sovereignty of the Davis Inlet Innus and the Sheshatshiu Montagnais. The Conseil Attikamek/Montagnais (twelve bands in Quebec) is also negotiating with the Canadian government for specific rights.

In 1974, the people formed the Grand Council of the Crees (of Quebec) to deal with the ramifications of the James Bay Hydroelectric Project, which had been allowed to proceed over Indian opposition. The people of Davis Inlet, led by the Mushuau Innu Band Council and the Mushuau Innu Renewal Committee (1993), have worked to address serious health and safety issues. They have constructed and renovated houses, instituted job training, and increased social services. Furthermore, in 1995 a multilateral agreement was signed calling for the return of the provincial court to Davis Inlet. This is part of the

community's plan to assume greater responsibility in policing its own affairs.

*See also* Canada, Indian Policies of; Cree-Naskapi Act; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Fur Trade; Hudson's Bay Company; James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement; Trade.

## Ojibwa, Northern

*See* Anishinabe.

## Salteaux

*See* Anishinabe.

## Sekani

"Sekani" means "People of the Rocks" (Rocky Mountains), and it comes from the people's self-designation. The Sekanis were culturally related to the Beavers and the Kaskas. Traditional Sekani territory is the Parsnip and Finlay River Basins, British Columbia. An eighteenth-century expansion to the south was largely checked by the Shuswaps. There were probably around 3,000 Sekanis in the eighteenth century and around 200 in the early nineteenth century, not counting 300 or so people in groups living west of the Arctic-Pacific divide. Sekanis spoke an Athapaskan language.

Young men fasted and dreamed alone in the wilderness to acquire supernatural guides, which were associated with animals or birds. These guides were of help only in emergencies. However, men might obtain other guides later in life, associated with either animals or natural forces, that might provide more regular assistance. These men became shamans, who were able to cause and cure disease, the latter for pay. Women could not become curers but they could, through dreaming, acquire the power to foretell the future. Disease was considered to be caused by soul loss, taboo breaking, or malice.

Several autonomous bands were led by a headman of little real authority. "Sekani" was the name of one such band. Regional bands in the nineteenth century were, from north to south, Tselonis, Sasuchans, Yutuwichans, and Tsekanis.





Other groups may have been Meadow Indians and Baucannes (*Says-Thau-Dennehs*). Bands owned hunting territories.

Names were derived ultimately from guardian spirits. Most children were nursed for about three years. At puberty, girls were secluded and forced to observe special food and behavioral taboos, all designed to keep them apart from men and animals. Boys fasted and dreamed for spirit guides.

Men might have more than one wife, especially if the wives were sisters. Newly married men served their in-laws for a year or so but lived apart from them during that time. The dead may anciently have been buried in the ground or covered in brush huts; they were later cremated. Chiefs or other people of authority were placed in hollow-log coffins deposited in trees or on platforms. Daily mourning (wailing) could last for years after a death. The Sekanis adopted matrilineal divisions and even quasi potlatches for a short time in the nineteenth century, in imitation of the Carriers and Gitksans.

Temporary conical lodges were covered with spruce bark or, later, moose hide. The people also built lean-tos covered with brush, bark, or skins as well as brush menstrual huts. Large game, such as moose, caribou, mountain sheep, and bear, constituted the bulk of the Sekani diet. Many other animals were also hunted, including porcupine, beaver, and marmot. There was some buffalo hunting, at least around 1800, in the eastern foothills and prairies. Some groups hunted in both the summer and the winter.

Trout and whitefish were the most important fish species. Fish were occasionally taken at night, from canoes, in the light of pine torches. Other foods included fowl and berries. Surplus food was cached in trees.

The Sekanis traded with Carrier groups. They exported mainly products of the hunt. Most people traveled overland, carrying their possessions on their backs. They used snowshoes in the winter and, occasionally, some spruce-bark canoes.

Men wore a sleeveless skin shirt, which they sometimes laced together between their legs, high skin leggings, and moccasins lined with fur. They added a breechclout after sustained contact with the Crees. Women wore similar clothing, although their leggings were shorter and their shirts were longer. Sometimes they wore a short apron as well. Sekanis decorated their clothing with porcupine quill and moose hair embroidery. Items of personal adornment included horn and bone bracelets. Hunters

wore grizzly bear claws around their necks. Both sexes painted their bodies and wore marmot or hare robes, caps, and mittens in the winter.

The Sekanis may have originated east of the mountains and may have been driven west by the Crees. They may once have been united with the Beaver. They probably first encountered non-Natives in 1793. Around the same time, Shuswaps stopped the southward expansion of the people.

The North West Company established two posts in 1805, including Trout Lake (Fort McLeod). Trade forts continued to be established for the next several decades. The people began a decline shortly after the trade posts opened that was mainly linked with alcohol abuse and disease.

The Omineca gold rush occurred in 1861. By 1870, over 1,000 non-Native trappers and miners had occupied the territory of the Senakis. Environmental degradation and the decline of natural resources, including game animals, were the result. In consequence of these trends, mal- and undernourishment were added to the people's woes, and their population declined even more sharply. Still armed mainly with traditional weapons, the people at that time were forced to give up their winter grounds east of the Rocky Mountains to the Beavers and Crees, who had access to firearms. Catholic missionaries were active in the area from about 1870.

Two new bands or groups created around the turn of the century were the T'lotona (Sasuchans intermarried with Gitksans) and Davie's band (Otzanes), people organized around the son of a French Canadian man and a Sasuchan woman. A large dam created in the 1960s displaced many bands and separated several traditionally linked Sekani groups.

*See also* Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan People; Canada, Indian Policies of; North West Company.

## Slavey

"Slavey," or "Slave," is a translation of a name (*Awakanak*) given by the Cree enemies of these people. Their self-designation was *Dine'é*, "People." They were also known as *Etchareottine*, "People Dwelling in the Shelter." They are culturally related to the Dogribs and, like them, were not considered a "tribe" until relatively recently.





In the early eighteenth century, Slaveys lived between Lake Athabaska and Great Slave Lake. Their midnineteenth-century territory included the Mackenzie and Laird River Basins, from western Great Slave Lake south to around Hay Lake and north to Fort Norman, boreal forestland in present-day northeast British Columbia, northwest Alberta, and southwest Northwest Territories. The Slavey population was possibly 1,250 in the late seventeenth century. Slaveys spoke dialects of a North-eastern Athapaskan language.

People sought to acquire a guardian animal spirit in a dream, which would provide them with luck and assistance. Special songs usually accompanied powers provided by the guardian spirits. There were also malevolent spirits or supernatural beings, such as giants, who abducted young children. Quasi medicine bundles, or collections of items inspired by the dream vision, were kept in a pouch or a box. With few herbal remedies, medicine men were primary curers through removing physical manifestations of illness from a patient. Souls were said to live again after death.

People with little real authority led several autonomous bands, each with perhaps 200 people, that came together only in the summer, and even then only when conditions permitted. The bands were composed of local hunting groups of ten to fifteen people, within which food and other items were shared. Membership in all groups was fluid. An informal council of hunters settled disputes.

Within the local group, all people fared roughly equally well or poorly in terms of subsistence. Most personal disputes were settled by compensation or, in extreme cases, banishment. Local groups often resolved differences by playing a game, such as the traditional hand game, or through ritual competition by medicine men. The meeting of two local groups might be an occasion to feast and dance.

Individuals chose their own marriage partners, although parents also played a key role. A yearlong bride service for men followed a wedding. Men sometimes engaged in the custom of wrestling each other for their wives. Divorce was rare.

Women generally gave birth in a kneeling position attended only by women. There was some female infanticide. At her first menstrual period, a young woman left the camp and lived in a separate shelter for about ten days; she returned to the shelter every month. During this time she was subject to several food and behavioral taboos, such as avoiding eye contact with others and not traveling on an exist-

ing trail. Boys marked the passage into adulthood by making their first big game kill.

Unlike many regional groups, men did much of the hard work, such as obtaining firewood and preparing the lodge, in addition to hunting and fighting. Grandparents were important in the lives of children, often “joking” with them to teach proper behavior. The elderly and ill were rarely abandoned. Many people confessed wrongs on their deathbeds. The entire camp remained awake to witness a person’s death. Death was greatly feared and was considered, with illness, to be the result of sorcery. Corpses were placed on scaffolds or covered with leaves and snow and placed with their property under a hut.

The winter dwelling was a low pole-frame structure covered with moss, with a pitched spruce bough roof and two doorways. There was an open smoke hole at the top. These structures might be twenty feet long and ten feet wide and were inhabited by extended families. In the summer, people built conical spruce, moose hide, bark, or brush lodges.

Men hunted mainly moose, but they also hunted woodland caribou, running them down and shooting them with bow and arrow in spring and snaring them with the help of dogs in the summer and winter. Beavers were caught in wooden traps in the fall and speared or clubbed in the winter. Men also hunted numerous small animals as well as birds. Fish were also very important. Women gathered berries, roots, and some other plant foods. Food to be stored was cached in the ground (during the winter) or hung in a bag from a pole.

Most animals were caught with *babiche* or sinew snares. Other hunting gear consisted of the bow and arrow, clubs, and spears. People fished with twisted willow bark or *babiche* nets and weirs as well as with hook and line. Other important items included stone adzes, beaver tooth knives, bone or antler projectile points, woven spruce root or bark cooking vessels, and moose hide, calfskin, or hare pelt diapers. Babies were carried in moose hide bags lined with moss.

Slaveys imported some Native copper from the Yellowknife and Dogrib people. They also imported some caribou skins, flint, chert, and pyrites as well as Inuit bone and ivory knives. They exported moose and fish products. The people used two types of snowshoes, beaver hide or birch toboggans, birch- or spruce-bark canoes, and some moose hide rafts. Much travel took place overland, with goods carried





on a person's back by means of a tumpline around the forehead.

Clothing was mainly of moose skins and consisted of pointed shirts and coats, leggings joined to moccasins, tassels (men), dresses (women), robes, caps, and mittens. In some areas, women's clothing was made mostly of woven hare skins. Clothing was heavily fringed, with moose hair and porcupine quill decoration. People also wore moose hide and rabbit skin blankets.

Faces were tattooed with parallel lines on the cheek. Women wore woven spruce root caps. Men plucked their facial hair and skewered their noses with wood or goose quills. Both sexes wore embroidered leather waist, wrist, and arm ornaments.

Despite their peaceful reputation, the Slaveys were known to massacre Kaskas and other mountain Indian enemies. Neighboring tribes were reluctant to attack them for fear of witchcraft reprisals. The people also fought the Crees. War garments included bear claw headdresses or feather caps. Weapons included willow twig shields. War leaders were chosen on an ad hoc basis.

The Crees, carrying firearms, drove the people north from the Lake Athabaska area in the late eighteenth century. They encountered Alexander Mackenzie in 1789. The first trade post in the area was built in 1796, with additional posts following in the next fifteen years. Anglican and Catholic missionaries arrived in 1858; Christianization was virtually complete by 1902.

Treaties signed with Canada in 1900, 1911, 1921, and 1922 generally called for land cessions in return for payments, services, and reserves. The high cost of trade items, as well as the relatively limited non-Native presence in the area, kept the people from dramatically changing many aspects of their culture until well into the twentieth century. Slaveys adopted non-Native material goods (such as metal items, firearms, flour, and tobacco) on a large scale after World War I, when many began trapping for income for the first time. At about the same time, groups began gathering for the summer at trade posts rather than at traditional lakeshore places, and gatherings were added for Christmas and Easter.

Permanent, significant governmental intrusion began only after World War II for some more remote groups, when the fur market collapsed. Oil and gas exploitation replaced furs as the region's most important commercial resource at about the same time. Traditional nomadic patterns have been

replaced by a sedentary existence, especially since the 1960s. Since about the same time, the Slavey have become politically active to maintain control of their own affairs. The nature of local development, such as a controversial oil and gas pipeline, may be the biggest issue of all.

Contemporary life is marked in part by a number of problems, including substance abuse and general ill health, substandard housing, limited educational and economic opportunities, crime, and racism. Most of these problems can be attributed to the tension between the loss of traditional culture and replacement by spiritually and materially inadequate non-Native institutions, programs, and attitudes.

*See also* Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan People; Canada, Indian Policies of.

## Tahltan

"Tahltan" comes from the Tlingit for "basin-shaped hollow," referring to a place at the mouth of the Tahltan River. There are also other possible origins and meanings of the name. Their self-designation was *Titcakhantene*, "People of Titcakhant." They are sometimes classified, with the Kaskas, as Nahani Indians and were culturally related to the Carriers.

The Tahltans lived, and continue to live, in northwest British Columbia, specifically the upper Stikine River drainage. They also shared the Stikine River Valley below Telegraph Creek with the Tlingits. The Tahltans hunted in the region in the winter, whereas the Tlingits fished and gathered there in the summer. There were perhaps 2,000 Tahltans in the late eighteenth century. Tahltan is a dialect of Tahltan-Kaska, an Athapaskan language.

The people recognized a sky god and a sun god. Adolescent boys fasted in wilderness vision quests to obtain guardian animal or bird spirits and songs. Shamans dreamed powerful guardian animal spirits.

Six autonomous bands were each associated with a particular hunting territory. Leadership was relatively weak, and band membership was fluid. Eventually, under Tlingit influence, the bands became clans, which were led by a chief who inherited his office through his mother's line. (In the mideighteenth century a seventh clan was created, but it remained more of a Tlingit than a Tahltan entity.) Family and possibly clan leaders might be





women. Clan leaders constituted an informal council. In about 1875, a single “tribal” leader emerged.

Two matrilineal divisions, Raven and Wolf, each contained three of the clans. Eventually, the three clans in each division came to share hunting territories. People were socially ranked as either nobles, commoners, or slaves. The latter category was permanent, and the children of slaves were born slaves.

Commoners, however, could enter the nobility by accumulating wealth and giving potlatches and/or through marriage. Titles, which confirmed social status, could be inherited but also had to be earned, mainly by potlatching. Three kinds of potlatches existed among the Tahltans: those given by parents to acknowledge their childrens’ rank, those given by rivals to increase their status, and memorial potlatches.

Men toughened themselves with icy water plunges and by self-flagellation with willow switches. Girls reaching adolescence remained secluded for up to two years, receiving intensive training in the female tasks during that time and enduring a number of food and behavior taboos, such as keeping their faces covered. Young men served a prospective wife’s family for a period of time before the wedding.

Widowers often married a sister of their late wife. Women were supported—and often married—by their nephews when their husbands died. The dead were cremated, after which the bones were placed on a post or in a small box raised off the ground. Death chants were sung for the dying and the dead. When a prominent person died, one of his slaves might be killed or, alternatively, freed.

Tahltans lived in pole-frame lean-tos with bark roofs and earth-and-bough packing. Those who could covered the poles with moose hide. At semi-permanent fishing villages, the people built bark-roofed huts with straight sapling walls and gabled roofs. In the main village, clans built structures up to 100 or more feet long that housed the clan’s main families and served as a ceremonial hall. There were also special living and clubhouses for young, unmarried men.

Tahltans ate mainly game, including caribou, moose, bear, buffalo, and a range of smaller animals, such as marmot and beaver. Dogs assisted in hunting. Fish, especially salmon, were an important part of the diet. Women gathered roots, berries, and other plant foods.

Tahltans had long-standing trade and other personal contacts with the Tlingit, Kaska, and Sekani

groups. They imported eulachon (smelt) and salmon oil, dentalium and abalone shells and ornaments, stone axes, woven blankets, and slaves (who originated among the Haidas). Exports included moose and caribou products (such as cured hides and *babiche*) and furs.

The people made a few relatively poor-quality spruce-bark canoes and temporary rafts. During overland travel, which they preferred to water travel, they might use snowshoes and carry baskets with tumplines. Women pulled a rough toboggan.

Tanned skin and fur clothing included shirts and leggings, often with attached moccasins, for men and dresses (long shirts), leggings, and moccasins for women. Both sexes wore goatskin and woven rabbit fur robes as well as various personal adornments. Clothing and other objects were often decorated with quillwork in geometric designs.

Tahltans periodically fought the Inland Tlingits, Taku River Tlingits, and the Tsimshians (Ness River branch), mostly over trade and the use of subsistence areas. They took scalps and held women prisoners for ransom. There was also some ceremonial cannibalism. Allies included other Tlingit groups, the Dease River Kaskas, and the Bear Lake Sekanis.

Tahltan history is in part a process of continuous adaptation of their Native Athapaskan traditions to those of Pacific Coast cultures. Tahltans probably moved into their known territory in the seventeenth century. The rich natural resources of the region encouraged population growth, larger and more permanent habitations, the acquisition of more material goods, increased social stratification, and a more complex culture in general.

Tlingit-Tahltan contact intensified after non-Natives established a presence along the coast in the early nineteenth century. At that time, trade and the production of furs became increasingly important. As wealth grew, stratification became more pronounced. At the same time, with so many people dying, opportunities were rife for social mobility.

Major epidemics began in the early nineteenth century when coastal people brought germs into the interior. Up to 75 percent or more of Tahltans died from epidemics during the nineteenth century. Sustained contact with non-Natives came when gold was discovered below Glenora in 1861 and especially after the 1874 gold strike at Cassiar. At that point, the Tahltans no longer controlled the Stikine River territory. In the late nineteenth century, survivors of various bands coalesced into one unit,





or tribe, with a head chief. They built the Tahltan village, a log house community.

The trend toward the loss of land and control over their own destinies became even stronger following the Klondike gold rush of 1898, as thousands of non-Native prospectors, missionaries, tourists, and entrepreneurs rushed into the region. Although many people were drawn into the wage economy as guides, wranglers, and government employees, most Indians remained engaged in traditional subsistence activities through the midtwentieth century. Major employment opportunities during and after World War II included highway construction and asbestos mining.

*See also* Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan People; Canada, Indian Policies of; Warfare, Intertribal.

## Tanaina

"Tanaina," or "Dena'ina," means "the People." The Tanainas were also known as Knaiakhotana. Their designation as a single tribe is a non-Native convention, the people having consisted traditionally of various related tribes, or divisions, such as Kachemaks, Kenai-tyoneks, Upper Inlets, and Iliamna-susitnas. They were culturally related to local Northwest Coast tribes such as the Tlingits.

Before contact with non-Natives, the Tanainas lived around the drainage of Cook Inlet, Alaska. From perhaps 4,500 in the mideighteenth century, the Tanaina population dropped to around 3,000 in 1800. Tanaina, an Athapaskan language, includes two major divisions—Upper Inlet and Lower Inlet—as well as many subdialects.

Everything in nature was said to have a spirit. The people recognized three groups of beings in particular: mythological beings; supernatural beings, such as giants and tree people; and beings that interacted closely with people, such as loon, bear, and wolf spirits. There was also a fourth group of creatures, including Hairy Man and Big Fish. Ceremonies included memorial potlatches and first salmon rites.

Male and female shamans mediated between the human and spiritual worlds, using spiritual powers acquired in dreams to cure illness and to divine the future. To cure illness, shamans wore carved wooden masks and used dolls to locate and exorcise evil spirits. Shamanic power could be used

for good or for evil. In addition to their spiritual power, many shamans enjoyed a great deal of political power, occasionally serving as the village leader ("rich man"), usually the wealthiest members of their clan lineage groups.

Tanainas traditionally organized into three distinct societies: Kenai, Susitna, and Interior. The three developed separately because of the difficulty of communicating across the hazardous Cook Inlet. The village was the main political unit. It was headed by one or more leaders ("rich men"). Leadership functioned mainly as a redistributive mechanism, wherein goods flowed to the rich man and were redistributed by him according to need. The leader was also responsible for the moral upkeep of his people.

The power of these leaders was noncoercive, and their "followers" were bound to them only out of respect. Leadership qualities, in addition to wealth, included generosity, bravery, and hunting ability. A man who aspired to this position needed help and material support from his relatives.

Relatively stable winter villages gave rise to social hierarchy and other complex organizations. A dual societal division was further broken into matrilineal clans, approximately five in one division and ten in the other. Clans owned most property and controlled marriage as well as most hunting and fishing areas. Social control was maintained primarily by peer pressure, although revenge, physical retribution, and payments played a role also.

"Rich men" gave potlatches as an important means of economic redistribution and of increasing or maintaining their prestige. They were provided crucial support by their relatives. Potlatch occasions included life cycle events as well as other opportunities to express generosity. Dentalium shells, certain furs, and, later, glass beads were the primary symbols of prestige. "Rich men" had several wives as well as slaves. The latter were generally well treated and not kept for more than several years. In general, women had a relatively high degree of prestige and honor and could become wealthy in their own right.

Men served their future in-laws for at least a year. Children were born in a separate house, and adoption was common. Puberty recognition was accorded to both sexes. Boys fasted, either in a room (Interior) or in the woods (Susitna), and ran in the morning. Girls were confined for the better part of a year, during which time they learned appropriate skills and proper behavior. They also endured vari-





ous behavioral taboos during this time, including the prohibition against looking directly at anyone else.

People made loud noises around the sick and dying to keep malevolent spirits at bay. Corpses were cremated, their ashes placed either in boxes on posts or buried and their possessions destroyed or given away. Members of another clan were responsible for making all the funeral arrangements. A mourning period of several weeks followed funerals. Memorial potlatches were held about a year after death.

A winter village consisted of from one to ten or more partially excavated houses with tunnel entries, and the population averaged between fifty and 200 people. These rectangular houses had log walls covered with grass and dirt. Spruce-bark or planked gabled roofs were also covered with dirt. There was a large main room with several side sleeping chambers. The total length ranged from ten to 100 feet.

The houses featured rooms for several families, including a main room with a fire and sleeping platforms for adolescent boys. Compartments for married couples and their young children as well as adolescent girls were located underneath the platforms. Other chambers were for sweating, menstrual isolation, and sleeping for the elderly. Villages were often concealed or camouflaged against enemy attack.

Summer houses were similarly designed, but lighter. The people also built temporary houses, such as birchbark or skin tents or log and sod structures, at fish and hunting camps. These houses held only nuclear or small extended families. House styles began to change in the nineteenth century with Russian influence.

There was a wide dietary divergence among groups. Some, such as those in the extreme south, depended mainly on marine life, whereas the northern interior people were mainly hunters and fishers. Most groups depended on fish, especially all five kinds of salmon. Other important species included eulachon (smelt), halibut, and catfish.

Important sea animals included seals, otter, and beluga whale. Land animals included caribou, bear, moose, beaver, and rabbit. Caribou herds were driven into lakes and speared or shot, or they were channeled with fences into snares and surrounds. The people also ate birds and fowl as well as various roots and berries. Coastal people gathered shellfish.

The Tanainas acquired kayaks and umiaks from the Alutiiqs, serving also as intermediaries between those people and interior groups. The Tanainas participated in regional trade networks stretching across Alaska. Informally and at trade fairs, they traded

with other Tanaina groups as well as with groups farther away. Wealthy men with established trade partners were especially successful. Traditional exports included wolverine skins, porcupine quills, and moose products. Imports included copper, dentalium shell, and cedar arrow shafts.

Water transportation included birchbark canoes and moose skin boats as well as Inuit-style sealskin kayaks and umiaks. People traveled overland in the winter on foot (snowshoe) and on dogsleds, which date from the midnineteenth century.

Tailored clothing was made of tanned caribou or sheepskins. Both sexes wore a knee-length undergarment, a shirt, and boots. Fur coats and shirts were added in the winter. Rain gear included a whale membrane parka and waterproof salmon skin boots. In the winter, the long undergarment had knee-high bear or beluga whale-soled boots attached. Blankets were made of sewn rabbit skins. Skin shirts were worn in the summer.

Clothing was often dyed brown or red, embroidered with porcupine quills, and decorated with fur trim and shells. Decoration often reflected social rank. Tattooing and face painting were common, especially among the wealthy. Women wore bone labrets in their lower lips. Both sexes pierced their ears and septa for shell decorations.

Captain James Cook entered the area in 1778, followed by more British traders. Local Indian groups already possessed iron and other items of non-Native manufacture when Cook arrived. Although Indians welcomed the Europeans as traders, they strongly and, for some time, successfully opposed non-Native settlement.

Russians built the first trading posts in the late eighteenth century. Relations between the Russians and Native Americans were difficult, even though the two groups regularly intermarried. Russians often attacked the Native people and took them as hostages, ultimately turning many Indian and Inuit groups into forced labor. Russian control was generally brutal. As the violence subsided and more posts were built in the early to midnineteenth century, many Native people became active in the fur trade.

A severe smallpox epidemic in 1838 took thousands of Indian lives. Other non-Native diseases such as syphilis and tuberculosis also killed many Indians. The people had guns by the 1840s. Russian Orthodox missionaries arrived in force about 1845; the people were nominally converted within two generations, especially along the coast.





Although population decline and game shortages caused interior groups to consolidate their villages, the late nineteenth century was generally a time of increasing prosperity, owing mainly to the extension of credit and growing involvement in the fur trade. The peak years were between 1867 (when the United States purchased Alaska) and the fur market crash of 1897. As a consequence, traditional “rich men,” or Indian trade leaders, became even wealthier and more powerful. One consequence of the U.S. purchase of Alaska was that the Tanainas lost legal rights as Russian citizens. U.S. citizenship was not granted until 1924.

The discovery of gold in the area around 1900 brought a flood of miners and other non-Natives. Other factors, such as the growth of commercial fishing and canning industries (with their attendant pollution and resource monopolization), improved transportation, and continuing population declines and game shortages, weakened social distinctions and contributed to the people’s general decline.

These developments also hastened the transition from a subsistence to a wage economy. Canneries and commercial salmon fishing boomed by the midtwentieth century. Schools, at least through the eighth grade, have been available to most Tanainas since the 1960s.

Tanainas are generally acculturated, although many retain a strong pride in their heritage and traditions. The three traditional societies are no longer distinct. The clan system is still important in most areas. Most people are Russian Orthodox Chris-

tians, although some elements of traditional religion survive. The Kenai-tynecks used revenue from oil leases in part to modernize village facilities. Local concerns include bridge construction and road improvement. A Tanaina Athapaskan Indian cultural facility has been proposed, perhaps to be built in Iliamna.

*See also* Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act; Athapaskan Languages; Athapaskan People; Canada, Indian Policies of; Potlatch; Russians, in the Arctic/Northwest; Slavery; Trade.

## **Tanana**

*See* Ingalik.

## **Tlingit, Inland**

*See* Tlingit.

## **Tutchone**

*See* Gwich’in.

## **Yellowknife**

*See* Chipewyan.



# *Native Americans of the Arctic*



## **Aleut**

See Alutiiq; Unangan.

## **Alutiiq**

“Alutiiq” means “a Pacific Eskimo person”; the plural form is “Alutiit.” The Alutiit were a maritime people, also known as Pacific Eskimos, Pacific Yup’ik, South Alaska Inuit, Yuit (with the Yup’ik), or Aleut. However, “Aleut” (of Russian origin) is easily confused with the culturally and linguistically separate Native people of the Aleutian Islands.

The self-designation of the Alutiiq people is *Sugpiaq* (“real person”). The three traditional sub-groups are the Chugachmiuts (Prince William Sound), Unegkurmiuts (lower Kenai Peninsula), and Qikertarmiuts or Koniagmiuts (Kodiak Island). There are many similarities to Unangan culture. The Alutiit lived and continue to live along coastal southern Alaska, between Prince William Sound and Bristol Bay. Kodiak Island was one of the most densely populated places north of Mexico. The aboriginal (mid- to late eighteenth-century) population was between 10,000 and 20,000 people. Alutiit spoke the Sugcestun, or Suk, dialect of the Pacific Gulf Yup’ik branch of Eskimo, an Eskaleut language.

The people recognized one or several chief deities, as well as numerous supernatural beings. Success in hunting required a positive relationship with the spirits of game animals. Human spirits were reincarnated through birth and naming.

Trances, as well as certain masks and dolls, allowed contact with the supernatural.

A large variety of dances, ceremonies, and rituals, including masked performances, songs, and feasts, began in the early winter. Specific ceremonies included a memorial feast, a ritual to increase the animal population, the Messenger’s Feast (a potlatch-like affair that took place between two closely related villages), life cycle events, the selection of chiefs, and preparation for the whale hunt. Wise men (Kodiak Island) were in charge of most religious ceremonies, although a dance leader might direct ceremonies and instruct children in dances.

Male and female shamans forecast weather and other events, and they cured disease. Berdaches were often shamans as well. Women also acted as healers through bloodletting and herbal cures.

Despite the existence of fifty or more villages or local groups, there was no strong central government. Most important decisions were made by consensus agreement of a council. Village leaders were chosen on the basis of merit, although there was a hereditary component. They were expected to earn respect and retained their offices by giving gifts and advice. Some controlled more than one village. Their primary responsibilities were to lead in war and guide subsistence activities. From the nineteenth century on, chiefs (*toyuuq*) and secondary chiefs (*sukashiq*) were appointed by a consensus of elders.

Descent was weakly matrilineal. Women generally had relatively high status, although they did not participate in formal governing structures such as councils. Society was divided into ranked classes:





noble, commoner, and slave. Slaves might be acquired through trade or war, especially among the Chugaches and the Koniags. High-stakes gambling was a favorite pastime.

Women were secluded in special huts during their menstrual periods and at the birth or death of a child. Seclusion during the initial menstrual period could extend for several months or more. Women's chins were tattooed when they reached puberty. Male transvestites were esteemed and performed the woman's role for life. Some girls were also raised as boys and performed male roles.

Marriage was formalized when gifts were accepted and the man went to live, temporarily, with his wife's family. A woman might have two husbands, although the second would have very low status. Men might also have multiple wives. Divorce and remarriage were possible. Babies' heads were flattened in the cradle, perhaps intentionally for aesthetic purposes. Children were generally raised gently, with no corporal punishment, but toughened with icy water plunges.

Corpses were wrapped in seal or sea lion skin and kept in a special death house. High-status people were mummified. Slaves were sometimes killed and buried with a person of high rank. Mourners blackened their faces, cut their hair, and removed themselves from society. Graveside ceremonies went on for a month or more. Pieces of the corpse of a great whale hunter were sometimes cut up and rubbed on arrow points or used as talismans on hunting boats.

Houses were semisubterranean, with planked walls and sod- and straw-covered roofs. A common main room also served as a kitchen and workshop. Side sleeping rooms, heated with hot rocks, were also used by both sexes for ritual and recreational sweats. Up to twenty people (several families) lived in each house. Winter villages were composed of up to ten or so houses. Some villages had large ceremonial halls (*kashim*). In fishing and other temporary camps, people lived in bark shelters or even under skin boats.

Salmon was a staple, although other fish, such as herring, halibut, cod, and eulachon (smelt), were also important. Sea mammals, such as whales, porpoises, sea lions, sea otters, and seals, were also key. Dead whales were not pulled ashore but were allowed to drift in the hope that they would come back to camp. The people also ate sea birds. There was some gathering of shellfish and seaweed, as well as greens, roots, and berries. Land mammals,

such as caribou, moose, squirrel, mountain goat, and hare, also played a part in the diet.

Woven spruce root baskets were decorated with grass and fern embroidery. Men carved and painted wooden dance masks. Two-hatch skin kayaks were the main vehicle for transportation, whaling, and sealing. They were made of sealskin stretched over branches. The people also used some dugout canoes, umiaks, and plank toboggans pulled by dogs. The Alutiiq acquired dentalia and slaves from the Northwest Coast. They exported caribou, mountain goats, and marmot parts. Messenger Feasts/potlatches also involved trade.

In cold weather, the Alutiiq people wore long parkas made of squirrel or sea lion fur and bird skin, rain parkas made of sewn eagle skin or eagle intestine, and boots made of sea lion, salmon, or bearskin. Men's conical bentwood or woven spruce root hats, worn at sea, may reflect a Tlingit influence. Men also wore Unangan-style wooden visors.

Women wore labrets and nose pins. Men also wore ornaments, such as sea lion whiskers, in their ears and noses. Other types of ornaments included coral, shell, and bone. Men braided their long hair, whereas women wore it tied up on their heads.

The Alutiiq people had been living in their historic territory for at least 2,000 and perhaps as many as 7,000 years when the Dane Vitus Bering, working for Russia, arrived in 1741. Although he may not have actually encountered any people, contact became regular in the 1760s and 1770s—and generally resisted by the Alutiiq. The first permanent Russian settlement was established in 1784, on Kodiak Island. By that time British and Spanish seamen had also visited the area.

In part by keeping their children as hostages, Russians soon forced the Natives to hunt sea otter pelts and do other work for them. Disease and general oppression soon cut the Alutiiq population dramatically. Many people were acculturated to the Russian religion and customs when the United States gained political control of Alaska in 1867.

At that time there began a renewed push for acculturation in another direction. Children were soon sent to mission and Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools, where they were forced on pain of punishment to accommodate the U.S. model. Economically, canneries and commercial fishing dominated the region from the late nineteenth century on.

Several Alutiiq villages suffered a devastating earthquake and tsunami in 1964. The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA, 1971) had a pro-





found influence on the people. The act established twelve formal culture areas, of which three fell in Alutiiq territory. In 1989 the *Exxon Valdez* ran aground and spilled nearly 11 million gallons of crude oil in Alutiiq territory, resulting in a tremendous loss of sea life, among other things.

Many villages remain accessible only by air or water. Most people are Russian Orthodox, many older people speak Russian (along with English and Alutiiq), and there are considerable other Russian influences. Most village social activities are church related.

Some Alutiit are more identified with the ANCSA corporate entities than with the original Alutiiq culture. Village concerns include protecting the local fisheries, road construction, and the construction of a boat harbor. Efforts to preserve the Native culture include the formation of the Kodiak Alutiiq Dancers, language classes, oral histories, and craft (woodworking and kayak-making) projects.

*See also* Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act; Demographics, Historical; Russians, in the Arctic/Northwest; Salmon, Economic and Spiritual Significance of; Women in Native Woodlands Societies.

## Eskimo, Bering Strait

*See* Inupiat.

## Eskimo, Kotzebue Sound

*See* Inupiat.

## Eskimo, Nunivak

*See* Yup'ik.

## Eskimo, Pacific

*See* Alutiiq.

## Eskimo, South Alaska

*See* Yup'ik.

## Eskimo, Southwest Alaska

*See* Yup'ik.

## Eskimo, Saint Lawrence Island

*See* Yup'ik.

## Eskimo, West Alaska

*See* Yup'ik.

## Iglulik

"Iglulik" is a name derived (with their main settlement, Igloodik) from the custom of living in snow houses, or igloos. (*See also* Inuit, Baffinland.) Traditional Iglulik territory is north of Hudson Bay, including northern Baffin Island, the Melville Peninsula, Southampton Island, and part of Roes Welcome Sound. It lies within the central Arctic, or Kitikmeot. The Iglulik population in the early nineteenth century was roughly 500. Igluliks speak a dialect of Inuit-Inupiaq (Inuktitut), a member of the Eskaleut language family.

Religious belief and practice were based on the need to appease spirit entities found in nature. Hunting and specifically the land-sea dichotomy were the focus of most rituals and taboos, such as that prohibiting sewing caribou skin clothing in certain seasons. The people also recognized generative spirits, conceived of as female and identified with natural forces and cycles. A rich body of legends was related during the long, dark nights.

Male and female shamans (*angakok*) provided religious leadership by virtue of their connection with guardian spirits. They could also control the weather, improve conditions for hunting, cure disease, and divine the future. Illness was due to soul loss, the violation of taboos, and/or the anger of the dead. Curing methods included interrogation about taboo adherence, trancelike communication with spiritual helpers, and dramatic performance.

There was little real political organization; nuclear families came together in the fall to form local groups, or settlements, that in turn were grouped into three divisions—Iglulingmiuts, Aivilingmiuts, and Tununermiuts—associated with





geographical areas (*-miuts*). Local group leaders were usually older men, with little formal authority and no power. Leaders generally embodied Inuit values, such as generosity, and were also good hunters.

Descent was bilateral. People came together in larger group gatherings in late autumn; that was a time to sew and mend clothing and renew kinship ties. Spring was also a time for visiting and travel. People married simply by announcing their intentions, although infants were regularly betrothed. Prospective husbands often served their future in-laws for a period of time. Men might have more than one wife, but most had only one. Divorce was easy to obtain. The people also recognized many other types of formal and informal partnerships and relationships. Some of these included wife exchanges.

A woman gave birth in a special shelter and lived in another special shelter, in which she observed various taboos for some time after the birth. Because infant mortality was high, infanticide was rare, and usually practiced against females. Babies were generally named after a deceased relative. Children were highly valued and loved, especially males. They were generally given a high degree of freedom. After puberty, siblings of the opposite sex acted with reserve toward each other. This reached an extreme in the case of brothers- and sisters-in-law.

The sick or aged were sometimes abandoned, especially in times of scarcity, or the aged might commit suicide. Corpses lay in state for three days, after which they were wrapped in skins, taken out through the rear of the house, and buried in the snow. The tools of the deceased were left with him or her. No activities, including hunting, were permitted for six days following a death.

Feuds, with blood vendettas, were a regular feature of traditional life. Tensions were relieved in various ways: through games; through duels of drums and songs, in which the competing people tried to outdo each other in parody and song; "joking" relationships; and athletic contests. Outdoor games included ball, hide-and-seek, and contests. There were many indoor games as well. These activities also took place on regular social occasions, such as visits. Ostracism and even death were reserved for the most serious cases of socially inappropriate behavior.

The people lived in domed snow houses for part of the winter. They entered through an above-ground tunnel that trapped the warm air inside. Snow houses featured porches for storage and some-

times had more than one room. Ice or gut skin served as windows. Some groups lined the snow house with sealskins. Snow houses were often joined together at porches to form multifamily dwellings. People slept on raised packed snow platforms on caribou hide bedding. Some larger snow houses were built for social and ceremonial purposes. People generally lived in sealskin tents in the summer. In the spring and fall, some groups used stone houses reinforced with whalebone and sod and roofed with skins.

The Igluliks were nomadic hunters. The most important game animals were seals, whales, walrus, and narwhal. Men hunted seals at their breathing holes in the winter and from boats in the summer, as they did whales and walrus. In the summer, the people traveled inland to hunt caribou, musk ox, and birds and to fish, especially for salmon and trout. Other foods included some berries and birds and their eggs. Meat, which might not be very fresh, was cooked in soapstone pots over soapstone blubber lamps or eaten raw or frozen. In the summer, people burned oil-soaked bones for cooking fuel.

Men used bone knives to cut blocks for snow houses, and they caught fox and wolf in stone or ice traps. Many tools were made from caribou antlers as well as stone, bone, and driftwood. Blades were made of bone or copper. Fires were started with flint and pyrite or a wooden drill. The people carved soapstone cooking pots and seal oil lamps as well as wooden utensils, trays, dishes, spoons, and other objects.

Men hunted in one- or two-person sealskin kayaks. Occasionally, several might be lashed together to form a raft. Umiaks were larger, skin-covered open boats. Dogs pulled wooden sleds, the whalebone or wood runners of which were covered with ice. Dogs also carried small packs during seasonal travel.

Women sewed most clothing from caribou skins, although sealskins were commonly used on boots. Apparel included men's long, gut sealing coats and light swallowtail ceremonial coats. The people wore a double skin suit in the winter and only the inner layer in the summer. Most men's parkas had a long flap in the back; the woman's had two long, narrow flaps. Women's clothing featured large shoulders and hoods for accommodating infants as well as one-piece, attached leggings and boots. They wore high caribou skin and sealskin boots containing square pouches. Men wore small loon beak dancing caps with weasel skin tassels.





They sometimes shaved their foreheads. Both sexes wore tattoos and ivory or bone snow goggles.

The people encountered Scottish whalers early in the nineteenth century. Eventually, Scottish celebrations partly supplanted traditional ones. By the time American whalers arrived in the 1860s, the Igluliks had acquired whaleboats, guns, iron items, tea, and tobacco. Later in the century, the people became involved with fox trapping and musk ox hunting. They also intermarried with non-Natives and acquired high rates of alcoholism and venereal disease.

Regular contact with other Inuits, such as the Netsiliks, was established at local trading posts and missions. These arrived in the early twentieth century, as did a permanent presence of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP). Improved medical care followed these inroads of non-Native influence.

The far north took on strategic importance during the Cold War, about the same time that vast mineral reserves became known and technologically possible to exploit. These developments encouraged population movements. Also, as non-Natives increased their influence, such aspects of traditional culture as shamanism and wife exchange began to disappear. In 1954, the federal Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources officially encouraged the Inuits to abandon nomadic life. It built housing developments, schools, and clinics. Local political decisions were made by a community council subject to non-Native approval and review.

The snowmobile, introduced in the early 1960s, increased the potential trapping and hunting area and diminished the need for meat (fewer dogs to feed). Such employment as the Inuits could obtain was generally unskilled and menial. With radical diet changes (including flour and sugar), the adoption of a sedentary life, and the appearance of drugs and alcohol, the people's health declined markedly.

The Baffin Regional Association was formed to press for political rights. In 1993, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), an outgrowth of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), signed an agreement with Canada providing for the establishment in 1999 of a new, mostly Inuit, territory on roughly 36,000 square kilometers of land, including Baffin Island.

The people never abandoned their land, which is still central to their identity. Traditional and modern coexist, sometimes uneasily, for many Inuits. Although people use television (there is even

radio and television programming in Inuktitut), snowmobiles, and manufactured items, women also carry babies in the traditional hooded parkas, chew caribou skin to make it soft, and use the semilunar knives to cut seal meat. Full-time doctors are rare in the communities. Housing is often of poor quality. Most people are Christians. Culturally, although many stabilizing patterns of traditional culture have been destroyed, many remain. Many people live as members of extended families. Adoption is widely practiced. Decisions are often made by consensus. However, with access to the world at large, social problems, including substance abuse and suicide among the young, have increased. Fewer than half of the people finish high school.

Politically, community councils have gained considerably more autonomy over the past decade or two. There is also a significant Inuit presence in the Northwest Territories legislative assembly and some presence at the federal level. The disastrous effects of government-run schools have been mitigated to some degree by local control of education, including more culturally relevant curricula in schools. Many people still speak Inuktitut, which is also taught in most schools, especially in the earlier grades. Children attend school in their community through grade nine; the high school is in Frobisher Bay. Adult education is also available.

*See also* Assimilation; Canada, Indian Policies of; Nunavut Land Claims Agreement; Women in Native Woodlands Societies.

## Inuit, Baffinland

"Baffinland Inuit" means "Baffinland People." The people call themselves *Nunatsiaqmiut*, "People of the Beautiful Land." The Baffin region today, including Baffin Island, and the eastern High Arctic Islands, is known as Qikiqtaaluk. The Baffinland Inuits live on mainly the coastal parts of southern and central Baffin Island and the eastern Northwest Territories. The land is rugged and includes mountains, plains, rolling hills, fjords, lakes, and rivers. The weather is also rugged and extreme, and the tides, especially in the east, are very high. There were approximately 27,000 Baffinland Inuits in the mideighteenth century, most of whom lived on Cumberland Sound. The Native language is Inuit-Inupiaq (Inuktitut), a member of the Eskaleut language family.





*Inuit woman in 1903 wearing native garb. (Library of Congress)*

Religious belief and practice were based on spirit entities found in nature and needing to be treated with respect. Rituals showing respect to an animal just killed focused on these beliefs, which were also the basis of most taboos and the use of amulets. People could acquire the spirits of objects as protectors. There were also more overarching, generative spirits identified with natural forces and cycles. These were largely female identified. Souls were said to be reincarnated.

Male and female shamans (*angakok*) provided religious leadership by virtue of their direct connection with guardian spirits. They led group religious activities. They could also cure disease and see into the future. Illness was perceived as having to do with soul loss and/or the violation of taboos. Curing methods included interrogation about taboo adherence, trancelike communication with spiritual helpers, and dramatic performance.

There was no formal political organization; instead, nuclear families combined to form villages in distinct geographical areas (*-miuts*). Villages occasionally came together as small, fluid, kinship-related bands. The bands were also geographically identi-

fied—the *-miut* suffix—although other groups were not specifically excluded. Larger but ill defined population regions included the Sikosuilarmiuts, Akuliararmiuts, Qaumauangmiuts, Nugumiuts, Oqomiuts, Padlimiuts, and Akudnirmiuts.

Band leaders (*isumataq*) were usually older men with little formal authority and no power. Leaders embodied Inuit values, such as generosity, and were also good hunters.

Sharing was paramount in Inuit society. All aspects of a person's life were controlled by kinship relationships. People married by announcing their intentions, although infants were regularly betrothed. Some men might have more than one wife, and divorce was easy to obtain. Wife exchange was practiced as part of formal male partnerships. Infanticide was rare and usually practiced against females. Names were taken from deceased people and given by elders. A person might have several names, each denoting a kinship relationship and particular behaviors. Names were not sex specific. Children were generally raised gently.

The sick or aged were sometimes abandoned, especially in times of scarcity. Corpses were wrapped in skins and covered with rocks. People brought weapons and food to the grave after four days. No work, including hunting, was performed during the days of mourning. Tensions were relieved through games, such as feats of strength, and duels of drums and songs, in which one person tried to outdo another in parody and song. Joking relationships also helped keep people's emotions in check. Ostracism and even death were reserved for the most serious cases of socially inappropriate behavior.

Domed snow houses were used in the winter, although people might also build stone houses covered with skin and plant material. Entry through a tunnel kept the warm air inside. These houses sometimes had more than one room and had storage porches as well. Beds were raised snow platforms covered with branches and skins. The people also built some larger snow or sod and bone houses for ceremonial purposes. Skin tents were generally used in the summer.

The Baffinland Inuits were nomadic hunters. The most important marine animals were seals and beluga whales, but they also hunted walrus, narwhal, and polar bear. Seals were hunted at their breathing holes and also on floe ice. In the summer, the people traveled inland to hunt caribou and birds (and eggs) as well as some small game. They fished year-round and gathered some berries, roots, and shellfish.





Men used bone knives to cut snow blocks for houses. Hunting equipment included harpoons, lances, spears, and the bow (driftwood or antler) and arrow. Wood and leather floats and drags were also used in whale hunting. Birds (their bones made excellent needles) were caught with wood and leather nets as well as whalebone snares; fish were caught with hooks and stone weirs. Most tools were made of caribou antlers as well as stone, bone, and driftwood. Sinew served nicely as thread. Other important items included carved soapstone cooking pots and lamps that burned seal oil/blubber and carved wooden trays, dishes, spoons, and other objects.

The Baffinland Inuits engaged in some trade and other intercourse with nearby neighbors; for instance, the people of Cumberland Sound were in contact with the Iglulik Inuits and those of southern Baffin Island with the Inuits of Labrador (Ungavas), where they obtained wood for their kayaks and umiaks. Other trade items included copper and ivory. Some groups carved wooden and ivory figurines. Storytelling was also considered a high art. Drum dancing, a performance art, combined music, story, dance, and song. Some Inuit women also practiced a form of singing known as throat singing.

Men hunted using one- or two-person kayaks of driftwood frames and sealskin. Umiaks were larger, skin-covered open boats. Wooden sleds carried people and belongings to and from the interior. Dog traction dates generally from the early twentieth century to the 1960s.

Most clothing consisted of caribou skin and seal-skin clothing and boots. Women's sealskin parkas had a larger hood for accommodating an infant. Some people were able to acquire pants made of polar bear skin. Waterproof seal intestine suits, partially lined with dog fur, were used for whale hunting. Women coiled or braided their hair.

Parts of Baffin Island were settled over 4,000 years ago. The Thule, or pre-Inuit culture, entered the region about 1200. Norsemen may have visited Baffin Island around the year 1000, but definite contact with non-Natives was not established until the people met early explorers in the late sixteenth century.

Non-Native whaling began in the east (Davis Strait) in the eighteenth century. The Inuit people shortly began to experience high rates of tuberculosis and other diseases, such as measles. Whaling centers established in the nineteenth century employed Inuits and slowly changed their economy, marking the shift to dependency.

Anglican missionaries arrived in the early twentieth century and conducted the first baptisms. A missionary-derived syllabary was created and persisted well into the twentieth century. The Hudson's Bay Company built trading posts from 1911 on, signaling the end of whaling and the beginning of fur trapping as the most important economic activity. This period also saw the beginning of the outside control of the people's lives by traders, missionaries, and police.

The far north took on strategic importance during the Cold War, about the same time that vast mineral reserves became known and technologically possible to exploit. The federal Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources (1954) encouraged the Inuits to abandon their nomadic life. It saw to the construction of housing developments, schools, and a general infrastructure. Local political decisions were made by a community council subject to non-Native approval and review. Inuits found generally menial and poorly paying employment. With radical diet changes, the adoption of a sedentary life, and the appearance of drugs and alcohol, health declined markedly.

The Baffin Regional Association was formed to press for political rights. In 1993, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), an outgrowth of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), signed an agreement with Canada providing for the establishment in 1999 of a new, mostly Inuit, territory on roughly 36,000 square kilometers of land, including Baffin Island.

The people never abandoned their land, which is still central to their identity. The traditional and modern lifeways coexist, sometimes uneasily, for many Inuits. Although people use television (there is even radio and television programming in Inuktitut), snowmobiles, and manufactured items, women also carry babies in the traditional hooded parkas, chew caribou skin to make it soft, and use the semi-lunar knives to cut seal meat. Full-time doctors are rare in the communities. Housing is often of poor quality. Most people are Christians. Culturally, although many stabilizing patterns of traditional culture have been destroyed, many remain. Many people live as members of extended families, and adoption is widely practiced. Decisions are often made by consensus.

Politically, community councils gained considerably more autonomy around the turn of the century. There is also a significant Inuit presence in the Northwest Territories legislative assembly and some presence at the federal level. The disastrous effects of





government-run schools have been mitigated to some degree by the local control of education, including more culturally relevant curricula in schools. Many people still speak Inuktitut, which is also taught in most schools, especially in the earlier grades. Children attend school in their community through grade nine; the high school is in Frobisher Bay. Adult education is also available.

*See also* Canada, Indian Policies of; Norse Exploration of North America; Nunavut Land Claims Agreement; Trade.

## Inuit, Caribou

“Caribou Inuit” is a non-Native name reflecting the people’s reliance on caribou. The Inuit self-designation was *Nunamiut*, “inlanders.” The Caribou Inuit homeland is located on the southern Barren Grounds west of Hudson Bay (Keewatin District, Northwest Territories). The early population was centered along the coast near Whale Cove. As the population grew during the nineteenth century, the trend was to expand to the north, south, and west (interior), especially as the Chipewyan Indians abandoned the latter region. This windy land consists mainly of gently rolling plains. It is very well watered, although little plant life exists there. There were between 300 and 500 Caribou Inuits in the late eighteenth century. The Caribou Inuits speak a dialect of Inuit-Inupiaq (Inuktitut), part of the Eskaleut language family.

The Caribou Inuits recognized a supreme creative force that took an interest in the affairs of people. This deity may have been associated with the female caribou. The souls of people who had lived well (observed all the taboos, of which there were many) were thought to rejoin this force when they died, thence to be reincarnated on earth. The souls of those who had not lived well were said to be eternally damned.

Religion was essentially hunting based. Respect was owed to all things in nature but especially game animals. People left offerings for the spirits of slain animals. A number of ceremonial dances reinforced these ideas. Shamans specialized in such matters, acting as spiritual intermediaries. They could find out, by communicating with the spirits, who had broken which taboo and how a problem could be rectified (curing).

Political leadership, such as it was, took place in the context of the family. The leader was generally

an older man who sat atop the family kinship network. He was also likely to be strong, wise, highly skilled in hunting, and familiar with the spirit world. Other than this, informal, ad hoc leaders advised small groups on hunting matters and when to move camp. There were five bands or societies in the mid-nineteenth century: Paatlirmiuts, Qairnitmuits, Aharmiuts, Hauniqturmiuts, and Harvaqturmiuts. The societies were separate but related by marriage and descent.

Betrothal took place as early as infancy. Cross cousins (children of a mother’s brothers or a father’s sisters) were regarded as highly desirable marriage partners. There was some regular intermarriage with other Inuit groups such as the Netsilik and Iglulik. There was little or no marriage ceremony. Newly married couples might live with either set of parents. Men might have more than one wife; widows tended to marry their brothers-in-law.

Although children were highly valued and generally treated very well, and although childless couples often adopted children, there was some female infanticide. Corpses were wrapped in skins and placed within a circle of stones, along with various possessions. The mourning period was highly ritualized.

The extended family was the basic unit. The people displayed a distinct fondness for singing, feasting, and social drum dancing, sometimes in a large snow house or tent. They played several games, many of which included gambling, and took part in athletic contests.

For most of their prehistory, coastal people used stone winter houses, chinked with moss and dirt and covered with snow. Around 1880 they learned, from the Igluliks, to build domed snow houses. These houses generally held ten people at most. Storage was available on the sides of a long entryway, which itself was placed below ground level to keep the cold drafts out. Furniture consisted of snow platforms covered with skins and willow mats. Some people built a small connected kitchen with a smoke hole, although many cooked, when they cooked at all, outside on fires of moss and willow. Houses of family members might be linked by tunnels.

In other seasons, the people used conical skin tents (hair side out for waterproofing), as well as temporary brush windbreaks. Most settlements were occupied by only one extended family, although groups might grow in size in the spring and summer.

Men engaged in extensive summer seal, walrus, and whale hunting before the early to midnineteenth





*Inuit spearing salmon in Canada in the early 1900s. (Library of Congress)*

century. A few coastal people continued these activities even after that time. Meat was sun-dried and stored in sealskin bags and retained for winter use.

Especially from the midnineteenth century on, the people depended almost totally on the migrating herds of caribou, which reached their peak numbers in autumn. People intercepted the animals at water crossings, drove them into lakes, and directed them down courseways where hunters waited. The men continued to hunt while women processed the meat and skins. Excess meat was covered with skins and hidden under rocks. When necessary, especially when the caribou meat began to run out, men also hunted musk ox, which were hunted to extinction by about 1900.

Most winter food was eaten frozen and raw. Fishing took place mostly in the winter and spring. Other foods included birds and their eggs, some summer berries, and the plant foods taken from caribou stomachs.

Most material items, such as tools, scrapers, needles, hooks, and arrowheads, were derived from the caribou. Other raw materials included wood and soapstone. Small, weak lamps burned caribou fat or fish oil. Cooking fires burned dwarf shrubbery. Musical instruments included drums and tambourine.

All trade took place in the summer. The people traded caribou skins and soapstone with the

Chipewyans and Crees for snowshoes, moccasins, and pyrite. They also traded with the Aivilik Iglulik Inuits from about 1800 on. Exports included driftwood and seal dog traces and boot soles, among other items. Long, narrow, skin-covered kayaks were sometimes tied together to form rafts for crossing larger bodies of water. After around 1800, the people used dogsleds whose runners were coated with ice-covered peat. Most transportation was overland with the help of tumplines, the Caribou Inuits being particularly strong walkers.

Six to eight caribou skins provided an adult suit of well-tailored clothing, including pants, boots, mittens, and outer and inner parkas. Furs and fur trim came from polar bears, wolves, wolverines, and foxes. Women wore bone or copper headbands. Women's parka hoods were extra large to accommodate babies carried high on the back.

The historic Caribou Inuits descended directly from the ancient Thule people, in local residence since about the twelfth century. The first non-Native explorers arrived in the early seventeenth century, although there may not have been direct contact between the two peoples.

Regular trade with non-Natives began shortly after the people were first visited by Hudson's Bay Company representatives in 1717. Ships brought foreign goods from Churchill, and the Inuits traded for





items such as metal knives and axes, beads, tobacco, and, later, guns and powder. At that time they often acted as intermediaries between non-Natives and the Igluliks, Netsiliks, and Copper Inuits. Regular trade began at Churchill in 1790.

By the early nineteenth century, Caribou Inuit society had begun to reorient itself, with southerners focusing on the Churchill area and the non-Native trade, and northerners making stronger ties with the Aivilik Iglulik Inuits. The two groups divided about 1810. Shortly thereafter, the two societies became five.

The Hudson's Bay Company conducted commercial whaling from about 1860 to 1915. The Inuit people killed seals and whales each summer, trading most oil and other products, while shifting to almost total dependence on caribou, as well as musk ox and fish to a lesser extent.

Canada established a formal presence in 1903. Trading posts and Catholic missionaries arrived in 1912, followed by various non-Native settlements in the region. A severe famine from 1915 to around 1924 killed perhaps two-thirds of the people. After that event, the people turned to trapping (mainly fox fur) and the wage/trade economy as a means of survival. This marked the end of their independence.

Gradually, continuing hunger and epidemics began to fragment the societies, and the population continued to decline. The situation attracted governmental intervention in the 1950s. Administrative centers were established. Most people relocated by choice to one of five settlements, most of which contained a minority of Caribou Inuits (although a majority of Inuits).

The shift to towns was completed in the 1960s. The people lived in prefabricated housing, generally wore nontraditional clothing, and ate nontraditional foods. With the breakdown of the traditional economy and nothing to take its place, many experienced for the first time problems of substance abuse. Children began learning English in school but little about their traditional culture. Acculturation quickly took hold among the young. The arrival of television in the 1970s and then other electronic media accelerated these trends.

The people never abandoned their land, which is still central to their identity. Traditional and modern coexist, sometimes uneasily, for many Inuits. Although people use television (there is even radio and television programming in Inuktitut), snowmobiles, and manufactured items, women also carry babies in the traditional hooded parkas, chew cari-

bou skin to make it soft, and use the semilunar knives to cut seal meat.

Full-time doctors are rare in the communities. Housing is often of poor quality. Most people are Christians. Culturally, although many stabilizing patterns of traditional culture have been destroyed, many remain. Many people live as members of extended families. Adoption is widely practiced. Decisions are often made by consensus. Intermarriage among the Inuit groups in the five population centers has blurred ethnic identity; people now tend to identify with their settlement.

Politically, community councils have gained considerably more autonomy over the past decade or two. There is also a significant Inuit presence in the Northwest Territories legislative assembly and some presence at the federal level. The disastrous effects of government-run schools have been mitigated to some degree by local control of education, including more culturally relevant curricula in schools. Many people still speak Inuktitut, which is also taught in most schools, especially in the earlier grades. Caribou overhunting has prompted increased government regulations, which are resisted by the Caribou Inuits, who still identify to a significant extent with the caribou.

*See also* Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Canada, Indian Policies of; Hudson's Bay Company; Nunavut Land Claims Agreement; Trade.

## Inuit, Copper

"Copper Inuit," meaning "People," is a name bestowed by non-Native explorers who found them using Native copper in tools and weapons. (*See also* Netsilik.) In the eighteenth century the Copper Inuits were living between Cape Parry and Queen Maude Gulf, especially on southern Victoria Island and along Coronation Gulf. The region is almost entirely tundra, except for some forest to the south and along the Coppermine River. Many Copper Inuits still live in this area of the central Arctic, known as Kitikmeot. The Native population was probably between 800 and 1,300 in the late eighteenth century. Copper Inuits speak a dialect of Inuit-Inupiaq (Inuktitut), a member of the Eskaleut language family.

Religious belief and practice were based on the need to appease spiritual entities found in nature. Hunting and specifically the land-sea dichotomy





were the focus of most rituals and taboos, such as that prohibiting sewing caribou skin clothing in certain seasons. The people also recognized generative spirits, conceived of as female and identified with natural forces and cycles.

Male and female shamans (*angakok*) provided religious leadership by virtue of their connection with guardian spirits. They could also control the weather, improve conditions for hunting, cure disease, and divine the future. Illness was due to soul loss, the violation of taboos, and/or the anger of the dead. Curing methods included interrogation about taboo adherence, trancelike communication with spiritual helpers, and dramatic performance.

Nuclear families were the basic economic and political unit. Families were led by the oldest man. They were loosely organized into small local groups associated with geographical areas (*-miuts*). Local groups occasionally came together as perhaps six or seven small, fluid bands. The bands were also geographically identified, their names carrying the *-miut* suffix as well.

Sharing was paramount in Inuit society. All aspects of a person's life were controlled by kinship relationships. The people recognized many types of formal and informal partnerships and relationships. Some of these included wife exchanges. People came together in larger group gatherings in late autumn; this was a time to sew and mend clothing and to renew kinship ties. Men hunted, made and repaired weapons and tools, and built kayaks, sleds, and shelter. Women prepared skins and made clothing, sewed hides for coverings, caught and prepared fish, raised children, and gathered moss, berries, and other items.

Descent was bilateral. People married simply by announcing their intentions, although infants were regularly betrothed. Prospective husbands often served their future in-laws for a period of time. Men might have more than one wife, but most had only one. Divorce was easy to obtain. Names were taken from deceased people and given by elders.

People often adopted orphans. Children were highly valued and loved, especially males. When a boy killed his first seal, the seal's body was ritually dragged over his. The sick or aged were sometimes abandoned, especially in times of scarcity. Corpses were wrapped in skins and buried in stone or snow vaults or, later, left outside within a ring of stones. No work, including hunting, was performed during the days of mourning.

Tensions were relieved through games, such as feats of strength and duels of drums and songs, in which one person tried to outdo another in parody and song. "Joking" relationships also helped keep people's emotions in check. Ostracism and even death were reserved for the most serious cases of socially inappropriate behavior.

Men built domed snow houses in the winter. Entry through a straight-sided, flat-topped tunnel kept the warm air inside. Some houses had more than one room. Snow platforms covered with the skins of caribou, musk ox, or bear served as beds. The people used larger snow or sod-and-bone houses for ceremonial purposes. They also used caribou skin and sealskin tents built over raised sod rings in the summer and over pits in the autumn.

Copper Inuits were nomadic hunters. The most important game animals were seals and whales. Some polar bears were caught in the winter as well. The people also hunted caribou, musk ox, small game, and fowl, mainly in small groups in the summer and autumn. One- or two-person kayaks, propelled with a double-bladed paddle, were generally used for hunting. Several men could hunt whales in umiaks, which were larger, skin-covered open boats. Fishing was a year-round activity. Some berries were available in the summer.

The summer was trade season. The people exchanged goods, particularly copper and driftwood, with the Inuvialuits, the Caribou Inuits, and the Netsilikis. There were occasional contacts with Athapaskan Indians to their south. Dogs carried burdens in the summer and pulled wooden sleds in the winter. The sleds had wooden runners covered with whalebone, mud, or peat and then ice. Toboggans were occasionally made of skin. The most important artistic traditions were carved wooden and ivory figurines.

Women sewed most clothing from caribou skins, although sealskins were commonly used on boots. Apparel included men's long, gut sealing coats and light swallowtail ceremonial coats. The people wore a double skin suit in the winter and only the inner layer in the summer. Women's clothing featured large shoulders and hoods for accommodating infants as well as one-piece, attached leggings and boots. Men wore small loon beak dancing caps with weasel skin tassels. Both sexes wore tattoos and ivory or bone snow goggles. Clothing decoration consisted mainly of bands of white fur or skin. There was some skin fringing.





Historical Copper Inuit people are descended from ancient pre-Dorset, Dorset, and Thule cultures. They first encountered non-Natives in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although they obtained some non-Native trade goods, such as iron, and caught new diseases, traditional life remained relatively unchanged for some time thereafter.

Local trading posts were established in the 1920s, bringing items such as rifles, fish nets, and steel traps as well as cloth, tea, and flour. These material changes had the result of extending the caribou season and generally reorienting the people away from the sea. This development, plus the regular presence of trade ships, began to undermine traditional self-sufficiency and social structures. The region's first missionaries arrived at about the same time, as did a permanent presence of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).

It was not until the 1950s, however, that the root aspects of traditional culture began to disappear. Some mixing with western Inuit newcomers occurred during that time. The far north took on strategic importance during the Cold War, about the same time that vast mineral reserves became known and technologically possible to exploit. These two industries offered some wage labor and contributed to the decline of the nomadic life. Other factors contributed as well, such as the decline of the caribou herds.

The federal Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources (1954) began constructing wood-frame housing developments, clinics, and schools and encouraged resettlement in these permanent communities. Local political decisions were made by a community council subject to non-Native approval and review. Population centralization was largely completed by the 1970s. Most job opportunities for Inuits were unskilled and menial, although hunting and trapping remained important. With radical diet changes, the adoption of a sedentary life, and the appearance of drugs and alcohol, health declined markedly.

The people never abandoned their land, which is still central to their identity. Traditional and modern coexist, sometimes uneasily, for many Inuit. Full-time doctors are rare in the communities. Housing is often of poor quality. Most people are Christians. Culturally, although many stabilizing patterns of traditional culture have been destroyed, many remain. Many people live as members of extended families. Adoption is widely practiced. Decisions are often made by consensus.

Politically, community councils have gained considerably more autonomy over the past decade or two. There is also a significant Inuit presence in the Northwest Territories legislative assembly and some presence at the federal level. In 1993, the Tunjavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), an outgrowth of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), signed an agreement with Canada providing for the establishment, in 1999, of the new, mostly Inuit, territory of Nunavut on roughly 36,000 square kilometers of land, including Kitikmeot.

*See also* Canada, Indian Policies of; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Nunavut, Land Claims Agreement; Trade.

## Inuit, Labrador or Ungava

Labrador or Ungava Inuits are actually two groups of northeastern Inuits once differentiated by dialect and custom. Reflecting recent political developments, many people of the latter group now refer to themselves as Inuit Kapaimiuts, "People of Quebec."

From the late sixteenth century on, these people have lived on the northern half of the Labrador peninsula, especially along the coasts and the offshore islands. There is some controversy as to whether Inuit groups ever occupied land bordering the Gulf of Saint Lawrence. The Labrador Inuit population in the mideighteenth century was between 3,000 and 4,200, about two-thirds of whom lived in the south. The people speak dialects of Inuit-Inupiaq (Inuktitut), a member of the Eskaleut language family.

Religious belief and practice were based on the need to appease spiritual entities found in nature. Hunting and specifically the land-sea dichotomy were the focus of most rituals and taboos, such as that prohibiting sewing caribou skin clothing in certain seasons. The people also recognized generative spirits, conceived of as female and identified with natural forces and cycles. Their rich cosmogony and mythology were filled with spirits and beings of various sizes, some superhuman and some subhuman.

Male and female shamans (*angakok*) provided religious leadership by virtue of their connection with guardian spirits. They could also control the weather, improve conditions for hunting, cure disease, and divine the future. Illness was perceived as stemming from soul loss, the violation of taboos,





and/or the anger of the dead. Curing methods included interrogation about taboo adherence, trancelike communication with spiritual helpers, and dramatic performance.

Nuclear families were loosely organized into local groups of twenty to thirty people associated with geographical areas (*-miuts*). These groups occasionally came together as roughly twenty-five (perhaps ten among the Ungavas) small, fluid bands that were also geographically identified. The Ungava Inuits also recognized three regional bands (Siginirmiuts, Tarramiuts, Itivimiuts) that were identified by intermarriage and linguistic and cultural similarities.

The harpooner or boat owner provided leadership for whaling expeditions. The best hunters were often the de facto group leaders. The abuse of their authority was likely to get them killed. Still, competition for leadership positions was active, with people dueling through song and woman exchange. Women also competed with each other through singing. Local (settlement) councils helped resolve conflicts that arose in situations without a strong leader, especially in the south.

Women were in charge of child rearing as well as skin and food preparation. They made the clothes, fished, hunted small animals, gathered plant material, and tended the oil lamps. Men hunted and had overall responsibility for all forms of transportation. They made and repaired utensils, weapons, and tools. They also built the houses.

Children were named for dead relatives regardless of gender; they were generally expected to take on the gender roles of their namesake, as opposed to those of their own sex. Children were occasionally brought up in the roles of the opposite gender for economic reasons. People married simply by announcing their intentions, although infants were regularly betrothed. Good hunters might have more than one wife (especially in the south), but most had only one. Divorce was easy to effect. Some wife exchanges were permitted within defined family partnerships; these relationships were considered a kind of marriage.

Infanticide was rare and usually practiced against females; cannibalism, too, occasionally occurred during periods of starvation. Children were highly valued and loved, especially males. Adoption was common. The sick or aged were sometimes abandoned, especially in times of scarcity. Corpses were buried in stone graves covered by broken personal items.

The typical winter house was semiexcavated and made of stone, whalebone, and wood frames filled with sod and stone with a skin roof. Floors were also stone; windows were made of gut. Each house held up to twenty people; spaces were separated by skin partitions. The people also built mainly temporary domed snow houses. Conical and/or domed sealskin or caribou skin tents served as summer housing. There were also large ceremonial and social structures (*kashim*) as well.

Labrador Inuits were nomadic hunters, taking game both individually and collectively. Depending on location, they engaged in a number of subsistence activities, such as the late summer and fall caribou hunting, whaling, and breathing hole sealing in the winter. They hunted seals from kayaks in the spring and summer. Men and women fished year-round. People also ate birds and their eggs as well as walrus and bear (polar and black). Women gathered numerous berries and some roots as well, as some shellfish and sea vegetables. Coastal hunters traveled into the interior in the spring to hunt caribou, reemerging on the coast in the fall. The results of a hunt were divided roughly equally, with those who played more important roles getting somewhat better (but not generally larger) shares. Drinks included blood and water.

Special harpoons, floats, and drags were used in whaling. Caribou were generally shot with bow and arrow or speared from kayaks. Birds were shot, snared, or brought down with bolas. Fish were caught with hooks, weirs, and spears.

Soapstone lamps burned beluga oil (in the north) or caribou fat (in the south and interior). The latter provided light but not much heat. In the interior and more southern areas, people also molded caribou tallow candles in goose leg skins. They started fires with pyrite, flint, and moss. Coiled baskets and woven willow mats were made around Hudson Bay.

Southeastern groups imported wood for bows and arrows from the Beothuk Indians of Newfoundland. Inlanders and coastal residents exchanged dogs, ivory, caribou, and sealskins. Art objects included woven grass baskets and carved ivory figures. There were also some petroglyphs in steatite quarries.

Travel was fairly well developed, allowing people to move with relative ease to exploit the various regions of their territory. Several types of kayaks were used, generally for hunting sea mammals, birds, and caribou. Umiaks (larger, skin-covered





open boats that might hold up to thirty people) were generally rowed by women on visits to offshore islands or during seasonal migrations. They were also used in the south for autumn whale hunting. Wooden sleds were pulled by dogs, who also carried some gear. Temporary boats might be made of caribou skin stuffed with branches. Long-distance walking, on snowshoes in the winter, was common (snowshoes may not be native).

Dress throughout Labrador was originally similar to that of the Baffinland Inuits. It consisted mainly of caribou skin and sealskin clothing and boots. Skins of other animals were used as needed. Some island people made clothing of bird skins, especially those of ducks.

Better hunters had newer and better clothing. Decoration was also age and sex appropriate. Ivory, wood, and other materials were used in clothing decoration. Some items were used as amulets or charms, whereas others were basically decorative. Women generally tattooed their faces, arms, and breasts after reaching puberty. Men occasionally tattooed noses or shoulders when they had killed a whale. Both men and women wore hair long, but women braided, rolled, and knotted theirs.

This region has been occupied since about 2500 BCE, probably at first by people emigrating in waves from the northwest. Norse explorers arrived about 1000. The ancient Dorset culture lasted until around the fourteenth century, when it was displaced by Thule immigrants from Baffin Island. Around 1500, some Thule groups began a slow migration to the southern Labrador coast.

The people encountered Basque and other European whalers in the late fifteenth century, when Inuit whaling technology was more advanced than it is now. Contacts with non-Native explorers, particularly those looking for the fabled northwest passage to Asia, continued throughout the sixteenth century. Early contacts between the Inuits and non-Natives were generally hostile.

Whale and caribou overhunting, combined with the introduction of non-Native diseases, led to population declines in the north by the late seventeenth century. The first trade centers were established in the north during the eighteenth century, although trade did not become regular there until close to the midnineteenth century.

In the eighteenth century, especially after the 1740s, sporadic trade began with the French fishery in the south. Moravian missions, schools, and trading posts, especially to the south, gradually became

Inuit population centers after the mid- to late eighteenth century. Missionization began in Arctic Quebec in the 1860s. A mixed British-Inuit population (known as "settlers") also became established in the south from the mideighteenth century on. This influential group slowly grew in size and spread northward as well. Increased trade activity in the south in the midnineteenth century led to Inuit population declines as a result of alcohol use and disease epidemics.

In the north, by later in the century, some families intermarried with non-Native traders and otherwise established close relations with them. Fur trade posts became widespread in the north in the early twentieth century. Native technology began to change fundamentally and permanently during that period. Shamanism, too, had all but disappeared; most people had by then accepted Christianity, although not without much social convulsion.

In the south, the Moravians turned the Inuit trade over to the Hudson's Bay Company in 1926. There was an increasing government presence in the 1930s and 1940s. Few or no inland groups remained in Arctic Quebec after 1930, the people having moved to the coast. About the same time, the bottom dropped out of the fox fur market. Trade posts disappeared, and many people went back to a semitraditional mode of subsistence and technology.

The far north took on strategic importance during the Cold War, about the same time that vast mineral reserves became known and technologically possible to exploit. The federal Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources (1954) encouraged the Inuits to abandon their nomadic life. Extensive Canadian government services and payments date from that time. Local Moravian missions ceded authority to the government when Labrador and Newfoundland entered the Canadian confederation in 1949.

Some of Labrador's Native communities were officially closed in the 1950s and their residents relocated. Most wage employment was of the unskilled and menial variety. By the 1960s, most people had abandoned the old ways. With radical diet changes, the adoption of a sedentary life, and the appearance of drugs and alcohol, their health declined markedly.

The entire region has experienced growing ethnopolitical awareness and activism since the 1970s. During that period, the Labrador Inuit Association (LIA) reached an accommodation with local biracial residents ("settlers") regarding representation and rights. The LIA is associated with the Inuit





Tapirisat of Canada (ITC). This advocacy group works to settle land claims and to facilitate interracial cooperation. It also supports and funds local programs and services, including those relating to Inuit culture.

The Northern Quebec Inuit Association (1971) approved the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) in 1975. It provided for local and regional administrative power as well as some special rights in the areas of land use, education, and justice. There was also monetary compensation. This controversial agreement divided the Inuits on the issue of aboriginal land rights. The opposition, centered in the locally based cooperative movement, formed the Inuit Tungavingat Nunami (ITN). This group rejects the JBNQA, including the financial compensations, funding its opposition activities through local levies on carvings.

A cultural revival beginning in the 1980s led to the creation of museums, cultural centers, and various studies and programs. Newspapers, air travel, television, and telephone reach even remote villages. Education is locally controlled in grades one through twelve, although the curriculum differs little from those in non-Native communities. Issues there include mineral and other development versus protecting renewable resources.

Traditional and modern coexist, sometimes uneasily, for many Inuits. Full-time doctors are rare in the communities. Housing is often of poor quality. Most people are Christians. Culturally, although many stabilizing patterns of traditional culture have been destroyed, many remain. Many people live as members of extended families. Adoption is widely practiced. Decisions are often made by consensus.

*See also* Canada, Indian Policies of; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Hudson's Bay Company; L'Anse aux Meadows Viking Settlement; Norse Exploration of North America; Trade.

## Inuit, Mackenzie Delta

*See* Inuvialuit.

## Inuit, North Alaska

*See* Inupiat.

## Inupiat

"Inupiat," meaning "the People," is an Inuit name covering the Eskimo or Inuit groups formerly known to anthropologists as Bering Strait, Kotzebue Sound, sometimes West Alaska, and North Alaska Eskimos. The last group has also been divided into two groups: coastal people, or Tareumiuts, and the land-oriented Nuunamiuts.

The Inupiat lived in northwest and northern Alaska, from about Norton Sound and the Seward Peninsula (with offshore islands) north and east to about the Canadian border, including the North Slope-Barrow region. This is considered to have been one of the world's most productive sea mammal regions. Many Inupiat still live in this area. There were perhaps 9,500 Inupiat in the midnineteenth century. Inupiat people speak dialects of Inupiaq (Inuktitut), an Eskaleut language. Some Bering Strait Inuit speak Yup'ik dialects.

Religious belief was based on the existence of spiritual entities found in nature. In particular, the spirits of game animals allowed themselves to be caught only if they were treated properly. Respect was expressed in behaviors such as maintaining a separation between land and sea hunting, opening the head of an animal just killed to allow its spirit to escape, speaking well of game animals, and offering sea mammals a drink of cold water and land animals knives or needles; respect was also expressed by observing many taboos, rituals, and ceremonies including certain songs and charms.

Among whale hunters, personal spirit songs that were purchased or inherited were used to make the hunt more successful. Whale and caribou hunters and their wives were required to observe many rituals and taboos. Whaling ceremonies along the north coast and caribou ceremonies inland were the most important rituals, representing a sort of world renewal. Male and older female shamans (*angakok*) provided religious leadership by virtue of their connection with the spirit world. They also participated in regular economic activities.

Nuclear or small extended families were loosely organized into fluid local groups (*-miuts*) associated with geographical areas. These local groups occasionally came together as small, fluid, autonomous bands (family groups; tribes) of between twenty and 200 bilaterally related people. The bands were also geographically identified but not political entities; their names carried the *-miut* suffix. People within them depended on each other for subsistence





support and spoke the same subdialect. Several distinct societies of bands had formed in the interior north by the midnineteenth century.

Family heads (*umialik*, literally umiak captain, or whaling leader) were usually older men, with little formal authority and no power. Leaders generally embodied Inuit values, such as generosity, and were also good hunters. Within the context of a basically egalitarian society, they were relatively wealthier (owing to their following) and had more status than other men. Their main responsibilities included directing hunting, trading, and diplomatic activities. The *umialik* and his wife were also responsible for food redistribution.

Among the northern Inupiat, leaders might also impose their will on women as well. Potential leaders often competed with each other to hold their crews or hunters by such means as wife exchange and gift giving. Additional wives generally meant additional followers, wealth, and power. Leaders there might oversee not only the hunt but also religious ceremonies, festivals, and trade.

The northern Inupiat came together briefly for large hunting (sea and land) forays, but mainly they remained in family groups. The Bering Strait and Kotzebue Sound tribes had principal winter villages. Each had one or more chiefs for each local group residing in the village. The chief(s) and a council oversaw local and intertribal affairs.

Kinship networks were the most important social structure as well as the key to survival in terms of mutual aid and cooperative activity. This arrangement also led to ongoing blood feuds: An injury to one was perceived as an injury to the whole kin group and called for revenge.

Nonkin men teamed up for hunting or trade purposes. Such defined partnerships might include temporary wife exchanges, which were considered a kind of marriage (interestingly, at least among the Bering Strait people, relations considered adulterous were harshly dealt with). "Joking" relationships between unrelated men also furthered mutual aid and support and served to reduce tension and conflict. Nonkin relationships also included adopted people and people who had the same name.

In some Bering Strait Inuit villages, family groups lived on patrilineally inherited plots of land. In larger groups, food was generally turned over to the *umialik* and his wife, who redistributed it according to various priorities. Generosity was highly valued. When hunters brought in a whale or caribou, no one went hungry. Hard work and individual free-

dom were other key values, the latter in the context of kinship associations.

Southerners especially celebrated the fall and winter Messenger Feasts, in which a neighboring group was invited to feast and dance. Social status was related to largesse on these occasions, which were similar to potlatches. They brought some north Alaska Inuits together with some Athapaskan Indians.

Marriage was considered to be mainly a kinship-building exercise. Successful hunters might have more than one wife, but most had only one. Divorce, or the end of cohabitation, was easy to obtain, especially before many children had been born. It was also the case that men might try to dominate women, including raping them, in their or another's household. In this endeavor the "bully" was usually backed by members of his kinship group (as, in fact, older women might occasionally, by virtue of their supposed magical powers, capture a young man for a husband).

Infanticide was rare and usually practiced against females. Children were highly valued and loved, especially males. They were raised by the women with a great deal of liberty. Names, usually of dead relatives, were associated with specific food taboos. The sick or aged were sometimes abandoned, especially in times of scarcity. Death was attended by a minimum of ritual. Corpses were removed through skylights and left on the tundra. A mourning period of four or five days ensued, during which all activity ceased, and a feast was often held a year after a relative's death.

The regular winter dwelling was a semiexcavated, domed, driftwood-and-sod house, roughly twelve to fifteen feet long. Moss was placed between the interior walls and the sod for insulation. There was a separate kitchen with a smoke hole and storage niches off the entrance tunnel, which descended into a meat cellar and ended at a well that led up to the main room. The houses held from eight to twelve people (two families). Inside were raised sleeping platforms and suspended drying racks. Stretched gut or ice served as windows.

Some groups also used a dome-shaped wooden structure covered with skins or bark and also temporary snow or ice houses. Interior groups also used willow-frame dome tents covered with caribou skin, bark, or grass. Some Bering Strait people built wood-frame summer houses.

Larger men's houses (*kashim*) were present in communities with more than a few families.





Reserved for men and boys by day, they became a family social center at night. They were also used for ceremonies and other activities and, along the coast, were associated with whaling crews.

The Tareumiuts and some Bering Strait and Kotzebue Sound people depended mainly on marine life such as seals, bowhead and beluga whales, and walrus, whereas the Nuunamiuts hunted mainly caribou. Whale meat was stored in the permafrost and generally provided a reliable food source from season to season. Northern groups hunted whales from umiaks in the spring and seal and walrus through the ice in the winter.

The Kotzebue Sound and some Bering Strait people had a mixed land and marine hunting economy. Game animals included fowl, mountain sheep, bear, wolves, wolverines, hares, squirrels, and foxes. Men and women fished year-round. The Bering Strait and Kotzebue Sound people also gathered a variety of greens, berries, and roots in the summer.

Stone-tipped, toggle-headed harpoons were attached to wooden floats and inflated sealskins to create drag on a submerging whale. Floats were also used to keep a slain whale from sinking before it could be towed to shore.

Hunting equipment included spears, bow and arrow, bolas (strings attached to stone balls to bring down birds), deadfalls, traps, and snares. The atlatl was used to throw sealing darts or harpoons. Fishing equipment included hooks, weirs, nets, traps, and spears. People used a variety of mainly stone and ivory butchering tools; some were fashioned of antler and driftwood as well. The key women's tool was a crescent-shaped knife. The Bering Strait people made some grass baskets and mats.

Boiling pots might be made of driftwood or pottery. Other important items included baleen seal nets; bone needles and sinew thread; carved wooden trays, dishes, spoons, and other objects; a bow drill to start fires and drill holes; sun goggles; and carved soapstone (in the north) or pottery (in the Bering Strait and Kotzebue Sound) cooking pots and lamps (the latter burned seal oil using moss wicks). Local stone around Kotzebue Sound included chert, slate, and jade. There was also some birchbark around Kotzebue Sound that the people made into containers.

The two groups of northern Inupiat were mutually dependent, trading whale products, such as skin, oil, and blubber, for caribou skins on a regular basis. Summer trade fairs were widely attended. The one at Sheshalik, on Kotzebue Sound, may have

attracted 2,000 or more people. The other large northern Alaska trade fair was held in Nigalik (Colville River Delta) and was attended by Yup'ik people as well as Athapaskan Indians. In addition to trade, fairs included private contact between various partners, dancing, feasts, and competitions.

Kotzebue trade fairs were also attended by Siberians, who exchanged jade, pottery, reindeer skins, and beads for local products. Native Siberians (Chukchis) also provided Russian goods from the late seventeenth century on.

The basic hunting vehicle was the one- or two-person closed skin kayak. Several men could hunt whales in umiaks (skin-covered open boats with a driftwood frame between fifteen and fifty feet long). Umiaks might also hold 2,000 pounds of cargo. The people also used wooden sleds with iced runners. Dogs pulled (or helped pull) the sleds after about 1500. Some interior people used snowshoes.

Women tanned skins and made sealskin and caribou skin clothing, some with fur trim. In the winter, people wore two suits of parkas and pants: The inner suit was worn with the fur turned in, whereas the outer had the fur turned out. Other winter clothing included mittens and hoods (women's were extra large for carrying babies). Clothing in the Kotzebue Sound area was sewn from untanned skins.

Other items of clothing included skin socks, boots of caribou skin and chewed seal hide soles, and waterproof outer jackets of sewn sea mammal intestine. Men wore labrets, the lip being pierced around puberty. Many women had three lined tattoos down the chin.

Fighting was generally a matter of kin group involvement and remained limited in scope if not in time. Strangers outside the kinship or alliance system were considered potential enemies and could be killed on sight, their goods and women taken. Blood feuds were the result of the lack of overall conflict-resolution structures. Fighting also took place among rival trade groups. Also, territory was defended against neighboring groups.

The historic Nuunamiuts (interior North Alaska people) moved into their region from the south and west from about 1400 through about 1800. Russian explorers and traders arrived in the early to mideighteenth century and remained for the next 100 years or so. Whalers and traders from other countries plied the local waters from about the 1840s (1880s in the far north). Among other things, they introduced alcohol, tobacco, and non-Native





diseases. Traditional patterns began to break down as well after that time.

The Nuunamiuts began a sharp decline from the midnineteenth century on, largely owing to disease and starvation (smaller caribou herds). Most families had left the interior by 1820, drawn to the coast, although a few families began moving back around 1840. There were severe epidemics throughout the region in the 1870s and 1880s. A severe famine struck the Kotzebue Sound region in 1880–1881.

Mining began in the Bering Strait area in the 1880s. Meanwhile, imported reindeer herding, fur trapping, missionaries, and schools began to attract people to local settlements from the mid- to late nineteenth century on. Reindeer herding proved ultimately to be unsuccessful in the area. The Nome gold rush of 1898 saw the migration of many Inuits to the Nome area to sell crafts and eventually to work and to attend school. Anti-Inuit sentiment remained strong in Nome for some time thereafter.

Fur traders arrived around 1900, about the time of a severe measles epidemic and the near depletion of the caribou herds. Another severe influenza epidemic struck in 1918. In the early twentieth century, the federal government assumed responsibility for Inuit education. To a greater extent than even the churches, the government increased the pressure for acculturate. For instance, government schools punished people severely for speaking their Native language. The only high schools were located away from Inupiat-speaking centers.

The people experienced a general population growth after World War II, attributable to the return of the caribou, the introduction of moose into the region, and government efforts against disease. The far north took on strategic importance during the Cold War, about the same time that vast mineral reserves became known and technologically possible to exploit. Oil was discovered on the North Slope in 1968. Most of the jobs that Inuits were able to obtain were unskilled and menial. Furthermore, with radical diet changes, the adoption of a sedentary life, and the appearance of drugs and alcohol, their health declined markedly.

In the late 1950s, the Inupiat people began organizing politically in reaction to the U.S. government's threat to use nuclear weapons in the preparation of a deep-water port as well as its bird hunting restrictions. The Seward Peninsula Native Association, Alaska Federation of Natives, Inupiat Paitot, Northwest Alaska Native Association, and North

Slope Native Association formed as a result of this activism. Land issues also gave rise to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in 1971. The settlement gave the people legal rights to millions of acres of land and shares in corporations worth millions of dollars in exchange for their cession of aboriginal title. Major land conservation laws were enacted in 1980.

In response to severe problems with substance abuse, several communities have restricted or eliminated the sale of alcohol. Other efforts to remedy the problems are ongoing. Severe radioactive pollution exists around the Cape Thompson area, caused by the Atomic Energy Commission's (predecessor to the Nuclear Regulatory Commission) use of the area as a nuclear dump and its conduct of nuclear experiments using local plant and animal life, as well as by Soviet nuclear waste dumping. Negotiations over cleanup are ongoing.

Curricula and in fact the control of education shifted to local authorities beginning in the 1970s. The preservation and instruction of Native culture are part of this effort. Most Inupiat people have access to all modern air and electronic transportation and communication. Most speak English as a first language, although most adults are bilingual.

*See also* Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act; Alcoholism and Substance Abuse, Fur Trade.

## Inuvialuit

"Inuvialuit" is the Inuit name for the people formerly known as Mackenzie Delta Eskimos or western (Canadian) Arctic Eskimos. The homeland of this group is the Mackenzie Delta region, specifically from Herschel Island to the Baillie Islands, northwest Northwest Territories. From between 2,000 and 2,500 people in the mideighteenth century, the Inuvialuit population was reduced to about 150 in 1910 and perhaps ten in 1930. Inuvialuits speak a dialect of Inuit-Inupiaq (Inuktitut), a member of the Eskaleut language family.

Religious belief and practice were based on the need to appease spiritual entities found in nature. Hunting and specifically the land-sea dichotomy were the focus of most rituals and taboos. The people also recognized generative spirits, conceived of as female and identified with natural forces and cycles.





Male and female shamans (*angakok*) provided religious leadership by virtue of their connection with guardian spirits. They could also control the weather, improve conditions for hunting, cure disease, and divine the future. Illness was perceived as stemming from soul loss, the violation of taboos, and/or the anger of the dead. Curing methods included interrogation about taboo adherence, trancelike communication with spirit helpers, and dramatic performance.

Nuclear families were loosely organized into local groups associated with geographical areas (*-miuts*). These groups occasionally came together as perhaps five small, fluid bands or subgroups: Kitegaryumiuts, Kupugmiuts, Kigirktarugmiuts, Nuvouigmiuts, and Avvagmiuts. The bands were also geographically identified. Informal or ad hoc village leaders (*isumataq*) were usually older men, with little formal authority and no power. They embodied Inuit values, such as generosity, and were also good hunters, perhaps especially good whalers.

Contact with neighboring Inuit groups may have influenced the development of a somewhat stronger village leadership structure, including inheritance in the male line, around the time of contact. The Inuvialuit population was generally less dispersed than that of other Inuit groups. Their largest summer village, for instance, contained up to 1,000 people.

Descent was bilateral. Intermarriage was common among members of the five bands. People married simply by announcing their intentions, although infants were regularly betrothed. Men might have more than one wife, but most had only one. Divorce was easy to obtain. Some wife exchanges took place within defined partnerships between men; the relationship between a man and his partner's wife was considered a kind of marriage.

Infanticide was rare and, when practiced, usually directed against females. Children were highly valued and loved, especially males. Their names generally came from deceased relatives and were bestowed by shamans. Male adolescents had some teeth filed down and their cheeks and earlobes pierced. The sick or aged were sometimes abandoned, especially in times of scarcity. Corpses were not removed from houses through the door but rather through a specially made hole in the wall. They were then placed on the ground and covered with driftwood.

Tensions were relieved through games, through duels of drums and songs, in which the competing

people tried to outdo each other in parody, and through "joking" relationships. Ostracism and even death were reserved for the most serious cases of socially inappropriate behavior, such as murder, wife stealing, and theft. Relations between the Inuvialuits and their Indian neighbors were both cordial, including intermarriage, and hostile.

The typical winter dwelling was a semiexcavated, rectangular, turf-covered, log-frame house. Each one held about three families. Sleeping chambers were appended, giving the structure a cross shape. Each family had a separate cooking area as well. Entry was via an underground tunnel. Houses were named. Windows or skylights were made of gut. Storage was located along the tunnel or in niches inside.

The people occasionally used temporary domed snow houses in the winter, mainly when traveling. Entry was gained through a door. There were some larger open-roofed sod-and-wood houses as well for ceremonial purposes, although these may reflect a later Inupiat influence. Conical caribou skin tents used in the summer were strengthened by a hoop lashed to the frame about six feet from the ground. Also, each village had a men's house (*kashim*) up to sixty feet long.

The Inuvialuits were nomadic hunters. The most important game animals were seals and baleen whales, especially beluga. Whales were hunted communally by driving up to 200 of them into shallow water with kayaks. Seals were netted on the edges of ice floes and hunted at their breathing holes in the winter.

The people also hunted caribou, moose, mountain sheep, hares, bears, musk ox, muskrat, beaver, and birds. Fishing took place especially in the spring and summer, mainly for whitefish and herring. Other foods included berries and some roots. People generally drank water or stock.

Goods were exchanged with the Kutchin and Hare Indians as well as with the Inupiat to the west. Individual formal trade partnerships were a part of this process. The people exported wood, which they procured in the southern part of their territory. Sewn clothing and carved wooden and ivory figurines were developed to artistic levels. One- or two-person kayaks were used mostly for sea mammal hunting. Several men hunted whales in umiaks, or large open boats covered with beluga skin. Overland travel was facilitated by the use of wooden dogsleds with iced-over runners of bone or antler.





Clothing consisted mainly of sewn caribou skins. Men and women wore two layers, the under layer with the hair turned in and the outer layer with the hair turned out. Coats and pants were trimmed with fur, as were parka hoods. Men's hoods were made from caribou or wolf-head skin, the latter with the ears left on. Women's parkas were knee length and double flapped, as opposed to men's, which ended at the hip. Women's parka hoods were also made bigger to cover their double bun-shaped hair-styles. Other clothing included caribou leg boots with beluga skin soles and caribou mittens.

In the summer, most people wore old inner garments with the hair turned out. Men who had killed a bear wore pieces of stone or ivory through their cheeks. Most men also wore polished stone or ivory labrets in their lips. Both sexes wore ornaments in pierced ears and nasal septa. Both men and women applied small tattoos on their faces and bodies. Children who had reached puberty had their teeth filed down; boys' cheeks and ears were pierced as well.

The people offered a generally friendly reception when they first met non-Native traders in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. However, relations soon soured. Missionaries were active in the region by the midnineteenth century, although few Inuvialuits accepted Christianity before 1900.

The heyday of the whaling period began in 1888, when some 1,000 non-Native whalers wintered near the Mackenzie River; the region soon became a trade center as well as a haven for "frontier living" that included alcohol abuse, sexual promiscuity, and death from firearms. Traditional life declined sharply, as did the population, which was further beset by a host of hitherto unknown diseases such as scarlet fever, syphilis, smallpox, and influenza. By 1920 the Inuvialuits had all but disappeared from the Yukon. Most modern Inuvialuits are descended from Inupiat groups who moved east from Alaska about that time. Indians and non-Natives moved in as well.

The far north took on strategic importance during the Cold War. In 1954, the federal Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources encouraged the Inuits to abandon their nomadic life. The department oversaw the construction of housing developments, schools, and clinics. Local political decisions were made by a community council subject to non-Native approval and review. In 1959, the "government" town of Inuvik was founded as an administrative center.

Inuits generally found only unskilled and menial work. They also survived through dependence on government payments. With radical diet changes, the adoption of a sedentary life, and the appearance of drugs and alcohol, health declined markedly. The Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE), founded in 1969, soon became the political voice of the Inuvialuits. Oil and gas deposits were found in the Beaufort Sea in the 1970s.

The people never abandoned their land, which is still central to their identity. Traditional and modern coexist, sometimes uneasily, for many Inuits. Although people use television (there is even radio and television programming in Inuktitut), snowmobiles, and manufactured items, women also carry babies in the traditional hooded parkas, chew caribou skin to make it soft, and use the semilunar knives to cut seal meat. Full-time doctors are rare in the communities. Housing is often of poor quality. Most people are Christians. Culturally, although many stabilizing patterns of traditional culture have been destroyed, many remain. Many people live as members of extended families.

Politically, community councils have gained considerably more autonomy over the past generation. There is also a significant Inuit presence in the Northwest Territories legislative assembly and some presence at the federal level. The disastrous effects of government-run schools have been mitigated to some degree by local control of education, including more culturally relevant curricula in schools. Many people still speak Inuktitut, which is also taught in most schools, especially in the earlier grades.

*See also* Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Canada, Indian Policies of; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Hudson's Bay Company; Language and Language Renewal; Trade.

## Netsilik

"Netsilik" means "People of the Seal" or "there are seals." (*See also* Inuit, Copper.) Netsilik territory, entirely within the Arctic Circle, is north of Hudson Bay, especially from Committee Bay in the east to Victoria Strait in the west, north to Bellot Strait, and south to Garry Lake. The sea begins to freeze as early as September, and the thaw is generally not completed until the end of July. The summer tundra





remains wet, because permafrost not far below the surface prevents drainage. Many Netsilik Inuits still live in this area of the central Arctic, known as Kitikmeot. The Netsilik population numbered roughly 500 in the late nineteenth century. The Native language is a dialect of Inuit-Inupiaq (Inuktitut), a member of the Eskaleut language family.

Overarching, generative, female-identified deities or spirits were associated with natural forces and cycles. Another level of spirit entities consisted of human and animal souls or spirits. Most religious activities were designed to propitiate the spirits of game animals specifically and potentially dangerous supernatural forces in general. Yet another group of supernatural beings was made up of numerous monsters and ghosts. Hunting and life cycle events, particularly childbirth and death, were the basis of most taboos.

Magic spells, generally applicable to a single subject, were personal and secret, and they could be purchased or transmitted between generations. Souls were considered to be immortal. Those of people who died violently, including by their own hand, as well as those of good hunters and beautifully tattooed women were able to inhabit a paradise. The souls of lazy hunters and women without tattoos went to a sad and hungry place.

Male and female shamans (*angakok*) provided religious leadership by virtue of their connection with personal guardian spirits. They led group religious activities. They could also cure disease, see into the future (including such things as the location of game), and harm people.

Nuclear families, loosely combined into extended families or local groups, were associated with geographical areas (*-miuts*). Local group leaders (*isumataq*) were usually older men with little formal authority and no power. Leaders embodied Inuit values, such as generosity, and were also good hunters. Older women played a leadership role in food distribution.

Local groups occasionally traveled together as fluid hunting regional bands. The bands were also geographically identified, and they included Arvertormiuts, Arviliguararmiuts, Ilivilermiuts, Kitdlinermiuts, Kungmiuts, Netsilingmiuts, and Qegertarmiuts.

Although the nuclear family was the basic social unit, survival required the regular association of extended families and, in fact, the existence of numerous complex relationships. For instance, although the people were generally monogamous, wives were exchanged within various defined male

partnerships, such as song partnerships; these relationships were considered a kind of marriage. The precise workings of wife (and husband) exchange were varied and ranged from short to long (or even permanent) and from willing to acrimonious.

Young women married around age fourteen or fifteen, boys around age twenty. People married simply by announcing their intentions, although infants and even fetuses were regularly betrothed. Women usually moved in with the husband's household. Men might have more than one wife, but most had only one. Divorce was easy to obtain. In general, the Netsiliks enjoyed a high degree of sexual freedom. There was some in-law avoidance.

Infanticide was usually practiced against females, but the high rate of adult male mortality somewhat evened the gender balance. Children were highly valued and loved, especially males, and adoption was common. The sick or aged were sometimes abandoned, especially in times of scarcity. Suicide for those and other reasons, such as a general sense of insecurity or perceived weakness, was a regular occurrence. Corpses were abandoned, because the camp generally moved after a death. No work, including hunting, could be done within several days following a death.

Food was generally shared within the extended family or local group. In cases of collaborative hunting, such as winter sealing, food was shared according to precise rules. Strangers or people without direct relatives were feared and might be summarily killed.

Villages of domed snow houses contained about fifty people but could hold up to 100. Entry to the houses was gained through a tunnel that kept the warm air inside. Windows were made of freshwater ice. Two related nuclear families generally occupied a snow house, which had more than one room and even a porch. The average house size was between nine and fifteen feet in diameter, although sizes varied widely. People slept on raised packed snow platforms covered with skins and furs.

Other structures included large ceremonial or dance snow houses, a platform for storing dog feed, and a toilet room or outhouse. Some groups built ice houses in the fall. In the spring, people used a combination snow house and skin tent, which were snow houses with a skin roof. Summer dwellings were conical sealskin tents held down by stones.

The Netsiliks were nomadic hunters. The most important game animals were seals, which were hunted communally at their breathing holes in the





winter and stalked in the spring. A hunter might have to stand motionless next to a breathing hole for hours in the dark and bitter cold. The people also hunted caribou, polar bear, and musk ox (in the east). Smaller animals included fox and squirrel. Meat was eaten raw, frozen, or, preferably, cooked. Large animals' stomach contents were eaten as well.

Fishing, particularly for salmon trout (Arctic char) and lake trout, occurred mainly in the summer and autumn, individually or communally at inland weirs. Fish was mainly eaten raw, although it might be boiled or dried and cached for the winter. Other food resources included fowl, gulls, and some berries. In the winter, people drank melted old sea ice, which loses its salinity after a year or so. Blood was another common drink.

Womens' semilunar knives were used mainly for skin preparation and fish cleaning. Men used antler knives to cut snow blocks for houses and to butcher caribou. Hunting equipment included various harpoons, spears, the bow and arrow, breathing hole finders and protectors, down or horn seal motion indicators (also used for breathing hole sealing), and other hunting equipment. Fish were caught with hooks, spears, prongs, weirs, and traps.

Netsiliks engaged in some trade with Iglulik bands. Western groups traded with their neighbors for items such as pots and lamps. Some groups imported copper and driftwood from the Copper Inuits and wood from the Caribou Inuits. Some people carved fine wooden and ivory figurines. Men hunted seals and caribou from long, slender, one-person kayaks covered with sealskin. Umiaks were larger, skin-covered open boats. There were some wooden dogsleds, whose runners were covered with ice-coated peat or made of fish wrapped in sealskin. Polar bearskins were also used for sleds, especially in the east and in spring when the snow deteriorated.

Men skinned the caribou, and women did most of the hide preparation and sewed the clothing. They also prepared sealskins for summer clothing as well as boots and mittens. About twenty caribou skins were needed to outfit a family of four.

Mens' coats had short, fringed flaps, and womens' coats had long wide flaps. All were two-layered and had pointed hoods. The hair of the inner layer was turned in, and that of the outer layer was turned out. The outer coat had a sewn-in hood, although for women both layers had extra large shoulders and sewn-in hoods to fit over babies, who were carried in a pouch at the back of a coat.

Four layers of caribou fur socks protected people's feet in the winter. Men wore knee-length, two-layered pants; women made do with one layer. All outer coats (parkas) and womens' pants might be decorated with white fur. Women often braided their hair around two sticks. They also tattooed their faces and limbs. Childrens' clothing was often a one-piece suit.

Netsiliks are descended from the ancient Thule culture. In about 1830 they encountered non-Natives looking for the northwest passage. Still, contact with non-Natives remained only sporadic until the early twentieth century. About that time, the people obtained firearms from the neighboring Igluliks. More productive hunting enabled them to keep more dogs, changing their migration and subsistence patterns.

The establishment of trading posts in their territory around 1920 heralded the economic switch to white fox fur trapping and trade for additional items of non-Native manufacture, such as woolen clothing, tobacco, steel traps, fishing nets, canoes (which replaced kayaks), tea, and canvas tents. Game killed with rifles came to belong to the hunter, a practice that eroded and ultimately destroyed traditional exchange.

Missions established in the 1930s soon became permanent settlements. The Netsiliks quickly accepted Christianity (Anglicanism and Catholicism), ending the taboo system and shamanic practices, not to mention infanticide and other social practices. The authority of traders, missionaries, and eventually the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) undermined traditional leadership, such as it was.

The far north took on strategic importance during the Cold War, about the same time that vast mineral reserves became known and technologically possible to exploit. In 1954, the federal Department of Northern Affairs and Natural Resources began a program of population consolidation and acculturation. Coastal settlements were abandoned, and all people moved to one of three towns. The department oversaw the construction of housing developments, schools, and a general infrastructure. Local political decisions were made by a community council subject to non-Native approval and review. The Natives were offered generally unskilled employment. With radical diet changes, the adoption of a sedentary life, and the appearance of drugs and alcohol, their health declined markedly.





In 1993, the Tungavik Federation of Nunavut (TFN), an outgrowth of the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (ITC), signed an agreement with Canada providing for the establishment in 1999 of the new, mostly Inuit, territory of Nunavut on roughly 36,000 square kilometers of land, including Kitikmeot.

The people never abandoned their land, which is still central to their identity. Traditional and modern coexist, sometimes uneasily, for many Inuits. Although people use television (there is even radio and television programming in Inuktitut), snowmobiles, and manufactured items, women also carry babies in the traditional hooded parkas, chew caribou skin to make it soft, and use the semilunar knives to cut seal meat. Full-time doctors are rare in the communities. Housing is often of poor quality. Most people are Christians. Culturally, although many stabilizing patterns of traditional culture have been destroyed, many remain. Many people live as members of extended families.

Politically, community councils have gained considerably more autonomy over the past decade or two. There is also a significant Inuit presence in the Northwest Territories legislative assembly and some presence at the federal level. The disastrous effects of government-run schools have been mitigated to some degree by local control of education, including more culturally relevant curricula in schools. Many people still speak Inuktitut, which is also taught in most schools, especially in the earlier grades.

*See also* Boarding Schools, United States and Canada; Canada, Indian Policies of; Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; Trade.

## Unangan

"Unangan" means "People." The Unangans were formerly and are occasionally known as Aleuts, possibly meaning "island" in a Siberian language. The Unangans consisted of perhaps nine named subdivisions, each of which spoke an eastern, a central, or a western dialect. Unangan territory included the Pribilof, Shumagin, and Aleutian (west toward the International Date Line) Islands and the extreme west of the Alaska Peninsula. Fog and wind, perhaps more than anything else, characterized the climate. In contrast to most of the Arctic region, the ocean remains ice free year-round. In the early eighteenth

century, the Unangan population was between 16,000 and 20,000 people, although there may have been fewer. Unangans spoke three dialects of Aleut, a member of the Eskaleut language family.

The people may have recognized a generative deity associated with the sun that had overall responsibility for souls as well as hunting success. They also recognized good and evil spirits, including animal spirits. These were the supernatural beings that influenced people's lives on a day-to-day basis. Adult men made offerings to the spirits at special sacred places and used a number of charms, talismans, and amulets for protection. They also undertook spirit dances, although mainly to intimidate women and children into proper behavior.

Souls were said to migrate among three worlds: earth, an upper sphere, and a lower sphere. Shamans mediated between the material and spiritual worlds. Their vocations were considered to be predetermined; that is, they did not seek a shamanic career. They had the usual responsibilities concerning hunting, weather, and curing.

Various winter masked dances and ceremonies were designed to propitiate the spirits. Perhaps the major ceremony was a memorial feast held forty days following a death. Death was an important rite of passage. Some groups mummified dead bodies to preserve the person's spiritual power. A whaler might even remove a piece of the mummy for assistance, but this custom was also considered potentially dangerous.

The eldest man usually led an independent house group, although collectively all household leaders functioned as a council. One house group in a village was generally considered first among equals, the head of that group functioning as village chief if he merited the position. These leaders had little or no coercive power but mainly coordinated decision making over issues of war and peace and camp moves. They might become wealthy in part from receiving a share of their subordinates' catch (wealth consisted not only of furs and skins but also of dentalium shells, amber, and slaves). Their position could be inherited in the male line. In addition, there were also special leaders known as strong men, who received special training.

Among the Unangans, descent was probably matrilineal. Their class structure was probably derived from Northwest Coast cultures. The three hereditary classes were wealthy people (chiefs and nobles), commoners, and a small number of slaves, mainly women. The first two groups were usually





related. Harmony, patience, and hard work were key values. Speech was judicious in nature, and silence was generally respected.

Villages claimed certain subsistence areas and evicted or attacked trespassers. Numerous formal partnerships between men and women served to bind the community together. Berdaches were men who lived and worked as women. Women sewed and processed and prepared food. Truly incorrigible people might be put to death upon agreement by the village elders.

Boys moved from their mother's to their maternal uncle's home in midchildhood. The uncle took over primary responsibility for raising the boy, with the father playing more of a supporting role. Boys were strengthened, toughened, and rigorously trained from a very early age for the life of a kayak hunter. When a girl began menstruating, she was confined for forty days, during which time her joints were bound, in theory so that they would not ache in her old age. She was also subject to a number of food and behavioral restrictions and admonishments and was allowed to cure minor illness, the people believing that she possessed special curative powers during these times.

Girls could marry even before they reached puberty, but boys were expected to wait until they were at least eighteen, that is, when they were capable providers. Most marriages were monogamous, except that particularly wealthy men might have more than one wife. Men performed a one- or two-year bride service. Cross cousins (children of a mother's brothers or a father's sisters) were considered potential, even preferred, spouses. Divorce was rare.

Some men paddled out to sea at the end of their lives, never to return. In fact, suicide tended to be seen in a positive light for a number of reasons. The insides of most corpses were removed and replaced with grass. Following this procedure, bodies would remain in the house, either in a corner or in a cradle over the bed, for up to several months. They were eventually buried in a flexed position in the house, either under the floor or within the walls. Central and eastern people also mummified some corpses, caching the mummies in warm, dry, volcanic caves. Widows and widowers were subject to a period of special behavioral restrictions, including some joint binding.

Typical villages contained roughly 200 people, although up to 2,000 people may have populated some eastern communities. Rectangular, semiexcavated houses (*barabara*) were framed with driftwood

and whalebone, covered with matting and turf. Sizes varied widely. The average may have been about thirty-five to sixty feet long by about fifteen to thirty feet wide. These houses held perhaps forty people or several nuclear families related through the male line. The largest houses may have been up to 240 feet long by forty feet wide, holding up to 150 people.

Sleeping compartments separated by grass mats ringed a large central room. Mats also served as flooring. Entry was gained via a ladder placed through an opening in the roof. Cooking was generally outside the house. Large houses also served as dance halls.

Depending on location, the people ate mainly sea lions, but also seals, sea otter, octopus, and some walrus. Most sea mammals were hunted by men in kayaks. There was also some highly ritualized whaling, especially in the west. Other types of food included large and small game on the eastern islands and mainland. Important fish species included cod, flounder, halibut, herring, trout, and salmon. People ate birds, fowl, and their eggs, the latter collected mainly by climbing up or down steep cliffs. They also gathered seaweed, shellfish, roots, and berries, depending on location. Unangans tended to eat much of their food raw, although there was some pit cooking.

Sea mammals were harpooned or clubbed. Atlatls helped give velocity to a harpoon throw. Eastern people hunted large game with the bow and arrow. Whale lances may have had poisonous tips. Most tools were made from stone and bone. Other important material items included sewn skin bags and pouches, some wooden buckets and bowls, sea lion stomach containers, tambourine drums, and spruce root and grass baskets. Stone lamps burned sea lion blubber for light and heat. Cordage came from braided kelp or sea lion sinew. The people started fires with a wooden drill and flint sparks on sulphur and bird down. A highly developed counting system allowed them to reckon in five figures.

Unangan people traded both goods and ideas with Northwest Coast groups, such as the Tlingits and Haidas, as well as with the Yup'ik and Alutiiq peoples. Exports included baskets, sea products, and walrus ivory. The people imported shells, slaves, blankets, and hides.

Art objects included carved wooden dancing masks and decorative bags. Women wove fine spruce root and grass baskets and decorated mats with geometric designs. Ivory carvings of the great creative





spirit were hung from ceiling beams in houses, and other objects were decorated with ivory carvings as well. The Unangans were also known for their painted wooden hats. Men hunted in one- or possibly two-person kayaks. Larger skin-covered open boats were used for travel and trade but not for whaling.

Women and men wore long parkas of sea otter or bird skin (men wore only the latter material). The women's version had no hood, only a collar. Men also wore waterproof slickers made of sewn sea lion gut, esophagus, or other such material. Particularly in the east, sealskin boots had soles of sea lion flippers. Boots were less common in the west. Men also wore wooden visors, painted and decorated with sea lion whiskers. They wore painted conical wooden hats on ceremonial occasions. Other ceremonial clothing was made of colorful puffin skins. Both sexes wore labrets of various materials. They tattooed their faces and hands and wore bone or ivory nose pins.

The Unangans fought their Inuit neighbors, especially the Alutiiqs, as well as among themselves (especially those who spoke different dialects). Small parties often launched raids for women and children slaves or to avenge past wrongs. Slain enemies were often dismembered, in the belief that an intact body, though dead, could still be dangerous. Prisoners might be tortured. On the other hand, high-status captives might be held for ransom or used as slaves.

Ancestors of the Unangans probably moved east and then south across the Bering Land Bridge and then west from western Alaska to arrive in their historical location, where people have lived for at least 7,000 years. Direct cultural relationships have been established to people living in the region as long ago as 4,000 years.

The Russians, arriving in the 1740s, quickly recognized the value of sea otter and other pelts. For about a generation, they tried to compel the Unangans to hunt for them, mainly by taking hostages and threatening death. The Natives resisted, and there was much bloodshed during that time. However, after losing between a third and half of their total population, they gave up the struggle and did the Russians' bidding. Unangan men were forced to hunt sea mammals from Alaska to southern California for the Russian-American company. Large-scale population movements date from that period and lasted well into the twentieth century.

The strong influence of Russian culture dates from that period and includes conversion to the

Russian Orthodox Church by the early nineteenth century, when the worst of the Russian excesses ended. Other significant Russian influences include metal tools, steam baths, and larger kayaks, with sails. A Unangan orthography was created about that time, allowing the people to read and write in their own language.

Unangan hunters had come into increasing conflict with their Inuit and Indian neighbors as they were forced to go farther and farther afield for pelts. By the early nineteenth century, disease as well as warfare had diminished their population by about 80 percent. Survivors were consolidated onto sixteen islands in 1831, but, by that time, Unangan culture had suffered a near fatal blow.

The Russians left and the Americans took over around 1867, increasing fur hunting and driving the sea otter practically to extinction. The town of Unalaska had become an important commercial center by 1890. Fox trapping and canneries had become important to the local economy by the early twentieth century. Much of the Aleutian chain was designated as a national park in 1913. Some religious and government schools were opened in the early to midtwentieth century. Still, the people endured high tuberculosis rates in the 1920s through the 1940s, and there were few, if any, village doctors.

The Japanese attacked the Aleutian Islands during World War II, capturing residents of Attu. The United States removed almost all Unangans west of Unimak Island, interning them in camps in southeast Alaska. Many people, especially elders who normally transmitted cultural beliefs and practices to the young, died during that period owing to the poor conditions in the camps. When the people returned home after the war, they found that many of their homes and possessions had been destroyed. As a result, many villages were abandoned.

The commercial fishing and cash economy grew sharply after the war. Most Unangans worked at the lowest levels of the economy. By then, Unangan children were attending the Bureau of Indian Affairs high school in Sitka and Anchorage. Alaska received statehood in 1958. Nine years later, the Native people founded the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) and the Aleut League. Unangans were included in the 1971 Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA), after initial rejection because of their high percentage of Russian blood.

Most Unangans are of the Russian Orthodox faith. Most also live in wood-frame houses. There is





a considerable degree of intermarriage with non-Unangans. The position of the corporations vis-à-vis the tribes has made for bitter interfamily and inter-village divisions. Political sovereignty remains a major goal for most people. Some public schools feature courses in the Unangan language.

*See also* Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act; Basketry; Russians, in the Arctic/Northwest; Trade.

## Yup'ik

"Yup'ik" means "Real People." The Yup'ik people were formerly known as Nunivak Inuits (or Eskimos), Saint Lawrence Island Eskimos, West Alaska Eskimos, South Alaska Eskimos, and Southwest Alaska Eskimos. They are also known as Bering Sea Yuits and, with the Alutiit (Pacific Eskimos), simply as Yuits. The Saint Lawrence Islanders were culturally similar to Siberian Eskimos. (*See also* Alutiit.)

Yup'ik territory was located in southwestern Alaska, between Bristol Bay and Norton Sound, including Nunivak and Saint Lawrence Islands. The early nineteenth-century Yup'ik population was between about 15,000 and 18,000. The people spoke the Yuk or Central Alaskan Yup'ik (including Saint Lawrence Island or Central Siberian Yup'ik) branch of Yup'ik. With Inuit-Inupiaq (Inuktitut), Yup'ik (or Western Eskimo) constitutes the Eskimo division of the Eskaleut language family.

Religious belief and practice were based on the conception of spiritual entities found in nature and needing to be treated with respect. Most rituals focused on this belief, such as those that showed respect to an animal just killed. It was also the basis of most taboos as well as related objects and songs.

Souls were said to be reincarnated through naming. Spirits not yet reincarnated also needed to be treated with respect lest they cause harm. In some areas, secret, spirit-based knowledge, objects, and songs, all thought to bring success in hunting, were passed on from father to son. The people also believed in various nonhuman, nonanimal supernatural beings.

Male and female shamans (*angakok*) provided religious leadership by virtue of their connection with guardian spirits. They led group religious activities. They could also cure disease and see into the future.

Illness was thought to be due to soul loss and/or the violation of taboos. Professional curing methods included interrogation about taboo adherence, trance-like communication with spiritual helpers, extraction (such as sucking), and dramatic performance, including masked dances. Shamans were relatively powerful people, in part owing to their ability to use their spiritual power to harm people.

The Messenger Feast, a major ceremony, included dancing and gift exchange between two villages. The Saint Lawrence Islanders held a spring whaling ceremony. When the successful crew returned, the umiak owner's wife offered the whale a drink of water as a token of respect. Then followed another feast and a thanksgiving ceremony. Some groups held memorial feasts about a year following a death.

In general, Yup'iks living along the Bering Sea had their main ceremonial season in the winter and early spring. The festivities featured spirit masks and dances. The Bladder Feast was another important ceremony dedicated to respect for animals, in this case, seals. This festival also underscored the ritual sexual division in society.

Nuclear families were loosely organized into extended families or local groups associated with geographical areas (*-miuts*). Local groups on the mainland occasionally came together as perhaps seven small, fluid subgroups or bands. From north to south, they were Kuigpagmiuts, Maarmiuts, Kayaligmiuts, Kukquqvagmiuts, Kiatagmiuts, Tuyuryarmiuts, and Aglurmiuts. Older men, with little formal authority and no power, led *kashim* (men's houses) and kin groups (generally the same as villages on Saint Lawrence Island). These leaders generally embodied Inuit values, such as generosity, and were also good hunters.

The family was the most important economic and political unit. Descent was bilateral, except patrilineal on Saint Lawrence Island. There, secret songs, ceremonies, house ownership, and hunting group membership were passed through patrilineal clans and lineages. Status was formally ranked within the *kashim* and depended on hunting and leadership skills.

People married simply by announcing their intentions, although infants were regularly betrothed. Men might have more than one wife, but most had only one. Divorce was easy to obtain. Both men and women remained respectful and distant toward their in-laws. Wife exchange was a part of





certain defined male partnerships, such as mutual aid, "joking," and trade. Some of these relationships were inheritable. The alliance between the wife and the exchanged husband was considered a kind of marriage. Formal female partnerships existed as well.

Infanticide was rare and usually practiced against females. Children were highly valued and loved, especially males, and adoption was common. Life cycle events, such as berry picking and grass gathering by girls and seal killing by boys, were recognized by the community. Childbirth, girls' puberty, and death were the occasions for special taboos.

The sick or aged were sometimes abandoned, especially in times of scarcity. Corpses were generally removed through an alternate exit (not the door) and left on the ground with certain grave goods. Along the Bering Sea, some groups placed their dead in painted wooden coffins and erected carved wooden memorial poles to keep their spirits at bay. The mourning period generally lasted four or five days, during which time activities, including hunting, were severely restricted.

Work was fairly gender specific. Women made food and clothing and cared for children; men fished and hunted land animals. Use of a person's real name was generally avoided, perhaps for religious reasons. Tensions were relieved through games, through duels of drums and songs, in which the competing people tried to outdo each other in parody, and through "joking" relationships. Ostracism and even death were reserved for the most serious cases of socially inappropriate behavior.

The people created larger settlements in the winter to take advantage of group subsistence activities. Villages ranged in size from just two to more than a dozen houses, plus one or more *kashim* and storehouses.

There were several kinds of dwellings throughout the area, depending on location. Houses were generally semiexcavated, roughly twelve to fifteen feet by fifteen feet and made of sod, grass, and/or bark over wooden posts and beams. They were mainly inhabited by related women and children. Some might have plank walls with benches placed along them. Entry was via an anteroom connected to the main room by an underground tunnel. A hearth and cooking area stood at one end of the room, and raised sleeping platforms were at the other end. Windows were often made of sewn fish skins.

Except on Saint Lawrence Island, men worked, bathed, slept, and ate in *kashim*, which were also used as ceremonial houses, to which women delivered the food. Political decisions were made there as well. Some groups built cut-sod spring camp houses, about 100 square feet in size. Skin tents were generally the norm in the summer.

Yup'ik people were nomadic hunters with either a land or a sea orientation, although most people also exploited the region opposite their own. The most important game animals were seals, walrus (especially on Saint Lawrence and Nunivak Islands), and whales. Men hunted seals at their breathing holes in the winter. On Nunivak, men hunted them from kayaks in spring and with nets under shore ice in the fall. Some groups also hunted caribou (especially away from the coast and major rivers and on Nunivak Island until about 1900) and moose, especially in the fall.

Fish, especially salmon, trout, smelt, and whitefish, was the most important dietary item in many locations and was generally taken in all seasons but the winter. Fish were especially important inland, with marine mammals more important on the coasts and islands. Shellfish were gathered where possible. Birds and fowl, such as ptarmigan, were speared or netted and their eggs gathered. Some groups were able to obtain berries, roots, and greens.

Most tools were fashioned from caribou antlers as well as stone, bone, and driftwood (on Saint Lawrence and Nunivak Islands, many items were made from walrus parts). Men and women had their own specialty stone knives. People cooked in pottery pots and burned seal or walrus oil in saucer-shaped pottery lamps. They carved wooden trays, boxes, dishes, spoons, and other objects.

Various kinds of containers were made out of gut, wood, and clay. Saint Lawrence Islanders often used baleen as a raw material. Some groups made twined and coiled baskets of grasses and birchbark. In fact, grass was used extensively for items such as mats, baskets, socks, and rope, although some cordage also came from beluga sinew. The ceremonial tambourine drum was made of seal gut stretched over a wooden frame.

The people made finely carved wooden and ivory figurines. The Yup'iks engaged in a general coastal-interior interregional trade, including trade with the Unangan and Northwest Coast peoples. Saint Lawrence Island people traditionally traded and otherwise interacted with those from Siberia.





Men hunted from one- or two-person sealskin-covered kayaks. Umiaks were larger, skin-covered open boats; several men could hunt whales or walrus in these. They were also used for trade voyages. Wooden sleds were used for overland winter travel. Some interior groups also used canoes.

Women made most clothing of caribou and sealskin. Yup'ik clothing tended to fit relatively loosely. Some groups used the skins of other animals, such as marmot and muskrat, as well as bird and even fish skins. Most people wore long hooded parkas and inner shirts and pants. Women's parkas were often shorter and featured front and rear flaps. Other items included sealskin (some groups used salmon skin) boots and mittens, skin or grass socks, fish skin parkas and pants in the summer, water-proof gut raincoats, and wooden snow goggles.

Men on Saint Lawrence Island wore distinctive hairdos in which they shaved the tops of their heads but retained a circle of hair around the forehead. Women generally tattooed three lines on their chins. Personal ornaments included labrets and other items of walrus and bird parts.

People have lived on Nunivak Island since at least 150 BCE, making pottery and using mainly stone tools. The mainland has been inhabited for at least 4,000 years, with cultural continuity since about 300 BCE.

Most groups avoided direct contact with non-Natives until Russian traders established trading posts in Yup'ik territory, generally in the early nineteenth century. The Russians exchanged clothing, metal tools, and beads for beaver pelts. The Inuits began spending more time trapping beaver and less time on subsistence activities, eventually becoming dependent on the posts even for food. In general, Russian Orthodox missionaries followed the early traders. Most Inuits had accepted Christianity by the 1860s.

This process was uneven throughout the region. Saint Lawrence Island people first met non-Natives in the 1850s, whereas people on the Yukon Delta did not do so until the late nineteenth century. About one thousand people (roughly two-thirds of the total population) of Saint Lawrence Island died in 1878 from a combination of natural causes combined with a high incidence of alcohol abuse. Nunivak Island was similarly insulated (contact occurred in 1821 but perhaps not again until 1874), in part owing to the shallowness of the surrounding sea. The first trading post, which

included a reindeer herd, was established there in 1920; missionaries and schools dated from about the 1930s. The people experienced various epidemics throughout the early to midtwentieth century.

Little changed with the sale of Alaska to the United States until the advent of commercial fishing in Bristol Bay in the 1880s. Moravian missionaries appeared on the Kuskokwim River in 1885; those of other sects soon followed. Like most missionary schools, theirs forbade children to speak their Native language. In an effort to undermine the traditional lifestyle, the U.S. government introduced reindeer to the region around 1900.

In addition to commercial fishing, fox hunting for the fur trade plus the manufacture of baleen and carved ivory objects formed the basis of a local cash economy from the late nineteenth century through the early twentieth century. Nunivak Islanders experienced the full cash economy only after World War II. By then the people had incorporated under the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA). The Bureau of Indian Affairs managed their reindeer herd.

The far north took on strategic importance during the Cold War, about the same time that mineral reserves became known and technologically possible to exploit. Saint Lawrence Island became exposed to mainland life and tied to Alaska only after military installations were built there in the 1950s. Inuits generally found only unskilled menial labor. With radical diet changes, the adoption of a sedentary life, and the appearance of drugs and alcohol, health declined markedly. The Yukon Kuskokwim Health Corporation serves the people's health needs with culturally appropriate programs and care.

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) was passed in 1971. Bilingual education has been in force since the 1970s, and most Yup'ik people still speak the Native language. Some communities have been more severely disrupted and are consequently less cohesive than others. Most Saint Lawrence Islanders had been converted to Christianity by the midtwentieth century, although many of the old ideas still resonate for the people.

The issue of subsistence hunting rights remains very important to the Yup'iks. Chignik area villages share certain concerns, such as the decline of the local caribou herd, possibly owing to excess sport hunting, and the threat to subsistence activities from industrial development. Togiak area villages seek to





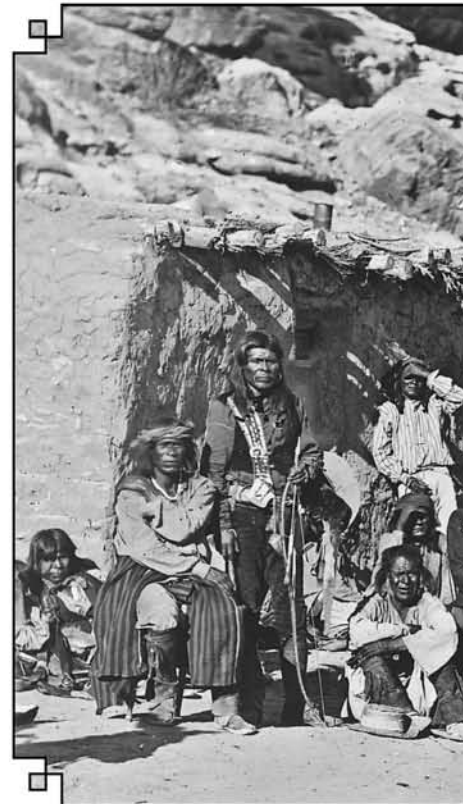
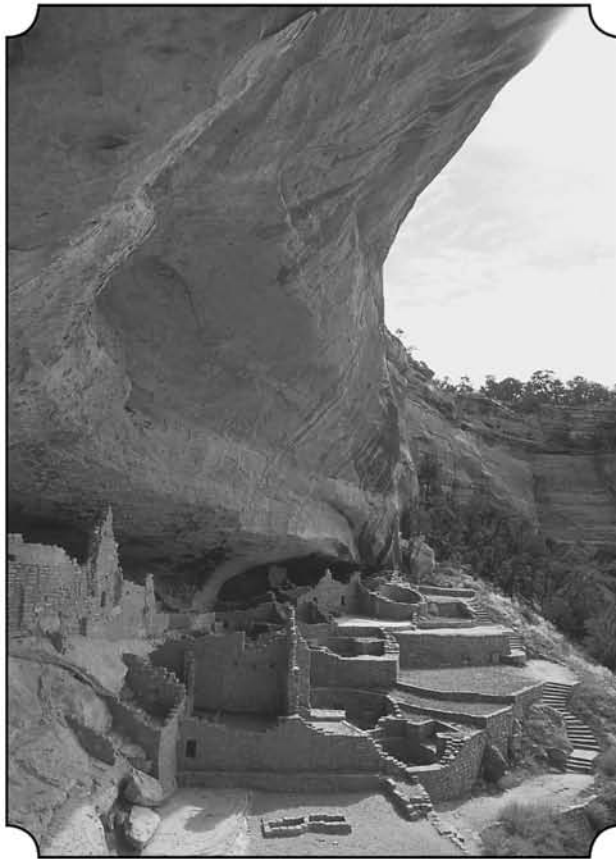
conduct a permanent annual walrus hunt on Round Island, and they seek funds to maintain their reindeer herd. They are also trying to prevent the desecration of ancient burial sites.

Local concerns in the Iliamna area include road improvement, bridge construction, and air links. Concerns in the Kvichak Bay area include the maintenance of subsistence fishing rights, the use and contamination cleanup of the former air force base site, the construction and management of a visitor

center at Katmai National Park, and the decline of the local caribou herd. Issues in the Nushagak Bay area include the possible formation of a Nushagak and Togiak area borough, land allotments within Wood-Tikchik State Park, and the proper management of the local caribou herd.

*See also* Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act; Alcoholism and Substance Abuse; Russians, in the Arctic/Northwest.







# *Resources*







## Discontinued Indian Mascots, 1969–2002

Date	School	Change in Mascot or Team Name
1969	Dartmouth College (New Hampshire)	Drops nickname “Indians” in favor of “Big Green.”
1969	Oklahoma State University	Retires “Little Red” mascot.
1971	Marquette University (Wisconsin)	Abolishes mascot “Willie Wampus” and changes its Indian-related nicknames.
1971	Mankato State College (Minnesota)	Drops Indian caricature mascot.
1972	Stanford University (California)	Drops “Indians” team name and “Chief Lightfoot” mascot.
1979	Syracuse University (New York)	Drops “Saltine Warrior” mascot.
1988	Siena College (New York)	Changes team name from “Indians” to “Saints.”
1988	St. John's University (New York)	Retires Indian mascot.
1988	St. Mary's College (Minnesota)	Drops nickname “Redmen” in favor of “Cardinals.”
1988	Bradley University (Illinois)	Abandons costumed Indian mascot.
1989	Montclair State College (New Jersey)	Drops Indian nickname and mascot.
1991	Eastern Michigan University	Changes nickname from “Hurons” to “Eagles.”
1993	Arvada High School (Colorado)	Drops “Redskins” nickname for “Reds.”
1995	St. John's University (New York)	Changes nickname from “Redmen” to “Redstorm.”
1996	University of Tennessee at Chattanooga	Abandons Chief Moccannoga mascot.
1996	Miami University (Ohio)	Drops “Redskins” nickname for “RedHawks.”
1996	Adams State University (Colorado)	Changes Indian mascot to a grizzly bear.
1996	Syracuse AAA baseball team (New York)	Changes nickname from “Chiefs” to “Skychiefs.”
1996	Hull Western Christian School (Iowa)	Retires Indian mascot and logo.
1997	Los Angeles Board of Education (California)	Eliminates Indian-related mascots from four schools.
1997	Akron AA baseball team (Ohio)	Replaces “Indians” nickname with “Aeros.”
1998	Yakima College (Washington)	Retires race-related mascot.
1998	Southern Nazarene University (Oklahoma)	Abandons “Redskins” nickname in favor of “Crimson Storm.”
1999	Oklahoma City University	Replaces “Chiefs” nickname with “Stars.”
2000	Seattle University (Washington)	Changes “Chieftains” nickname to “Redhawks.”
2001	Illinois Valley Community College	Changes “Apache” nickname to “Eagles.”
2001	Southwestern College (California)	Changes “Apache” nickname to “Jaguars.”
2002	Hendrix University (Arkansas)	Eliminates references to American Indians though retains “Warriors” nickname.

Source: Anti-defamation and Mascots. Available at:

<http://www.ncai.org/ncai/resource/documents/governance/mastimeline.htm>. Accessed June 21, 2006.





## Indian Mascots

### Professional Sports Teams with Indian Mascots

City	League	Team Name
Atlanta, Georgia	Major League Baseball	Braves
Chicago, Illinois	National Hockey League	Blackhawks
Cleveland, Ohio	Major League Baseball	Indians
Kansas City, Missouri	National Football League	Chiefs
Washington, D.C.	National Football League	Redskins

### Colleges and Universities with Indian Mascots

School	State	Team Name
Alcorn State University	Mississippi	Braves
Arkansas State University	Arkansas	Indians
Bacone College	Oklahoma	Warriors
Bradley University	Illinois	Braves
California State University, Stanislaus	California	Warriors
Catawba College	North Carolina	Indians
Chowan College	North Carolina	Braves
Central Michigan University	Michigan	Chippewas
College of William & Mary	Virginia	Tribe
East Stroudsburg University	Pennsylvania	Warriors
Florida State University	Florida	Seminoles
Goldey-Beacom College	Delaware	Braves
Hendrix College	Arkansas	Warriors
Indiana Institute of Technology	Indiana	Warriors
Indiana University of Pennsylvania	Pennsylvania	Indians
Keuka College	New York	Warriors
Life Bible College	California	Warriors
McMurry University	Texas	Indians
Miami Christian University	Florida	Warriors
Morningside College	Iowa	Maroon Chiefs
Northeastern State University	Oklahoma	Redmen
Oklahoma City University	Oklahoma	Chiefs
Ottawa University	Kansas	Braves
Pembroke State University	North Carolina	Braves
San Bernardino Valley College	California	Indians
San Diego State University	California	Aztecs
Southeastern Oklahoma State University	Oklahoma	Savages
Southwestern College	Kansas	Moundbuilders
State University of West Georgia	Georgia	Braves
Sterling College	Kansas	Warriors
Trinity International University	Florida	Warriors
Union College	Nebraska	Warriors
University of Alaska, Fairbanks	Alaska	Nanooks
University of Illinois	Illinois	Fighting Illini
University of North Dakota	North Dakota	Fighting Sioux
University of Rio Grande	Ohio	Redmen
University of Utah	Utah	Utes
Westmont College	California	Warriors

Source: American Indian Sports Team Mascots, <http://www.aistm.org/>. Accessed June 21, 2006.





## Tribal Governments in the United States, 2006

Absentee-Shawnee Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma  
[Southern Plains]  
2025 S. Gordon Cooper Drive  
Shawnee, OK 74801

Agdaagux Tribe of King Cove (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 249  
King Cove, AK 99612

Agua Caliente Band of Cahuilla Indians (Pacific)  
600 East Tahquitz Canyon Way  
Palm Springs, CA 92262  
Website: [www.aguacaliente.org](http://www.aguacaliente.org)

Ak Chin Indian Community (Western)  
42507 W. Peters & Nall Road  
Maricopa, AZ 85239

Akiachak Native Community (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 70  
Akiachak, AK 99551-0070

Akiak Native Community (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 52127  
Akiak, AK 99552

Alabama-Coushatta Tribes of Texas (Southern  
Plains)  
571 State Park Road 56  
Livingston, TX 77351

Alabama-Quassarte Tribal Town (Eastern  
Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 187, 117 North Main  
Wetumka, OK 74883

Aleut Community of St. Paul Island (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 86  
St. Paul Island, AK 99660

Algaaciq Native Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 48  
St. Mary's, AK 99658

Allakaket Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 30  
Allakaket, AK 99720

Alturas Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 340  
Alturas, CA 96101

Angoon Community Association (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 188  
Angoon, AK 99820

Anvik Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 10  
Anvik, AK 99558

Apache Tribe of Oklahoma (Southern Plains)  
P.O. Box 1220  
Anadarko, OK 73005

Arctic Village Council (Gwich'in Artic Village)  
(Alaska)  
P.O. Box 22069  
Arctic Village, AK 99722

Aroostook Band of Micmacs (Northeast)  
7 Northern Road  
Presque Isle, ME 04769

Asa'carsarmiut Tribe (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 32249  
Mountain Village, AK 99632

Augustine Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 846  
Coachella, CA 92236

Bad River Band of Lake Superior Tribe of Chippewa  
Indians (Midwest)  
P.O. Box 39  
Odanah, WI 54861

Barona Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
1095 Barona Road  
Lakeside, CA 92040  
Website: [www.baronatribe.org](http://www.baronatribe.org)

Battle Mountain Band (Western)  
37 Mountain View Drive, #C  
Battle Mountain, NV 89820





Bay Mills Indian Community of Michigan  
(Midwest)  
12140 W. Lakeshore Drive  
Brimley, MI 49715  
Website: [www.4baymills.com](http://www.4baymills.com)

Bear River Band of Rohnerville Rancheria (Pacific)  
32 Bear River Road  
Loleta, CA 95551

Beaver Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 24029  
Beaver, AK 99724

Benton Paiute Reservation (Pacific)  
Star Route 4, Box 56-A  
Benton, CA 93512

Berry Creek Rancheria (Pacific)  
5 Tyme Way  
Oroville, CA 95966

Big Lagoon Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 3060  
Trinidad, CA 95570

Big Pine Reservation (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 700, 825 S. Main Street  
Big Pine, CA 93513

Big Sandy Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 337  
Auberry, CA 93602

Big Valley Rancheria (Pacific)  
2726 Mission Rancheria Road  
Lakeport, CA 95453

Birch Creek Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box KBC  
Fort Yukon, AK 99740

Bishop Tribe (Pacific)  
50 Tu Su Lane  
Bishop, CA 93515  
Website: [www.paiutepalace.com](http://www.paiutepalace.com)

Blackfeet Nation (Rocky Mountain)  
P.O. Box 850  
Browning, MT 59417  
Website: [www.blackfeetnation.com](http://www.blackfeetnation.com)

Blue Lake Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 428  
Blue Lake, CA 95525

Bois Forte Reservation Business Committee  
(Midwest)  
P.O. Box 16 5344 Lakeshore Drive  
Nett Lake, MN 55772  
Website: [www.boisforte.com](http://www.boisforte.com)

Bridgeport Indian Colony (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 37  
Bridgeport, CA 93517

Buena Vista Rancheria of Me-Wuk Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 162283  
Sacramento, CA 95816

Burns Paiute Tribe (Northwest)  
100 Pasigo Street  
Burns, OR 97720

Cabazon Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
84-245 Indio Springs Drive  
Indio, CA 92203

Caddo Indian Tribe of Oklahoma (Southern Plains)  
P.O. Box 487  
Binger, OK 73009

Cahuilla Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 391760  
Anza, CA 92539-1760  
Website: [www.cahuilla.com](http://www.cahuilla.com)

California Valley Miwok Tribe (Pacific)  
10601 Escondido Place  
Stockton, CA 95212  
Website: [www.californiavalleymiwoktribe-nsn.gov](http://www.californiavalleymiwoktribe-nsn.gov)

Campo Band of Kumeyaay Indians (Pacific)  
36190 Church Road, Suite 1  
Campo, CA 91906  
Website: [www.kumeyaay.com/links.html](http://www.kumeyaay.com/links.html)

Carson Community (Western)  
2900 South Curry Street  
Carson City, NV 89703

Catawba Indian Tribe (Southeast)  
996 Avenue of the Nations  
Rock Hill, SC 29730





Cayuga Nation (Northeast)  
P.O. Box 11  
Versailles, NY 14168-0011

Cedarville Rancheria (Pacific)  
200 South Howard Street  
Alturas, CA 96101

Central Council Tlingit & Haida Indian Tribes of  
Alaska (Alaska)  
320 W. Willoughby Avenue, Suite 300  
Juneau, AK 99801  
Website: [www.ccthita.org](http://www.ccthita.org)

Chalkyitsik Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 57  
Chalkyitsik, AK 99788

Chemehuevi Indian Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 1976  
Havasup Lake, CA 92362  
Website: [www.havasulanding.com](http://www.havasulanding.com)

Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma (Eastern Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 948  
Tahlequah, OK 74465  
Website: [www.cherokee.org](http://www.cherokee.org)

Cherokees of Southeast Alabama (Southeast)  
P.O. Box 36302  
Dothan, AL 36302-0717

Chevak Native Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 140, Aurora Street  
Chevak, AK 99563

Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma  
(Southern Plains)  
P.O. Box 38  
Concho, OK 73022

Cheyenne River Sioux Tribe (Great Plains)  
P.O. Box 590  
Eagle Butte, SD 57625  
Website: [www.sioux.org](http://www.sioux.org)

Chickahominy Indian Tribe, Inc. (Northeast)  
8200 Lott Cary Road  
Providence Forge, VA 23140

Chickaloon Native Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 1105  
Chickaloon, AK 99674-1105

Chickasaw Nation (Eastern Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 1548  
Ada, OK 74821

Chicken Ranch Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1159  
Jamestown, CA 95327

Chignik Lake Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 33  
Chignik Lake, AK 99548

Chilkat Indian Village (Klukwan) (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 210  
Haines, AK 99827-0210

Chilkoot Indian Association (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 490, 207 Main Street, Suite 2  
Haines, AK 99827-0490  
Website: <http://thorpe.ou.edu/IRA/chilkchrtr.html>

Chinik Eskimo Community (aka Golovin) (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 62020  
Golovin, AK 99762

Chinook Indian Tribe (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 228  
Chinook, WA 98614

Chippewa Cree Tribe of the Rocky Boy's  
Reservation (Rocky Mountain)  
Rural Route 1, P.O. Box 544  
Box Elder, MT 59521

Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana (Southeast)  
P.O. Box 661  
Charenton, LA 70523

Chitina Traditional Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 31  
Chitina, AK 99566

Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma (Eastern Oklahoma)  
Drawer 1210  
Durant, OK 74702





Chuloonawick Native Village (Alaska)  
General Delivery  
Chuloonawick, AK 99581

Circle Native Community (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 89  
Circle, AK 99733

Citizen Potawatomi Nation (Southern Plains)  
1601 S. Gordon Cooper Drive  
Shawnee, OK 74801  
Website: [www.potawatomi.org](http://www.potawatomi.org)

Cloverdale Rancheria of Pomo Indians of California  
(Pacific)  
555 S. Cloverdale Boulevard, Suite A  
Cloverdale, CA 95425

Cocopah Tribe (Western)  
County 15 & Avenue G  
Somerton, AZ 85350

Coeur d'Alene Indian Tribe (Northwest)  
850 A Street, P.O. Box 408  
Plummer, ID 83851

Cold Springs Rancheria (Pacific)  
32535 Sycamore Road  
Tollhouse, CA 93667

Colorado River Indian Reservation (Western)  
Route 1 Box 23-B  
Parker, AZ 85344

Colusa Rancheria (Pacific)  
50 Wintun Road, Dept. D  
Colusa, CA 95932

Colville Tribe (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 150  
Nespelem, WA 99155-0150

Comanche Indian Tribe (Southern Plains)  
P.O. Box 908  
Lawton, OK 73502

Confederated Tribes of Coos, Lower Umpqua and  
Siuslaw Indians (Northwest)  
1245 Fulton Avenue  
Coos Bay, OR 97420

Confederated Tribes of the Chehalis Reservation  
(Northwest)  
P.O. Box 536  
Oakville, WA 98568

Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde  
Community of Oregon (Northwest)  
9615 Grand Ronde Road  
Grand Ronde, OR 97347-0038  
Website: [www.grandronde.org](http://www.grandronde.org)

Confederated Tribes of the Salish & Kootenai  
(Northwest)  
Box 278  
Pablo, MT 59855

Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian  
Reservation (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 638  
Pendleton, OR 97801-0638

Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs  
Reservation (Northwest)  
P.O. Box C  
Warm Springs, OR 97761-3001  
Website: [www.warmsprings.org](http://www.warmsprings.org)

Coquille Indian Tribe (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 783  
North Bend, OR 97459  
Website: [www.coquilletribe.org](http://www.coquilletribe.org)

Cortina Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1630  
Williams, CA 95987

Coushatta Indian Tribe of Louisiana (Southeast)  
P.O. Box 818  
Elton, LA 70532

Cow Creek Band of Umpqua (Northwest)  
2371 NE Stephens Street, Suite 100  
Roseburg, OR 97470-1338  
Website: [www.cowcreek.com](http://www.cowcreek.com)

Cowlitz Indian Tribe (Northwest)  
1417 15th Avenue #5, P.O. Box 2547  
Longview, WA 98632-8594





Coyote Valley Band of Pomo Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 39  
Redwood Valley, CA 95470  
Website: [www.coyotevalleycasino.com](http://www.coyotevalleycasino.com)

Craig Community Association (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 828  
Craig, AK 99921

Crooked Creek Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 69  
Crooked Creek, AK 99575

Crow Creek Sioux Tribe (Great Plains)  
P.O. Box 50  
Fort Thompson, SD 57339

Crow Nation (Rocky Mountain)  
P.O. Box 159  
Crow Agency, MT 59022

Curyung Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 216  
Dillingham, AK 99576

Delaware Nation (Southern Plains)  
P.O. Box 825  
Anadarko, OK 73005  
Website: [www.delawaretribeofindians.nsn.us/](http://www.delawaretribeofindians.nsn.us/)

Delaware Tribe of Indians (Eastern Oklahoma)  
220 NW Virginia Avenue  
Bartlesville, OK 74003  
Website: [www.delawaretribeofindians.nsn.us](http://www.delawaretribeofindians.nsn.us)

Dot Lake Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 2279  
Dot Lake, AK 99737-2279

Douglas Indian Association (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 240541  
Douglas, AK 99824

Dresslerville Community (Western)  
585 Watasheamu Road  
Gardnerville, NV 89410

Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians  
(Pacific)  
P.O. Box 607  
Geyserville, CA 95441  
Website: [www.drycreekrancheria.com](http://www.drycreekrancheria.com)

Duckwater Shoshone Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 140068  
Duckwater, NV 89314

Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians (Southeast)  
P.O. Box 455  
Cherokee, NC 28719  
Website: [www.cherokee-nc.com](http://www.cherokee-nc.com)

Eastern Pequot Tribal Nation (Northeast)  
391 Norwich Westerly Road, P.O. Box 208  
North Stonington, CT 06359

Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma (Eastern  
Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 350  
Seneca, MO 64865

Eastern Shoshone Tribe of Wind River Indian  
Reservation (Rocky Mountain)  
P.O. Box 538  
Fort Washakie, WY 82514

Egegik Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 29  
Egegik, AK 99579

Ekwok Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 70  
Ekwok, AK 99580

Elem Indian Colony (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1997  
Clearlake Oaks, CA 95423  
Website: [www.elemnation.com](http://www.elemnation.com)

Elk Valley Rancheria (Pacific)  
2332 Howland Hill Road  
Crescent City, CA 95531  
Website: [www.elkvalleycasino.com](http://www.elkvalleycasino.com)

Elko Band (Western)  
1745 Silver Eagle Drive  
Elko, NV 89801

Ely Shoshone Tribe (Western)  
16 Shoshone Circle  
Ely, NV 89301

Emmonak Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 126  
Emmonak, AK 99581





Enterprise Rancheria (Pacific)  
1940 Feather River Boulevard, Suite B  
Oroville, CA 95965-5723

Evansville Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 26087  
Bettles Field, AK 99726

Ewiapaayp Community of Kumeyaay Indians  
(Cuyapaipe Band of Mission Indians) (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 2250  
Alpine, CA 91903-2250

Fallon Paiute Shoshone Tribe (Western)  
565 Rio Vista Road  
Fallon, NV 89406-9159

Federated Indians of Graton Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 14428  
Santa Rosa, CA 95402  
Website: [www.gratonrancheria.com](http://www.gratonrancheria.com)

Flandreau Santee Sioux Tribe (Great Plains)  
P.O. Box 283  
Flandreau, SD 57028

Fond du Lac Reservation Business Committee  
(Midwest)  
105 University Road  
Cloquet, MN 55720

Forest County Potawatomi Community of  
Wisconsin (Midwest)  
P.O. Box 340  
Crandon, WI 54520

Fort Belknap Tribe (Rocky Mountain)  
Rural Route 1 Box 66  
Harlem, MT 59526  
Website: [www.fortbelknapnations-nsn.gov](http://www.fortbelknapnations-nsn.gov)

Fort Bidwell Reservation (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 129  
Fort Bidwell, CA 96112

Fort Independence Indian Reservation (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 67  
Independence, CA 93526

Fort McDermitt Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 457  
McDermitt, NV 89421

Fort McDowell Yavapai Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 17779  
Fountain Hills, AZ 85269

Fort Mojave Tribe (Western)  
500 Merriman Avenue  
Needles, CA 92363

Fort Peck Tribes of Assiniboiné and Sioux (Rocky  
Mountain)  
P.O. Box 1027  
Poplar, MT 59255  
Website: [www.fortpecktribes.org](http://www.fortpecktribes.org)

Fort Sill Apache Tribe of Oklahoma (Southern  
Plains)  
Rt. 2, Box 121  
Apache, OK 73006

Four Winds Tribe, Louisiana Cherokee Confederacy  
(Southeast)  
P.O. Box 395  
New Llano, LA 71461

Gila River Indian Community (Western)  
P.O. Box 97  
Sacaton, AZ 85247  
Website: [www.gric.nsn.us](http://www.gric.nsn.us)

Goshute Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 6104  
Ibapah, UT 84034

Grand Portage Reservation Business Committee  
(Midwest)  
P.O. Box 428  
Grand Portage, MN 55605

Grand Traverse Band of Ottawa and Chippewa  
Indians of Michigan (Midwest)  
2605 North W Bay Shore Drive  
Peshawbestown, MI 49682

Greenville Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 279  
Greenville, CA 95947

Grindstone Indian Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 63, County Road 305 #13A  
Elk Creek, CA 95939





Guidiville Band of Pomo Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 339  
Ukiah, CA 95481

Gulkana Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 254  
Gulkana, AK 99586

Gwichyaa Zhee Gwichi'in Tribal Gov't (Fort Yukon)  
(Alaska)  
P.O. Box 126  
Fort Yukon, AK 99740

Haliwa-Saponi Indian Tribe, Inc. (Southeast)  
P.O. Box 99  
Hollister, CA 27844

Hannahville Indian Community of Michigan  
(Midwest)  
N14911 Hannahville B1 Road  
Wilson, MI 49896-9728  
Website: [www.hannahville.com](http://www.hannahville.com)

Havasupai Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 10  
Supai, AZ 86435

Healy Lake Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 60300  
Fairbanks, AK 99706-0300

Ho-Chunk Nation (Midwest)  
W9814 Airport Road, P.O. Box 667  
Black River Falls, WI 54615

Hoh Tribe (Northwest)  
2464 Lower Hoh Road  
Forks, WA 98331

Holy Cross Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 89  
Holy Cross, AK 99602

Hoonah Indian Association (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 602  
Hoonah, AK 99829

Hoopa Valley Tribe (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1348  
Hoopa, CA 95546  
Website: [www.hoopa-nsn.gov](http://www.hoopa-nsn.gov)

Hopi Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 123  
Kykotsmovi, AZ 86039  
Website: [www.hopi.nsn.us](http://www.hopi.nsn.us)

Hopland Band of Pomo Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 610, 3000 Shanel Road  
Hopland, CA 95449  
Website: [www.shokawah.com](http://www.shokawah.com)

Houlton Band of Maliseet Indians (Northeast)  
88 Bell Road  
Littleton, ME 04730

Hualapai Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 179  
Peach Springs, AZ 86434

Hughes Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 45029  
Hughes, AK 99745

Huron Potawatomi, Inc. (Midwest)  
2221 1-1/2 Mile Road  
Fulton, MI 49052

Huslia Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 70  
Huslia, AK 99746

Hydaburg Cooperative Assn. (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 349  
Hydaburg, AK 99922-0349

Igiugig Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 4008  
Igiugig, AK 99613

Inaja-Cosmit Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
309 S. Maple Street  
Escondido, CA 92065

Inupiat Community of Arctic Slope (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 934  
Barrow, AK 99723

Ione Band of Miwok Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1190  
Ione, CA 95640





Iowa Tribe of Kansas & Nebraska (Southern Plains)  
3345-B Thrasher Road  
White Cloud, KS 66094

Iowa Tribe of Oklahoma (Southern Plains)  
Rt. 1, Box 721  
Perkins, OK 74059  
Website: [www.iowanation.org](http://www.iowanation.org)

Iqurmiut Traditonal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 9  
Russian Mission, AK 99657

Ivanoff Bay Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 500  
Perryville, AK 99648

Jackson Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1090  
Jackson, CA 95642

Jamestown S'Klallam Tribe (Northwest)  
1033 Old Blyn Highway  
Sequim, WA 98382  
Website: [www.jamestowntribe.org](http://www.jamestowntribe.org)

Jamul Indian Village (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 612  
Jamul, CA 91935  
Website: [www.jamulindianvillage.com](http://www.jamulindianvillage.com)

Jena Band of Choctaw Indians (Southeast)  
P.O. Box 14  
Jena, LA 71342

Jicarilla Apache Nation (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 507  
Dulce, NM 87528-0507  
Website: [www.jicarillaonline.com](http://www.jicarillaonline.com)

Kaguyak Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 5078  
Akhiok, AK 99615

Kaibab Paiute Tribe (Western)  
HC65, Box 2  
Fredonia, AZ 86022

Kaktovik Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 130, 834 8th Street  
Kaktovik, AK 99747

Kalispel Business Committee (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 39  
Usk, WA 99180-0039

Karuk Tribe of California (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1016  
Happy Camp, CA 96039

Kaw Nation (Southern Plains)  
P.O. Box 50  
Kaw City, OK 74641  
Website: [www.kawnation.com](http://www.kawnation.com)

Kenaitze Indian Tribe (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 988, 225 N. Ames Road  
Kenai, AK 99611-0988

Ketchikan Indian Corporation (Alaska)  
2960 Tongass Avenue  
Ketchikan, AK 99901

Keweenaw Bay Indian Community of Michigan  
(Midwest)  
107 Beartown Road  
Baraga, MI 49908  
Website: [www.kbic-nsn.gov](http://www.kbic-nsn.gov)

Kialegee Tribal Town (Eastern Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 332  
Wetumka, OK 74883

Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas (Southern  
Plains)  
8C1 Box 9700  
Eagle Pass, TX 78853

Kickapoo Tribe in Kansas (Southern Plains)  
1117 Goldfinch Road  
Horton, KS 66439  
Website: [www.kickapoonation.com](http://www.kickapoonation.com)

Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma (Southern Plains)  
P.O. Box 70  
McCloud, OK 74851

King Island Native Community (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 992  
Nome, AK 99762

King Salmon Tribe (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 68, 1/2 Mile King Salmon Creek Road  
King Salmon, AK 99613-0068





Kiowa Indian Tribe of Oklahoma (Southern Plains)  
P.O. Box 369  
Carnegie, OK 73015

Klamath General Council (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 436  
Chiloquin, OR 97624-0436

Klawock Cooperative Assn. (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 430  
Klawock, AK 99925-0430

Knik Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 871565  
Wasilla, AK 99687

Kobuk Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 51039  
Kobuk, AK 99751

Kokhanok Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 1007  
Kokhanok, AK 99606

Kongiganak Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 5069  
Kongiganak, AK 99559-5069

Kootenai Tribal Council (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 1269  
Bonners Ferry, ID 83805-1269

Koyukuk Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 109  
Koyukuk, AK 99754

La Jolla Band of Luiseno Indians (Pacific)  
22000 Highway 76  
Pauma Valley, CA 92061  
Website: [www.lajollaindians.com](http://www.lajollaindians.com)

La Posta Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1120  
Boulevard, CA 91905

Lac Courte Oreilles Band of Lake Superior  
Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin (Midwest)  
13394 West Trepania Road, Building #1  
Hayward, WI 54843

Lac du Flambeau Band of Lake Superior Chippewa  
Indians of Wisconsin (Midwest)  
P.O. Box 67  
Lac du Flambeau, WI 54538

Lac Vieux Desert Band of Lake Superior Chippewa  
Indians of Michigan (Midwest)  
P.O. Box 249  
Watersmeet, MI 49969  
Website: [www.lacvieuxdesert.com](http://www.lacvieuxdesert.com)

Larsen Bay Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 50  
Larsen Bay, AK 99624

Las Vegas Paiute Tribe (Western)  
One Paiute Drive  
Las Vegas, NV 89106-3261

Laytonville Rancheria (Cahto Tribe) (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1239  
Laytonville, CA 95454

Leech Lake Reservation Business Committee  
(Midwest)  
6530 US Highway 2 NW  
Cass Lake, MN 56633  
Website: [www.llojibwe.com/llojibwe/History.html](http://www.llojibwe.com/llojibwe/History.html)

Lesnoi Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 9009, 3248 Mill Bay Road  
Kodiak, AK 99615  
Website: [www.woodyisland.com](http://www.woodyisland.com)

Levelock Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 70  
Levelock, AK 99625

Lime Village Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box LVD  
Lime Village, AK 99627

Little River Band of Ottawa Indians (Midwest)  
375 River Street  
Manistee, MI 49660-2729

Little Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians  
(Midwest)  
7500 Odawa Circle  
Harbor Springs, MI 49740





Lone Pine Paiute Shoshone Reservation (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 747  
Lone Pine, CA 93545

Los Coyotes Band of Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 189, 3000 Isil Road  
Warner Springs, CA 92086

Louden Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 244  
Galena, AK 99741

Lovelock Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 878  
Lovelock, NV 89419

Lower Brule Sioux Tribe (Great Plains)  
187 Oyate Circle, P.O. Box 187  
Lower Brule, SD 57548

Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe (Northwest)  
2851 Lower Elwha Road  
Port Angeles, WA 98363  
Website: [www.elwha.org](http://www.elwha.org)

Lower Lake Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 3162, 131 Lincoln Street  
Healdsburg, CA 95448

Lower Sioux Indian Community of Minnesota  
(Midwest)  
39527 Res. Hwy 1, P.O. Box 308  
Morton, MN 56270

Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina (Southeast)  
P.O. Box 2709  
Pembroke, NC 28372  
Website: [www.lumbeetribe.com](http://www.lumbeetribe.com)

Lummi Indian Business Council (Northwest)  
2616 Kwina Road  
Bellingham, WA 98226

Lytton Band of Pomo Indians (Pacific)  
1250 Coddington Center, Suite 1  
Santa Rosa, CA 95401

Ma-Chris Lower Creek Indian Tribe of Alabama  
(Southeast)  
Rt 1, 708 South John Street  
New Brockton, AL 36351

Makah Indian Tribal Council (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 115  
Neah Bay, WA 98357-0115

Manchester–Point Arena Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 623  
Point Arena, CA 95468

Manley Hot Springs Village (Alaska)  
Box 105  
Manley Hot Springs, AK 99756

Manokotak Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 169  
Manokotak, AK 99628

Manzanita Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1302  
Boulevard, CA 91905

Mary's Igloo Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 629  
Teller, AK 99778

Mashantucket Pequot Tribe (Northeast)  
P.O. Box 3060  
Mashantucket, CT 06338  
Website: [www.foxwoods.com/TheMashantucketPequots/Home/](http://www.foxwoods.com/TheMashantucketPequots/Home/)

Match-E-Be-Nash-She-Wish Band of  
Pottawatomi Indians of Michigan  
(Midwest)  
P.O. Box 218  
Dorr, MI 49323  
Website: [www.mbpri.org](http://www.mbpri.org)

McGrath Native Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 134  
McGrath, AK 99627

Mechoopda Indian Tribe of the Chico Rancheria  
(Pacific)  
125 Mission Ranch Boulevard  
Chico, CA 95926

Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin  
(Midwest)  
P.O. Box 910  
Keshena, WI 54135-0910  
Website: [www.menominee-nsn.gov/](http://www.menominee-nsn.gov/)





Mentasta Traditional Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 6019  
Mentasta Lake, AK 99780-6019

Mesa Grande Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 270  
Santa Ysabelle, CA 92070

Mescalero Apache Tribe (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 227  
Mescalero, NM 88340

Metlakatla Indian Community (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 8  
Metlakatla, AK 99926-0008

Miami Tribe of Oklahoma (Eastern Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 1326  
Miami, OK 74355

Miccosukee Indian Tribe of Florida (Southeast)  
P.O. Box 440021, Tamiami Station  
Miami, FL 33144

Middletown Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1035  
Middletown, CA 95461

Mille Lacs Band (Midwest)  
43408 Oodena Drive  
Onamia, MN 56539  
Website: [www.millelacsobjibwe.org](http://www.millelacsobjibwe.org)

Minnesota Chippewa Tribe (Midwest)  
P.O. Box 217  
Cass Lake, MN 56633

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians (Southeast)  
P.O. Box 6010  
Choctaw, MS 39350  
Website: [www.choctaw.org](http://www.choctaw.org)

Moapa Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 340  
Moapa, NV 89025-0340

Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma (Eastern Oklahoma)  
515 G St. Southeast  
Miami, OK 74354

Mohegan Indian Tribe (Northeast)  
5 Crow Hill Road  
Uncasville, CT 06382  
Website: [www.mohegan.nsn.us](http://www.mohegan.nsn.us)

Monacan Indian Nation, Inc. (Southeast)  
P.O. Box 1136  
Mission Heights, VA 24572

Mooretown Rancheria (Pacific)  
1 Alverda Drive  
Oroville, CA 95966

Morongo Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
11581 Potrero Road  
Banning, CA 92220-2965

Mowa Band of Choctaw Indians (Southeast)  
1080 W. Red Fox Road  
Mt. Vernon, AL 36560

Muckleshoot Tribal Council (Northwest)  
39015 172nd Avenue, S.E.  
Auburn, WA 98092

Muscogee (Creek) Nation (Eastern Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 580  
Okmulgee, OK 74447

Naknek Native Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 106  
Naknek, AK 99633

Nanticoke-Lenni Lenape Tribal Nation (Northeast)  
18 East Commerce Street, P.O. Box 544  
Bridgetown, NJ 08032  
Website: <http://www.nanticoke-lenape.org>

Narragansett Indian Tribe (Northeast)  
P.O. Box 268  
Charlestown, RI 02813

Native Village of Afognak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 968  
Kodiak, AK 99615

Native Village of Akhiok (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 5050  
Akhiok, AK 99615





Native Village of Akutan (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 89  
Akutan, AK 99553-0089

Native Village of Alakanuk (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 149  
Alakanuk, AK 99554-0149

Native Village of Alatna (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 70  
Alatna, AK 99720

Native Village of Aleknagik (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 115  
Aleknagik, AK 99555

Native Village of Ambler (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 47  
Ambler, AK 99786

Native Village of Atka (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 47030, 116 Laavkix Road  
Atka, AK 99547

Native Village of Atkasuk (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 91109  
Atkasuk, AK 99791

Native Village of Barrow (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 1139  
Barrow, AK 99723

Native Village of Belkofski (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 57  
King Cove, AK 99612

Native Village of Brevig Mission (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 85063  
Brevig Mission, AK 99785

Native Village of Buckland (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 67  
Buckland, AK 99727

Native Village of Cantwell (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 940  
Cantwell, AK 99729

Native Village of Chenega (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 8079, 623 Cato Street  
Chenega Bay, AK 99574-8079

Native Village of Chignik (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 48  
Chignik, AK 99564

Native Village of Chignik Lagoon (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 57  
Chignik Lagoon, AK 99565

Native Village of Chistochina (Cheesh-na Tribal  
Council) (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 241  
Chistochina, AK 99586

Native Village of Chuathbaluk (Alaska)  
P.O. Box CHU  
Chuathbaluk, AK 99557

Native Village of Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 2050  
Nome, AK 99762

Native Village of Deering (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 89  
Deering, AK 99736

Native Village of Diomedede (aka Inalik) (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 7079  
Little Diomedede, AK 99672

Native Village of Eagle (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 19  
Eagle, AK 99738

Native Village of Eek (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 89  
Eek, AK 99581

Native Village of Eklutna (Alaska)  
26339 Eklutna Village Road  
Chugiak, AK 99567

Native Village of Ekuk (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 530  
Dillingham, AK 99576

Native Village of Elim (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 70  
Elim, AK 99739

Native Village of Eyak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 1388  
Cordova, AK 99574-1388





Native Village of False Pass (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 35  
False Pass, AK 99583

Native Village of Gakona (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 303  
Copper Center, AK 99573

Native Village of Gambell (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 90  
Gambell, AK 99742

Native Village of Georgetown (Alaska)  
1400 Virginia Court  
Anchorage, AK 99501

Native Village of Goodnews Bay (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 3  
Goodnews Bay, AK 99589

Native Village of Hamilton (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 20248  
Kotlik, AK 99620

Native Village of Hooper Bay (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 36  
Hooper Bay, AK 99604

Native Village of Kalskag (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 50  
Kalskag, AK 99607

Native Village of Kanatak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 875910, MSC 230  
Wasilla, AK 99687  
Website: [www.kanatak.org](http://www.kanatak.org)

Native Village of Karluk (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 22  
Karluk, AK 99608

Native Village of Kasaan (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 26–Kasaan  
Ketchikan, AK 99950

Native Village of Kasigluk (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 19  
Kasigluk, AK 99609

Native Village of Kiana (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 69  
Kiana, AK 99749

Native Village of Kipnuk (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 57  
Kipnuk, AK 99614

Native Village of Kivalina (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 50051  
Kivalina, AK 99750

Native Village of Kluti-Kaah (aka Copper Center)  
(Alaska)  
P.O. Box 68  
Copper Center, AK 99573

Native Village of Kotzebue (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 296  
Kotzebue, AK 99752

Native Village of Koyuk (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 53030  
Koyuk, AK 99753

Native Village of Kwigillingok (IRA) (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 49  
Quinhagak, AK 99622

Native Village of Kwinhagak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 149  
Quinhagak, AK 99655

Native Village of Marshall (aka Fortuna Ledge)  
(Alaska)  
P.O. Box 110  
Marshall, AK 99585

Native Village of Mekoryuk (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 66  
Mekoryuk, AK 99630

Native Village of Minto (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 26  
Minto, AK 99758-0026

Native Village of Nanwalek (aka English Bay)  
(Alaska)  
P.O. Box 8026  
Nanwalek, AK 99603

Native Village of Napaimute (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 96  
Aniak, AK 99557





Native Village of Napakiak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 34069  
Napakiak, AK 99634

Native Village of Napaskiak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 6009  
Napaskiak, AK 99559

Native Village of Nikolski (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 105  
Nikolski, AK 99638

Native Village of Noatak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 89  
Noatak, AK 99761

Native Village of Nuiqsut (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 187  
Nuiqsut, AK 99723

Native Village of Nunapitchuk (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 130  
Nunapitchuk, AK 99641

Native Village of Ouzinkie (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 130  
Ouzinkie, AK 99644

Native Village of Paimiut (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 100193  
Anchorage, AK 99510

Native Village of Pauloff Harbor (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 97  
Sand Point, AK 99661

Native Village of Perryville (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 101  
Perryville, AK 99648-0101

Native Village of Pitka's Point (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 127  
St. Mary's, AK 99658

Native Village of Point Hope (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 109  
Point Hope, AK 99766

Native Village of Point Lay (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 101  
Point Lay, AK 99759

Native Village of Port Heiden (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 49007  
Port Heiden, AK 99549

Native Village of Port Lions (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 69  
Port Lions, AK 99550

Native Village of Red Devil (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 61  
Red Devil, AK 99656

Native Village of Savoonga (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 120  
Savoonga, AK 99769

Native Village of Scammon Bay (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 126  
Scammon Bay, AK 99662

Native Village of Shaktoolik (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 100  
Shaktoolik, AK 99771-0100

Native Village of Sheldon Point (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 09  
Sheldon's Point, AK 99666

Native Village of Shishmaref (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 72110  
Shishmaref, AK 99772

Native Village of Shungnak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 64  
Shungnak, AK 99773

Native Village of South Naknek (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 70029  
South Naknek, AK 99670

Native Village of Stevens (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 74016  
Stevens Village, AK 99774

Native Village of St. Michael (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 59050  
St. Michael, AK 99659

Native Village of Tanacross (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 76009  
Tanacross, AK 99776  
Website [www.nativevillageoftanacross.com](http://www.nativevillageoftanacross.com)





Native Village of Tanana (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 130  
Tanana, AK 99777

Native Village of Tatitlek (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 171  
Tatitlek, AK 99677

Native Village of Tetlin (Alaska)  
P.O. Box TTL  
Tetlin, AK 99779

Native Village of Tuntutuliak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 8086  
Tuntutuliak, AK 99680

Native Village of Tununak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 77  
Tununak, AK 99681

Native Village of Tyonek (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 82009  
Tyonek, AK 99682-0009

Native Village of Unalakleet (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 270  
Unalakleet, AK 99684-0270

Native Village of Venetie Tribal Government  
(Alaska)  
P.O. Box 81080  
Venetie, AK 99781-0080

Native Village of Wales (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 549  
Wales, AK 99783

Native Village of White Mountain (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 84082  
White Mountain, AK 99784

Navajo Nation (Navajo Region)  
P.O. Box 9000  
Window Rock, AZ 86515  
Website: [www.navajo.org](http://www.navajo.org)

Nelson Lagoon Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 13  
Nelson Lagoon, AK 99571

Nenana Native Association (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 356  
Nenana, AK 99760

New Koliganek Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 5057  
Koliganek, AK 99576

New Stuyahok Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 49  
New Stuyahok, AK 99636

Newhalen Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 207  
Newhalen, AK 99606

Newtok Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 5565  
Newtok, AK 99559

Nez Percé Tribe (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 305  
Lapwai, ID 83540-0305  
Website: [www.nezperce.org](http://www.nezperce.org)

Nightmute Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 90021  
Nightmute, AK 99690

Nikolai Edzeno' Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 55  
McGrath, AK 99627

Ninilchik Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 39070  
Ninilchik, AK 99639

Nisqually Indian Community Council (Northwest)  
4820 She-Nah-Num Drive, S.E.  
Olympia, WA 98513-9199

Nome Eskimo Community (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 1090  
Nome, AK 99762

Nondalton Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 490  
Nondalton, AK 99640

Nooksack Indian Tribal Council (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 157  
Deming, WA 98244-0157





Noorvik Native Community (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 209  
Noorvik, AK 99763

North Fork Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 929  
North Fork, CA 93643-0929

Northern Arapaho Tribe (Rocky Mountain)  
P.O. Box 396  
Fort Washakie, WY 82514

Northern Cheyenne Tribe (Rocky Mountain)  
P.O. Box 128  
Lame Deer, MT 59043

Northway Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 516  
Northway, AK 99764

Northwestern Band of Shoshone Nation  
(Northwest)  
427 North Main, Suite 101  
Pocatello, ID 83204-3016

Nulato Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 65049  
Nulato, AK 99765-0049

Nunakauyak Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 37048  
Toksook Bay, AK 99637-7048

Oglala Sioux Tribe (Great Plains)  
P.O. Box 2070  
Pine Ridge, SD 57770

Ohkay Owingeh (formerly Pueblo of San Juan)  
(Southwest)  
P.O. Box 1099  
San Juan Pueblo, NM 87566

Omaha Tribe of Nebraska (Great Plains)  
P.O. Box 368  
Macy, NE 68039

Oneida Indian Nation (Northeast)  
5218 Patrick Road  
Vernona, NY 13478  
Website: [www.oneida-nation.net](http://www.oneida-nation.net)

Oneida Tribe of Indians of Wisconsin (Midwest)  
P.O. Box 365  
Oneida, WI 54155-0365  
Website: [www.oneidanation.org](http://www.oneidanation.org)

Onondaga Indian Nation (Northeast)  
RR#1 Box 319-B  
Nedrow, NY 13120

Organized Village of Grayling (Alaska)  
General Delivery  
Grayling, AK 99590

Organized Village of Kake (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 316  
Kake, AK 99830-0316

Organized Village of Kwethluk (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 129  
Kwethluk, AK 99621-0129

Organized Village of Saxman (Alaska)  
Route 2, Box 2-Saxman  
Ketchikan, AK 99901

Orutsararmuit Native Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 927  
Bethel, AK 99559

Osage Tribal Council (Eastern Oklahoma)  
627 Grandview  
Pawhuska, OK 74056

Oscarville Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 6129  
Napaskiak, AK 99559

Otoe-Missouria Tribe of Indians (Southern Plains)  
8151 Highway 177  
Red Rock, OK 74651

Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma (Eastern Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 110  
Miami, OK 74355

Paiute Indian Tribe of Utah (Western)  
440 N. Paiute Drive  
Cedar City, UT 84720-2613





Pala Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 50  
Pala, CA 92059  
Website: [www.palaindians.com](http://www.palaindians.com)

Pascua Yaqui Tribe (Western)  
7474 South Camino De Oeste  
Tucson, AZ 85746

Paskenta Band of Nomlaki Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 398  
Orland, CA 95963

Passamaquoddy Tribe–Indian Township  
Reservation (Northeast)  
P.O. Box 301  
Princeton, ME 04668  
Website: [www.passamaquoddy.com/](http://www.passamaquoddy.com/)

Passamaquoddy Tribe–Pleasant Point Reservation  
(Northeast)  
P.O. Box 343  
Perry, ME 04667-0343  
Website: [www.wabanaki.com](http://www.wabanaki.com)

Pauma/Yuima Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 369  
Pauma Valley, CA 92061

Pawnee Nation of Oklahoma (Southern Plains)  
P.O. Box 470  
Pawnee, OK 74058

Pechanga Band of Luiseno Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1477  
Temecula, CA 92593

Pedro Bay Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 47020  
Pedro Bay, AK 99647

Penobscot Indian Nation (Northeast)  
12 Wabanaki Way  
Indian Island, ME 04468

Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma (Eastern Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 1527  
Miami, OK 74355  
Website: [www.peoriatribes.com](http://www.peoriatribes.com)

Petersburg Indian Association (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 1418  
Petersburg, AK 99833

Picayune Rancheria of Chukchansi Indians (Pacific)  
46575 Road 417  
Coarsegold, CA 93614

Pilot Point Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 449  
Pilot Point, AK 99649

Pilot Station Traditional Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 5119  
Pilot Station, AK 99650

Pinoleville Reservation (Pacific)  
367 No. State Street, Suite 204  
Ukiah, CA 95482

Pit River Tribe (Pacific)  
37014 Main Street  
Burney, CA 96013

Platinum Traditional Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 8  
Platinum, AK 99647

Poarch Band of Creek Indians (Southeast)  
5811 Jack Springs Road  
Atmore, AL 36502

Pokagon Band of Potawatomi Indians of Michigan  
(Midwest)  
58620 Sink Road  
Dowagiac, MI 49047  
Website: [www.pokagon.com](http://www.pokagon.com)

Ponca Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma (Southern  
Plains)  
20 White Eagle Drive  
Ponca City, OK 74601

Ponca Tribe of Nebraska (Great Plains)  
P.O. Box 288  
Niobrara, NE 68760

Portage Creek Village (Alaska)  
General Delivery  
Portage Creek, AK 99576





Port Gamble S'Klallam Tribe (Northwest)  
31912 Little Boston Road NE  
Kingston, WA 98346

Port Graham Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 5510  
Port Graham, AK 99603-5510

Potter Valley Rancheria (Pacific)  
2251 South State Street  
Redwood Valley, CA 95482-4809

Prairie Band of Potawatomi Indians (Southern  
Plains)  
16281 Q Road  
Mayette, KS 66509

Prairie Island Indian Community (Midwest)  
5636 Sturgeon Lake Road  
Welch, MN 55089

Pueblo of Acoma (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 309  
Acoma, NM 87034

Pueblo of Cochiti (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 70  
Cochiti, NM 87072

Pueblo of Isleta (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 1270  
Isleta, NM 87022

Pueblo of Jemez (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 100  
Jemez Pueblo, NM 87024

Pueblo of Laguna (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 194  
Laguna Pueblo, NM 87026

Pueblo of Nambe (Southwest)  
Route 1, Box 117-BB  
Nambe Pueblo, NM 87506

Pueblo of Picuris (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 127  
Penasco, NM 87553

Pueblo of Pojoaque (Southwest)  
17746 US 84/285  
Santa Fe, NM 87506

Pueblo of Sandia (Southwest)  
Box 6008  
Bernalillo, NM 87004  
Website: [www.sandiapueblo.nsn.us](http://www.sandiapueblo.nsn.us)

Pueblo of San Felipe (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 4339  
San Felipe Pueblo, NM 87001

Pueblo of San Ildefonso (Southwest)  
Route 5, Box 315-A  
Santa Fe, NM 87501

Pueblo of Santa Ana (Southwest)  
2 Dove Road  
Santa Ana Pueblo, NM 87004  
Website: [www.santaana.org](http://www.santaana.org)

Pueblo of Santa Clara (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 580  
Española, NM 87532

Pueblo of Santo Domingo (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 99  
Santo Domingo Pueblo, NM 87052

Pueblo of Taos (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 1846  
Taos, NM 87571

Pueblo of Tesuque (Southwest)  
Route 42, Box 360-T  
Santa Fe, NM 87506

Pueblo of Zia (Southwest)  
135 Capitol Square Drive  
Zia Pueblo, NM 87053-6013

Pueblo of Zuni (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 339  
Zuni, NM 87327  
Website: [www.ashiwi.org](http://www.ashiwi.org)

Puyallup Tribal Council (Northwest)  
1850 Alexander Avenue  
Tacoma, WA 98421

Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 256  
Nixon, NV 89424  
Website: [www.plpt.nsn.us](http://www.plpt.nsn.us)





Qagan Tayagungin Tribe (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 447  
Sand Point, AK 99661

Qawalangin Tribe of Unalaska (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 334  
Unalaska, AK 99685

Quapaw Tribal Business Committee (Eastern  
Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 765  
Quapaw, OK 74355

Quartz Valley Reservation (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 24  
Fort Jones, CA 96032

Quechan Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 1899  
Yuma, AZ 85366-1899

Quileute Tribe (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 279  
LaPush, WA 98350-2079

Quinault Indian Nation (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 189  
Taholah, WA 98587-0189

Ramona Band of Cahuilla Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 391372  
Anza, CA 92539

Rampart Village (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 67029  
Rampart, AK 99767

Red Cliff Band of Lake Superior Chippewa Indians  
of Wisconsin (Midwest)  
88385 Pike Road, Highway 13  
Bayfield, WI 54814

Redding Rancheria Tribe (Pacific)  
2000 Redding Rancheria Road  
Redding, CA 96001

Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians of Minnesota  
(Midwest)  
P.O. Box 550  
Red Lake, MN 56671

Redwood Valley Little River Band of Pomo Indians  
(Pacific)  
3250 Road I  
Redwood Valley, CA 95470-9526

Reno-Sparks Tribe (Western)  
98 Colony Road  
Reno, NV 89502

Resighini Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 529  
Klamath, CA 95548

Rincon Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 68  
Valley Center, CA 92082

Robinson Rancheria of Pomo Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 4015  
Nice, CA 95464

Rosebud Sioux Tribe (Great Plains)  
P.O. Box 430  
Rosebud, SD 57570  
Website: [www.rosebudsiouxtribe-nsn.gov](http://www.rosebudsiouxtribe-nsn.gov)

Round Valley Reservation (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 448  
Covelo, CA 95428

Ruby Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 210  
Ruby, AK 99768

Rumsey Indian Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 18  
Brooks, CA 95606  
Website: [www.rumseyrancheria.org](http://www.rumseyrancheria.org)

Sac & Fox Tribe of the Mississippi in Iowa  
(Midwest)  
349 Meskwaki Road  
Tama, IA 52339-9629

Sac and Fox Nation of Missouri (Southern Plains)  
305 N. Main Street  
Reserve, KS 66434

Sac and Fox Nation of Oklahoma (Southern Plains)  
Rt. 2, Box 246  
Stroud, OK 74079





Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe of Michigan  
(Midwest)

7070 East Broadway Road

Mt. Pleasant, MI 48858

Website: [www.sagchip.org](http://www.sagchip.org)

Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community  
(Western)

10005 E. Osborn Road

Scottsdale, AZ 85256

Website: [www.saltriver.pima-maricopa.nsn.us](http://www.saltriver.pima-maricopa.nsn.us)

Samish Indian Nation (Northwest)

P.O. Box 217

Anacortes, WA 98221

San Carlos Apache Tribe (Western)

P.O. Box 0

San Carlos, AZ 85550

San Juan Southern Paiute Tribe (Western)

P.O. Box 1989

Tuba City, AZ 86045

San Manuel Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)

P.O. Box 266, 26569 Community Center Drive

Highland, CA 92346

San Pasqual Band of Diegueno Mission Indians  
(Pacific)

P.O. Box 365

Valley Center, CA 92082

Santa Rosa Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)

325 N. Western Avenue

Hemet, CA 92543

Santa Rosa Rancheria (Pacific)

P.O. Box 8

Lemoore, CA 93245

Santa Ynez Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)

P.O. Box 517

Santa Ynez, CA 93460

Santa Ysabel Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)

P.O. Box 130

Santa Ysabel, CA 92070

Santee Sioux Tribe (Great Plains)

108 Spirit Lake Avenue West

Niobrara, NE 68760-7219

Sauk-Suiattle Tribe (Northwest)

5318 Chief Brown Lane

Darrington, WA 98241-9421

Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians of  
Michigan (Midwest)

523 Ashmun Street

Sault Ste. Marie, MI 49783

Website: [www.sootribe.org](http://www.sootribe.org)

Shaghticoke Tribal Nation (Northeast)

P.O. Box 335

Derby, CT 06418-0335

Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians (Pacific)

301 Industrial Avenue

Lakeport, CA 95453

Selawik IRA Council (Alaska)

P.O. Box 59

Selawik, AK 99770

Seldovia Village Tribe (Alaska)

P.O. Drawer L

Seldovia, AK 99663

Seminole Indian Tribe of Florida (Southeast)

6300 Stirling Road

Hollywood, FL 33024

Website: [www.seminoletribe.com](http://www.seminoletribe.com)

Seminole Nation of Oklahoma (Eastern Oklahoma)

P.O. Box 1498

Wewoka, OK 74884

Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma (Eastern  
Oklahoma)

P.O. Box 1283

Miami, OK 74355

Seneca Nation of Indians (Northeast)

12837 Route 438

Irving, NY 14081

Website: [www.sni.org](http://www.sni.org)

Shageluk Native Village (Alaska)

P.O. Box 35

Shageluk, AK 99665





Shakopee Mdewakanton Sioux Community of  
Minnesota (Midwest)

2330 Sioux Trail NW  
Prior Lake, MN 55372

Website: [www.ccsmdc.org](http://www.ccsmdc.org)

Shawnee Tribe (Eastern Oklahoma)

P.O. Box 189  
Miami, OK 74355

Sherwood Valley Rancheria (Pacific)

190 Sherwood Hill Drive  
Willits, CA 95490

Shingle Springs Rancheria (Pacific)

P.O. Box 1340  
Shingle Springs, CA 95682-1340

Shoalwater Bay Tribe (Northwest)

P.O. Box 130  
Tokeland, WA 98590-0130

Shoonaq' Tribe of Kodiak (Alaska)

713 East Rezanof Drive #B  
Kodiak, AK 99615

Shoshone-Bannock Tribes/Fort Hall Business  
Council (Northwest)

P.O. Box 306  
Fort Hall, ID 83203-0306  
Website: [www.shoshonebannocktribes.com](http://www.shoshonebannocktribes.com)

Shoshone-Paiute Tribe (Western)

P.O. Box 219  
Owyhee, NV 89832

Siletz Tribal Council (Northwest)

P.O. Box 549  
Siletz, OR 97380-0549

Sisseton-Wahpeton Oyate Tribe (Great Plains)

P.O. Box 509  
Agency Village, SD 57262-0509

Sitka Tribe of Alaska (Alaska)

456 Katlian Street  
Sitka, AK 99835-7505

Skagway Village (Alaska)

P.O. Box 1157  
Skagway, AK 99840

Skokomish Tribe (Northwest)

N. 80 Tribal Center Road  
Skokomish Nation, WA 98584

Skull Valley Band of Goshute Indians (Western)

3359 South Main Street, #808  
Salt Lake City, UT 84029

Sleetmute Traditional Council (Alaska)

P.O. Box 34  
Sleetmute, AK 99668

Smith River Rancheria (Pacific)

P.O. Box 239  
Smith River, CA 95567-9525

Snoqualmie Tribe (Northwest)

P.O. Box 280  
Carnation, WA 98014-0280

Soboba Band of Luiseno Indians (Pacific)

P.O. Box 487  
San Jacinto, CA 92581

Sokaogon Chippewa Mole Lake Band of Lake  
Superior Chippewa Indians (Midwest)

3051 Sand Lake Road  
Crandon, WI 54520

Solomon Traditional Council (Alaska)

P.O. Box 243  
Nome, AK 99762

South Fork Band (Western)

HC 30, Box B-13-Lee  
Spring Creek, NV 89815

Southern Ute Indian Tribe (Southwest)

P.O. Box 737, 116 Capote Drive  
Ignacio, CO 81137  
Website: [www.southern-ute.nsn.us](http://www.southern-ute.nsn.us)

Spirit Lake Sioux Tribe (Great Plains)

P.O. Box 359  
Fort Totten, ND 58335

Spokane Tribe of Indians (Northwest)

P.O. Box 100  
Wellpinit, WA 99040-0100





Squaxin Island (Northwest)  
10 SE Squaxin Lane  
Shelton, WA 98584-9200

St. Croix Chippewa Indians of Wisconsin (Midwest)  
24663 Angeline Avenue  
Hertel, WI 54893

St. George Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 940  
St. George, AK 99591

St. Regis Band of Mohawk Indians (Northeast)  
412 State Route 37  
Akwesasne, NY 13655

Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (Great Plains)  
P.O. Box D  
Fort Yates, ND 58538  
Website: [www.standingrock.org](http://www.standingrock.org)

Stebbins Community Association (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 71002  
Stebbins, AK 99671

Stewart Community Council (Western)  
5300 Snyder Avenue  
Carson City, NV 89701

Stewarts Point Rancheria (Pacific)  
1420-D Guerneville Rd, Suite 3  
Santa Rosa, CA 95403

Stillaguamish Tribe (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 277  
Arlington, WA 98223-0277

Stockbridge Munsee Community of Wisconsin  
(Midwest)  
N8476 Mo He Con Nuck Road  
Bowler, WI 54416  
Website: [www.mohican.com](http://www.mohican.com)

Summit Lake Paiute Tribe (Western)  
653 Anderson Street  
Winnemucca, NV 89445

Suquamish Tribe (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 498  
Suquamish, WA 98392-0498  
Website: [www.suquamish.nsn.us](http://www.suquamish.nsn.us)

Susanville Indian Rancheria (Pacific)  
745 Joaquin Street  
Susanville, CA 96130

Swinomish Indian Tribal Community (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 817  
LaConner, WA 98257-0817

Sycuan Band of Mission Indians (Pacific)  
5459 Dehesa Road  
El Cajon, CA 92021

Table Bluff Reservation–Wiyot Tribe (Pacific)  
1000 Wiyot Drive  
Loleta, CA 95551  
Website: [www.wiyot.com](http://www.wiyot.com)

Table Mountain Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 410  
Friant, CA 93626

Takotna Tribal Council (Alaska)  
General Delivery  
Takotna, AK 99675

Tazlina Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 87  
Glennallen, AK 99588-0087

Telida Native Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 32  
McGrath, AK 99627

Teller Traditional Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 567  
Teller, AK 99778

Te-Moak Tribe of Western Shoshone (Western)  
525 Sunset Street  
Elko, NV 89801

Thlopthlocco Tribal Town (Eastern Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 188  
Okemah, OK 74859

Three Affiliated Tribes of Mandan, Hidatsa &  
Arikara Nation (Great Plains)  
404 Frontage Road  
New Town, ND 58763  
Website: [www.mhanation.com](http://www.mhanation.com)





Timbisha Shoshone Tribe (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 206  
Death Valley, CA 92328

Tohono O'odham Nation (Western)  
P.O. Box 837  
Sells, AZ 85634

Tonawanda Band of Seneca (Northeast)  
7027 Meadville Road  
Basom, NY 14013

Tonkawa Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma (Southern  
Plains)  
P.O. Box 70  
Tonkawa, OK 74653

Tonto Apache Tribe (Western)  
Tonto Apache Reservation #30  
Payson, AZ 85541

Torres-Martinez Desert Cahuilla Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1160, 66725 Martinez Rd.  
Thermal, CA 92274

Traditional Village of Togiak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 310  
Togiak, AK 99678

Trinidad Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 630  
Trinidad, CA 95570

Tulalip Board of Directors (Northwest)  
6700 Totem Beach Road  
Marysville, WA 98271-9715  
Website: [www.tulalip.nsn.us](http://www.tulalip.nsn.us)

Tule River Reservation (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 589  
Porterville, CA 93258

Tuluksak Native Community (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 95  
Tuluksak, AK 99679-0095

Tunica-Biloxi Tribe of Louisiana (Southeast)  
P.O. Box 1589  
Marksville, LA 71351  
Website: [www.tunica.org](http://www.tunica.org)

Tuolumne Me-Wuk Tribe (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 699  
Tuolumne, CA 95379

Turtle Mountain Band of Chippewa Indians (Great  
Plains)  
P.O. Box 900  
Belcourt, ND 58316

Tuscarora Nation (Northeast)  
2006 Mt. Hope Road  
Lewistown, NY 14092

Twenty-Nine Palms Band of Mission Indians  
(Pacific)  
46-200 Harrison Street  
Coachella, CA 92236

Twin Hills Village Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box TWA  
Twin Hills, AK 99576

Ugashik Traditional Village Council (Alaska)  
206 East Fireweed Lane, Suite 204  
Anchorage, AK 99503

Uintah & Ouray Ute Indian Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 190  
Ft. Duchesne, UT 84026

Umkumiut Native Village (Alaska)  
General Delivery  
Nightmute, AK 99690

Unga Tribal Council (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 508  
Sand Point, AK 99661

United Auburn Indian Community (Pacific)  
575 Menlo Drive, Suite 2  
Rocklin, CA 95765

United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians  
(Eastern Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 746  
Tahlequah, OK 74465  
Website: [www.ukb-nsn.gov](http://www.ukb-nsn.gov)

Upper Lake Rancheria (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 516  
Upper Lake, CA 95485





Upper Mattaponi Tribe (Southeast)  
13383 King William Road  
King William, VA 23086

Upper Sioux Community of Minnesota (Midwest)  
P.O. Box 147  
Granite Falls, MN 56241-0147

Upper Skagit Tribe (Northwest)  
25944 Community Plaza Way  
Sedro Woolley, WA 98284-9739

Ute Mountain Ute Tribe (Southwest)  
P.O. Box 6  
Towaoc, CO 81334  
Website: [www.utemountainute.com](http://www.utemountainute.com)

Viejas Band of Kumeyaay Indians (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 908  
Alpine, CA 91903  
Website: [www.viejasbandofkumeyaay.org](http://www.viejasbandofkumeyaay.org)

Village of Anaktuvuk Pass (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 21065  
Anaktuvuk Pass, AK 99721

Village of Aniak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 176  
Aniak, AK 99557

Village of Atmautluak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 6568  
Atmautluak, AK 99559

Village of Bill Moore's Slough (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 20037  
Kotlik, AK 99620

Village of Chefnak (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 110  
Chefnak, AK 99561-0110

Village of Clarks Point (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 90  
Clarks Point, AK 99569-0090

Village of Iliamna (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 286  
Iliamna, AK 99606

Village of Kaltag (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 129  
Kaltag, AK 99748

Village of Kotlik (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 20210  
Kotlik, AK 99620

Village of Lower Kalskag (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 27  
Lower Kalskag, AK 99626

Village of Ohogamiut (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 26  
Marshall, AK 99585

Village of Old Harbor (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 62  
Old Harbor, AK 99643

Village of Salamatoff (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 2682  
Kenai, AK 99611

Village of Stony River (Alaska)  
P.O. Box SRV  
Stony River, AK 99557

Village of Wainwright (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 143  
Wainwright, AK 99782

Waccamaw Siouan Development Assn., Inc.  
(Southeast)  
P.O. Box 221  
Bolton, NC 28423

Walker River Paiute Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 220  
Schurz, NV 89427

Wampanoag Tribe of Gay Head (Aquinnah)  
(Northeast)  
20 Black Brook Road  
Aquinnah, MA 02535-1546  
Website: [www.wampanoagtribe.net](http://www.wampanoagtribe.net)

Washoe Tribe (Western)  
919 Highway 395 South  
Gardnerville, NV 89410





Wells Band (Western)  
P.O. Box 809  
Wells, NV 89835

White Earth Reservation Business Committee  
(Midwest)  
P.O. Box 418  
White Earth, MN 56591

White Mountain Apache Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 700  
Whiteriver, AZ 85941  
Website: [www.wmat.nsn.us](http://www.wmat.nsn.us)

Wichita and Affiliated Tribes (Southern Plains)  
P.O. Box 729  
Anadarko, OK 73005  
Website: [www.wichita.nsn.us](http://www.wichita.nsn.us)

Winnebago Tribe of Nebraska (Great Plains)  
100 Bluff Street, P.O. Box 687  
Winnebago, NE 68071  
Website: [www.winnebago-tribe.com](http://www.winnebago-tribe.com)

Winnemucca Tribe (Western)  
P.O. Box 1370  
Winnemucca, NV 89446

Woodfords Community Council (Western)  
96 Washoe Boulevard  
Markleeville, CA 96120

Wrangell Cooperative Association (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 1198  
Wrangell, AK 99929

Wyandotte Tribe of Oklahoma (Eastern Oklahoma)  
P.O. Box 250  
Wyandotte, OK 74370

Yakama Nation (Northwest)  
P.O. Box 151  
Toppenish, WA 98948-0151

Yakutat Tlingit Tribe (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 418  
Yakutat, AK 99689

Yankton Sioux Tribe (Great Plains)  
P.O. Box 248  
Wagner, SD 57380  
Website: [www.yanktonsiouxtribe.org](http://www.yanktonsiouxtribe.org)

Yavapai-Apache Tribe (Western)  
2400 W. Datsi Road  
Camp Verde, AZ 86322  
Website: [www.yavapai-apache-nation.com](http://www.yavapai-apache-nation.com)

Yavapai-Prescott Indian Tribe (Western)  
530 E. Meritt Street  
Prescott, AZ 86301-2038

Yerington Paiute Tribe (Western)  
171 Campbell Lane  
Yerington, NV 89447

Yomba Shoshone Tribe (Western)  
HC61, Box 6275  
Austin, NV 89310

Ysleta del Sur Pueblo (Southwest)  
119 S. Old Pueblo Rd.  
El Paso, TX 79907

Yup'it of Andreafski (Alaska)  
P.O. Box 88, Westdahl Street  
St. Mary's, AK 99658-0088

Yurok Tribe (Pacific)  
P.O. Box 1027  
Klamath, CA 99548

*Source:* National Congress of American Indians. Available at: [http://www.ncai.org/Tribal\\_Governments.119.0.html](http://www.ncai.org/Tribal_Governments.119.0.html). Accessed June 21, 2006.





## Largest Tribes in the United States, 1980–2000

Tribe	1980	1990	2000
Cherokee	232,080	369,035	281,069
Navajo (Dine')	158,633	225,298	269,202
Canadian and Latin American	7,804	27,179	108,802
Sioux (Lakota, Dakota)	78,608	107,321	108,272
Chippewa (Ojibwa)	73,602	105,988	105,907
Choctaw	50,220	86,231	87,349
Pueblo (Hopi, Jemez, Keres, Pecos, Piro, Tewa, Tiwa, Zuni)	42,552	55,330	59,533
Apache	35,861	53,330	57,060
Lumbee	28,631	50,888	51,913
Iroquois (Cayuga, Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Seneca, Tuscarora)	38,218	52,557	45,212
Creek (Muskogee)	28,278	45,872	40,223
Blackfeet (Blackfoot)	21,964	37,992	27,104
Chickasaw	10,317	21,522	20,887
Tohono O'odham (Papago)	13,297	16,876	17,466
Potawatomi	9,715	16,719	15,817
Yaqui	5,197	9,838	15,224
Tlingit	9,509	14,417	14,825
Alaskan Athapascans	10,136	14,198	14,520
Seminole	10,363	15,564	12,431
Cheyenne	9,918	11,809	11,191
Puget Sound Salish	6,591	10,384	11,034
Comanche	9,037	11,437	10,120
Paiute	9,523	11,369	9,705
Pima	11,722	15,074	8,619
Osage	6,884	10,430	7,868

Source: U.S. Census Bureau. Available at: <http://www.census.gov>. Accessed June 21, 2006.





## National Indian Organizations

American Indian Business Association  
Tel: 505-277-8889  
Website: <http://www.unm.edu/~aiba>

American Indian College Fund  
Tel: 303-426-8900  
Website: [www.collegefund.org](http://www.collegefund.org)

American Indian Disability Technical Assistance  
Center  
Tel: 406-243-5764  
Website: [aidtac.ruralinstitute.umt.edu](http://aidtac.ruralinstitute.umt.edu)

American Indian Higher Education Consortium  
Tel: 703-838-0400  
Website: [www.aihec.org](http://www.aihec.org)

American Indian Resources Institute  
Tel: 209-460-0924

American Indian Science and Engineering Society  
Tel: 505-765-1052  
Website: [www.aises.org](http://www.aises.org)

American Indian Society  
Tel: 804-448-3707  
Website: [www.aisdc.org](http://www.aisdc.org)

Americans for Indian Opportunity  
Tel: 505-842-8677  
Website: [www.aio.org](http://www.aio.org)

Catching The Dream Inc.  
Tel: 505-262-2351  
Website: [www.catchingthedream.org](http://www.catchingthedream.org)

Center for World Indigenous Studies  
Tel: 360-407-1095  
Website: [www.cwis.org](http://www.cwis.org)

Council of Energy Resource Tribes  
Tel: 303-282-7576  
Website: [www.certreearth.com](http://www.certreearth.com)

First Nations Development Institute  
Tel: 540-371-5615  
Website: [www.firstnations.org](http://www.firstnations.org)

Indian Land Tenure Foundation  
Tel: 651-766-8999  
Website: [www.indianlandtenure.org](http://www.indianlandtenure.org)

Indian Law Resource Center  
Tel: 406-449-2006  
Website: [www.indianlaw.org](http://www.indianlaw.org)

Indigenous Language Institute, The  
Tel: 505-820-0311  
Website: [www.indigenous-language.org](http://www.indigenous-language.org)

Institute for Indian Estate Planning and Probate  
Tel: 206-398-4284  
Website: [www.indianwills.org](http://www.indianwills.org)

Institute for Tribal Government—The Hatfield  
School of Government, The  
Tel: 503-725-9000  
Website: [www.tribalgov.pdx.edu](http://www.tribalgov.pdx.edu)

Intertribal Agriculture Council  
Tel: 406-259-3525  
Website: [www.indianaglink.com](http://www.indianaglink.com)

InterTribal Bison Cooperative  
Tel: 605-394-9730  
Website: [www.intertribalbison.org](http://www.intertribalbison.org)

Intertribal Tax Alliance  
Tel: 918-287-5392

Intertribal Timber Council  
Tel: 503-282-4296  
Website: [www.itcnet.org](http://www.itcnet.org)

Intertribal Trust Fund Monitoring Association  
Tel: 505-247-1447  
Website: [www.itmatrustfunds.org](http://www.itmatrustfunds.org)

National American Indian Court Judges Association  
Tel: 605-342-4804  
Website: [www.naicja.org](http://www.naicja.org)

National American Indian Housing Council  
Tel: 202-789-1754  
Website: [www.naihc.net](http://www.naihc.net)





National Association of Tribal Historic Preservation  
Officers  
Tel: 202-628-8476  
Website: [www.nathpo.org](http://www.nathpo.org)

National Center for American Indian Enterprise  
Development  
Tel: 480-545-1298  
Website: [www.ncaied.org](http://www.ncaied.org)

National Congress of American Indians  
Tel: 202-466-7767  
Website: [www.ncai.org](http://www.ncai.org)

National Indian Business Association  
Tel: 202-233-3766  
Website: [www.nibanetwork.org](http://www.nibanetwork.org)

National Indian Child Welfare Association  
Tel: 503-222-4044  
Website: [www.nicwa.org](http://www.nicwa.org)

National Indian Council on Aging  
Tel: 505-292-2001  
Website: [www.nicoa.org](http://www.nicoa.org)

National Indian Education Association  
Tel: 202-544-7290  
Website: [www.niea.org](http://www.niea.org)

National Indian Gaming Association  
Tel: 202-547-7711  
Website: [www.indiangaming.org](http://www.indiangaming.org)

National Indian Health Board  
Tel: 202-742-4262  
Website: [www.nihb.org](http://www.nihb.org)

National Indian Justice Center  
Tel: 707-579-5507  
Website: [www.nijc.indian.com](http://www.nijc.indian.com)

National Native American AIDS Prevention Center  
Tel: 510-444-2051  
Website: [www.nnaapc.org](http://www.nnaapc.org)

National Native American Law Enforcement  
Association  
Tel: 800-948-3863  
Website: [www.nnalea.org](http://www.nnalea.org)

National Tribal Environmental Council  
Tel: 505-242-2175  
Website: [www.ntec.org](http://www.ntec.org)

National Tribal Justice Resource Center  
Tel: 303-245-0786  
Website: [www.tribalresourcecenter.org](http://www.tribalresourcecenter.org)

Native American Boys and Girls Club of America  
Tel: 301-261-6925  
Website: [www.naclubs.org](http://www.naclubs.org)

Native American Contractors  
Tel: 202-349-9845  
Website: [www.nativeamericancontractors.org](http://www.nativeamericancontractors.org)

Native American Finance Officers Association  
Tel: 602-532-6295  
Website: [www.nafoa.org](http://www.nafoa.org)

Native American Fish & Wildlife Society  
Tel: 303-466-1725  
Website: [www.nafws.org](http://www.nafws.org)

Native American Journalists Association  
Tel: 605-677-5282  
Website: [www.naja.com](http://www.naja.com)

Native American Rights Fund  
Tel: 303-447-8760  
Website: [www.narf.org](http://www.narf.org)

Seventh Generation Fund for Indian Development,  
Inc.  
Tel: 707-825-7640  
Website: [www.7genfund.org](http://www.7genfund.org)

Tribal Child Care Technical Assistance Center  
Tel: 580-762-8850  
Website: [www.nccic.org/tribal](http://www.nccic.org/tribal)

United National Indian Tribal Youth (Unity)  
Tel: 405-236-2800  
Website: [www.unityinc.org](http://www.unityinc.org)

*Source:* National Congress of American Indians. Available  
at: [http://www.ncai.org/National\\_Indian\\_Organizations.190.0.html](http://www.ncai.org/National_Indian_Organizations.190.0.html). Accessed June 21, 2006.





## American Indian Population 1860–1990

Year	Total U.S. Population	American Indian, Eskimo, and Aleut	Percentage
2000	281,421,906	2,475,956	0.9
1990	248,709,873	2,015,143	0.8
1980	226,545,805	1,534,336	0.7
1970	203,210,158	760,572	0.4
1960	179,325,671	546,228	0.3
1950	150,216,110	342,226	0.2
1940	131,669,275	333,969	0.3
1930	122,775,046	332,397	0.3
1920	105,710,620	244,437	0.2
1910	91,972,266	265,683	0.3
1900	75,994,575	237,196	0.3
1890	62,947,714	248,253	0.4
1880	50,155,783	66,407	0.1
1870	38,558,371	25,731	0.1
1860	31,443,321	44,021	0.1

*Note:* For 1950 to 1970, Eskimo and Aleut population figures are not included.

*Source:* U.S. Census Bureau, Population Division.

## Poverty on American Indian Reservations and Trust Lands

Name	1990 Population	Land Area (Square Miles)	Persons For Whom Poverty Status Determined	Percent Below Poverty Level
Acoma Pueblo and Trust Lands, NM	2590	416.7	2578	49.65
Acoma Pueblo, NM	2590	411.3	2578	49.65
Acoma Trust Lands, NM	0	5.4	0	0.00
Agua Caliente Reservation, CA	20206	49.6	19575	10.46
Alabama and Coushatta Reservation, TX	478	7.0	548	23.36
Alamo Navajo Reservation, NM	1271	99.0	1259	58.86
Allegany Reservation, NY	7315	41.0	7128	18.73
Alturas Rancheria, CA	5	0.0	3	0.00
Annette Islands Reserve, AK	1469	128.9	1458	9.81
Augustine Reservation, CA	0	1.0	0	0.00
Bad River Reservation, WI	1070	192.0	1031	45.30
Barona Rancheria, CA	537	9.2	573	14.14
Bay Mills Reservation, MI	461	3.5	438	35.16
Benton Paiute Reservation, CA	63	0.2	75	64.00
Berry Creek Rancheria, CA	2	0.1	0	0.00
Big Bend Rancheria, CA	3	0.1	5	0.00
Big Cypress Reservation, FL	484	81.9	449	19.38
Big Lagoon Rancheria, CA	22	0.0	12	0.00
Big Pine Rancheria, CA	452	0.4	455	23.30
Big Sandy Rancheria, CA	51	0.4	59	32.20
Big Valley Rancheria, CA	108	0.2	81	29.63
Bishop Rancheria, CA	1408	1.4	1428	25.21
Blackfeet Reservation, MT	8549	2371.4	8278	46.96

(continues)





## Poverty on American Indian Reservations and Trust Lands (cont.)

Name	1990 Population	Land Area (Square Miles)	Persons For Whom Poverty Status Determined	Percent Below Poverty Level
Blue Lake Rancheria, CA	58	0.0	53	11.32
Bois Forte (Nett Lake) Reservation, MN	358	163.0	333	39.64
Bridgeport Colony, CA	49	0.1	28	64.29
Brighton Reservation, FL	524	57.0	524	19.08
Burns Paiute Reservation and Trust Lands, OR	163	18.9	198	34.34
Burns Paiute Reservation, OR	163	1.3	198	34.34
Burns Paiute Trust Lands, OR	0	17.6	0	0.00
Cabazon Reservation, CA	819	3.4	850	27.76
Cahuilla Reservation, CA	104	28.6	107	57.94
Campo Reservation, CA	281	25.8	261	24.90
Camp Verde Reservation, AZ	618	1.0	609	62.56
Canoncito Reservation, NM	1189	121.6	1189	59.80
Capitan Grande Reservation, CA	0	20.5	0	0.00
Carson Colony, NV	248	0.2	262	33.59
Catawba Reservation, SC (state)	174	1.1	170	27.06
Cattaraugus Reservation, NY	2178	33.7	2180	28.17
Cedarville Rancheria, CA	8	0.0	10	100.00
Chehalis Reservation, WA	491	7.0	486	40.95
Chemehuevi Reservation, CA	358	49.5	325	24.92
Cheyenne River Reservation, SD	7743	4265.3	7705	46.32
Chicken Ranch Rancheria, CA	73	0.1	66	0.00
Chitimacha Reservation, LA	286	0.4	311	37.30
Cochiti Pueblo, NM	1342	80.4	1404	19.80
Cocopah Reservation, AZ	515	10.0	578	55.19
Coeur d'Alene Reservation and Trust Lands, ID	5802	598.1	5760	16.25
Coeur d'Alene Reservation, ID	5800	598.1	5757	16.26
Coeur d'Alene Trust Lands, ID	2	0	3	0.00
Cold Springs Rancheria, CA	192	0.2	163	48.47
Colorado River Reservation, AZ, CA	7865	432.7	7870	27.38
Colusa (Cachil Dehe) Rancheria, CA	22	0.3	20	0.00
Colville Reservation, WA	6957	2116.6	6935	27.53
Coos, Lower Umpqua, and Siuslaw Reservation, OR	4	0.0	0	0.00
Cortina Rancheria, CA	30	1.2	29	17.24
Coushatta Reservation, LA	36	0.4	42	50.00
Cow Creek Reservation, OR	58	0.1	89	48.31
Coyote Valley Reservation, CA	135	0.1	139	66.19
Crow Reservation and Trust Lands, MT	6370	3574.1	6305	41.67
Crow Reservation, MT	6366	3543.5	6294	41.74
Crow Trust Lands, MT	4	30.6	11	0.00
Crow Creek Reservation, SD	1756	421.7	1745	48.83
Crow/Northern Cheyenne Area, MT	7	18.6	0	0.00
Cuyapaipe Reservation, CA	0	7.9	0	0.00
Deer Creek Reservation, MN	186	35.1	166	25.90
Devils Lake Sioux Reservation, ND	3588	392.0	3516	43.37

(continues)





## Poverty on American Indian Reservations and Trust Lands (cont.)

Name	1990 Population	Land Area (Square Miles)	Persons For Whom Poverty Status Determined	Percent Below Poverty Level
Dresslerville Colony, NV	152	0.1	153	25.49
Dry Creek Rancheria, CA	75	0.1	75	0.00
Duck Valley Reservation, NV	1101	505.8	1076	35.13
Duckwater Reservation, NV	135	6.2	151	24.50
Eastern Cherokee Reservation, NC	6527	81.1	6216	33.74
Elk Valley Rancheria, CA	77	0.1	124	0.00
Ely Colony, NV	59	0.2	85	30.59
Enterprise Rancheria, CA	5	0.1	0	0.00
Fallon Colony, NV	165	0.1	158	48.73
Fallon Reservation, NV	381	12.8	367	32.15
Flandreau Reservation, SD	279	3.5	280	22.50
Flathead Reservation, MT	21259	1938.2	20604	22.86
Fond du Lac Reservation, MN	3229	165.0	3177	25.24
Fort Apache Reservation, AZ	10394	2627.7	10385	50.78
Fort Belknap Reservation and Trust Lands, MT	2508	1013.8	2474	45.27
Fort Belknap Reservation, MT	2508	969.0	2474	45.27
Fort Belknap Trust Lands, MT	0	44.8	0	0.00
Fort Berthold Reservation, ND	5395	1318.9	5216	35.08
Fort Bidwell Reservation, CA	118	5.1	136	47.06
Fort Hall Reservation and Trust Lands, ID	5114	814.9	5045	33.34
Fort Hall Reservation, ID	5060	814.5	4994	33.68
Fort Hall Trust Lands, ID	54	0.4	51	0.00
Fort Independence Reservation, CA	69	0.6	58	22.41
Fort McDermitt Reservation, NV, OR	396	54.6	397	69.52
Fort McDowell Reservation, AZ	640	38.6	628	28.18
Fort Mojave Reservation and Trust Lands, AZ, CA, NV	758	51.3	685	42.19
Fort Mojave Reservation, AZ, CA, NV	496	51.2	470	45.32
Fort Mojave Trust Lands, CA	262	0.1	215	35.35
Fort Peck Reservation, MT	10595	3289.1	10504	31.58
Fort Yuma (Quechan) Reservation, AZ, CA	2084	68.4	2086	43.67
Gila Bend Reservation and Trust Lands, AZ	0	0.7	0	0.00
Gila Bend Reservation, AZ	0	0.7	0	0.00
Gila Bend Trust Lands, AZ	0	0.1	0	0.00
Gila River Reservation, AZ	9540	583.9	9482	63.01
Golden Hill Reservation, CT (state)	10	0.2	9	0.00
Goshute Reservation, NV, UT	99	177.4	79	89.87
Grand Portage Reservation, MN	306	73.2	299	25.08
Grand Ronde Reservation, OR	57	15.4	49	6.12
Grand Traverse Reservation and Trust Lands, MI	228	0.5	263	69.58
Grand Traverse Reservation, MI	12	0.0	0	0.00
Grand Traverse Trust Lands, MI	216	0.4	263	69.58
Greenville Rancheria, CA	24	0.1	25	0.00
Grindstone Creek Rancheria, CA	103	0.1	101	48.51

(continues)



**Poverty on American Indian Reservations and Trust Lands (cont.)**

<b>Name</b>	<b>1990 Population</b>	<b>Land Area (Square Miles)</b>	<b>Persons For Whom Poverty Status Determined</b>	<b>Percent Below Poverty Level</b>
Hannahville Community and Trust Lands, MI	181	6.8	196	28.57
Hannahville Community, MI	152	5.6	171	29.82
Hannahville Trust Lands, MI	29	1.3	25	20.00
Hassanamisco Reservation, MA (state)	1	0.0	0	0.00
Havasupai Reservation, AZ	423	273.9	433	30.02
Hoh Reservation, WA	96	0.7	116	50.00
Hollywood Reservation, FL	1394	0.7	1407	31.91
Hoopa Valley Reservation, CA	2143	136.9	2182	37.35
Hopi Reservation and Trust Lands, AZ	7360	2436.1	7164	48.24
Hopi Reservation, AZ	7360	2435.7	7164	48.24
Hopi Trust Lands, AZ	0	0.4	0	0.00
Hopland Rancheria, CA	189	0.1	208	72.60
Hualapai Reservation and Trust Lands, AZ	822	1601.0	816	54.66
Hualapai Reservation, AZ	822	1590.8	816	54.66
Hualapai Trust Lands, AZ	0	10.2	0	0.00
Inaja-Cosmit Reservation, CA	0	1.3	0	0.00
Indian Township Reservation, ME	617	37.5	619	34.41
Iowa Reservation, KS, NE	172	19.5	227	15.42
Isabella Reservation and Trust Lands, MI	22944	217.5	22439	17.91
Isabella Reservation, MI	22870	216.8	22325	17.97
Isabella Trust Lands, MI	74	0.7	114	6.14
Isleta Pueblo, NM	2915	328.0	2934	26.79
Jackson Rancheria, CA	21	0.5	27	0.00
Jamestown Klallam Reservation and Trust Lands, WA	22	0.0	34	5.88
Jamestown Klallam Reservation, WA	8	0.0	13	0.00
Jamestown Klallam Trust Lands, WA	14	0	21	9.52
Jamul Village, CA	0	0.0	0	0.00
Jemez Pueblo, NM	1750	139.7	1734	36.79
Jicarilla Apache Reservation, NM	2617	1286.4	2584	28.06
Kaibab Reservation, AZ	165	188.8	120	27.50
Kalispel Reservation, WA	100	7.3	90	40.00
Karok Reservation and Trust Lands, CA	421	0.7	394	7.61
Karok Reservation, CA	0	0.0	0	0.00
Karok Trust Lands, CA	421	0.6	394	7.61
Kickapoo Reservation, KS	478	29.8	476	32.77
Kootenai Reservation, ID	65	0.0	101	39.60
Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation and Trust Lands, WI	2408	107.0	2412	42.66
Lac Courte Oreilles Reservation, WI	2408	106.9	2412	42.66
Lac Courte Oreilles Trust Lands, WI	0	0.1	0	0.00
Lac du Flambeau Reservation, WI	2434	107.8	2390	39.00
Lac Vieux Desert Reservation, MI	124	0.0	145	21.38
Laguna Pueblo and Trust Lands, NM	3731	760.9	3693	31.11
Laguna Pueblo, NM	3731	758.1	3693	31.11
Laguna Trust Lands, NM	0	2.8	0	0.00

*(continues)*





## Poverty on American Indian Reservations and Trust Lands (cont.)

Name	1990 Population	Land Area (Square Miles)	Persons For Whom Poverty Status Determined	Percent Below Poverty Level
La Jolla Reservation, CA	152	13.5	135	31.85
Lake Traverse (Sisseton) Reservation, ND, SD	10733	1449.7	10568	28.43
L'Anse Reservation and Trust Lands, MI	3293	92.0	3239	19.39
L'Anse Reservation, MI	3273	92.0	3217	19.52
L'Anse Trust Lands, MI	20	0.1	22	0.00
La Posta Reservation, CA	10	6.4	0	0.00
Las Vegas Colony, NV	80	6.2	86	37.21
Laytonville Rancheria, CA	142	0.3	137	58.39
Leech Lake Reservation, MN	8669	972.4	8754	30.98
Likely Rancheria, CA	0	0.0	0	0.00
Lone Pine Rancheria, CA	244	0.4	234	27.35
Lookout Rancheria, CA	17	0.1	62	0.00
Los Coyotes Reservation, CA	58	39.2	181	18.23
Lovelock Colony, NV	94	0.0	92	26.09
Lower Brule Reservation, SD	1123	338.7	1081	49.58
Lower Elwha Reservation and Trust Lands, WA	137	0.7	112	33.93
Lower Elwha Reservation, WA	137	0.7	112	33.93
Lower Elwha Trust Lands, WA	0	0	0	0.00
Lower Sioux Community, MN	259	2.7	239	36.82
Lummi Reservation, WA	3147	21.0	3150	19.75
Makah Reservation, WA	1214	42.7	1204	31.23
Manchester (Point Arena) Rancheria, CA	200	0.6	212	56.13
Manzanita Reservation, CA	84	5.6	44	45.45
Maricopa (Ak-Chin) Reservation, AZ	446	32.9	444	44.59
Mashantucket Pequot Reservation, CT	83	1.9	71	0.00
Mattaponi Reservation, VA (state)	70	0.1	74	24.32
Menominee Reservation, WI	3397	355.9	3349	52.13
Mesa Grande Reservation, CA	96	11.9	63	39.68
Mescalero Apache Reservation, NM	2695	719.1	2649	48.43
Miccosukee Reservation, FL	94	127.9	72	29.17
Middletown Rancheria, CA	79	0.2	76	17.11
Mille Lacs Reservation, MN	470	5.3	380	76.58
Minnesota Chippewa Trust Lands, MN	43	0.7	31	16.13
Mississippi Choctaw Reservation and Trust Lands, MS	4073	33.0	4126	42.34
Mississippi Choctaw Reservation, MS	3782	29.1	3879	42.15
Mississippi Choctaw Trust Lands, MS	291	4	247	45.34
Moapa River Reservation, NV	375	112.0	377	50.66
Montgomery Creek Rancheria, CA	11	0.1	8	0.00
Morongo Reservation, CA	1072	49.2	1100	28.91
Muckleshoot Reservation and Trust Lands, WA	3841	6.1	3814	18.25
Muckleshoot Reservation, WA	3841	6.1	3814	18.25
Muckleshoot Trust Lands, WA	0	0	0	0.00

(continues)



**Poverty on American Indian Reservations and Trust Lands (cont.)**

<b>Name</b>	<b>1990 Population</b>	<b>Land Area (Square Miles)</b>	<b>Persons For Whom Poverty Status Determined</b>	<b>Percent Below Poverty Level</b>
Nambe Pueblo and Trust Lands, NM	1402	32.3	1356	14.75
Nambe Pueblo, NM	1402	32.0	1356	14.75
Nambe Trust Lands, NM	0	0.3	0	0.00
Narragansett Reservation, RI	31	3.4	30	0.00
Navajo Reservation and Trust Lands, AZ, NM, UT	148451	24426.0	147535	56.22
Navajo Reservation, AZ, NM, UT	128356	21877.8	127337	54.84
Navajo Trust Lands, AZ, NM	20095	2548.3	20198	64.96
Nez Percé Reservation, ID	16160	1195.1	15616	15.72
Nisqually Reservation, WA	578	7.9	639	25.67
Nooksack Reservation and Trust Lands, WA	556	4.2	686	41.55
Nooksack Reservation, WA	19	0.7	16	0.00
Nooksack Trust Lands, WA	537	3.5	670	42.54
Northern Cheyenne Reservation and Trust Lands, MT, SD	3923	700.3	3859	48.17
Northern Cheyenne Reservation, MT	3923	697.1	3859	48.17
Northern Cheyenne Trust Lands, MT, SD	0	3.2	0	0.00
North Fork Rancheria, CA	4	0.1	0	0.00
Northwestern Shoshoni Reservation, UT	0	0.3	0	0.00
Oil Springs Reservation, NY	5	1.0	4	75.00
Omaha Reservation, IA, NE	5227	312.0	5117	30.25
Oneida (East) Reservation, NY	37	0.1	41	0.00
Oneida (West) Reservation, WI	18033	102.3	17722	7.61
Onondaga Reservation, NY	771	9.2	771	2.85
Ontonagon Reservation, MI	0	3.7	0	0.00
Osage Reservation, OK	41299	2242.7	40136	15.83
Ozette Reservation, WA	12	1.2	0	0.00
Paiute of Utah Reservation, UT	645	51.0	624	27.08
Pala Reservation, CA	1071	25.4	1115	25.11
Pamunkey Reservation, VA (state)	49	1.7	47	25.53
Papago Reservation, AZ	8730	4342.0	8471	65.13
Pascua Yaqui Reservation, AZ	2412	1.4	2344	62.88
Passamaquoddy Trust Lands, ME	3	146.7	7	0.00
Paucatuck Eastern Pequot Reservation, CT (state)	18	0.3	16	0.00
Pauma Reservation, CA	148	9.4	148	38.51
Payson (Yavapai-Apache) Community, AZ	102	0.1	103	12.62
Pechanga Reservation, CA	398	7.0	391	26.34
Penobscot Reservation and Trust Lands, ME	485	100.7	467	37.04
Penobscot Reservation, ME	476	7.8	462	37.45
Penobscot Trust Lands, ME	9	92.9	5	0.00
Picayune Rancheria, CA	32	0.1	0	0.00
Picuris Pueblo, NM	1882	27.4	1895	39.47
Pine Creek Reservation, MI (state)	24	0.2	22	18.18

*(continues)*





## Poverty on American Indian Reservations and Trust Lands (cont.)

Name	1990 Population	Land Area (Square Miles)	Persons For Whom Poverty Status Determined	Percent Below Poverty Level
Pine Ridge Reservation and Trust Lands, NE, SD	12215	3468.4	11885	62.64
Pine Ridge Reservation, SD	11385	3159.1	11136	62.72
Pine Ridge Trust Lands, NE, SD	830	309.3	749	61.42
Pinoleville Rancheria, CA	130	0.2	70	30.00
Pit River Trust Lands, CA	7	0.4	4	0.00
Pleasant Point Reservation, ME	572	0.8	542	17.16
Poarch Creek Reservation and Trust Lands, AL	212	0.4	255	62.35
Poarch Creek Reservation, AL	212	0.4	255	62.35
Poarch Creek Trust Lands, AL	0	0	0	0.00
Pojoaque Pueblo, NM	2556	21.1	2472	12.78
Poospatuck Reservation, NY (state)	136	0.1	196	30.61
Port Gamble Reservation, WA	552	1.9	541	20.89
Port Madison Reservation, WA	4834	11.7	4812	8.27
Potawatomi (Kansas) Reservation	1082	120.1	1072	26.87
Potawatomi (Wisconsin) Reservation and Trust Lands, WI	279	18.8	266	62.41
Potawatomi (Wisconsin) Reservation, WI	279	18.6	266	62.41
Potawatomi (Wisconsin) Trust Lands, WI	0	0.2	0	0.00
Prairie Island Community, MN	60	0.8	30	63.33
Puyallup Reservation and Trust Lands, WA	32406	28.5	32259	16.91
Puyallup Reservation, WA	32392	28.5	32243	16.92
Puyallup Trust Lands, WA	14	0	16	0.00
Pyramid Lake Reservation, NV	1388	553.9	1349	38.18
Quartz Valley Rancheria, CA	124	1.0	57	5.26
Quileute Reservation, WA	381	1.6	352	55.40
Quinault Reservation, WA	1216	325.2	1263	32.38
Ramah Navajo Community, NM	194	27.7	175	64.00
Ramona Reservation, CA	0	0.9	0	0.00
Rankokus Reservation, NJ (state)	0	0.4	0	0.00
Red Cliff Reservation and Trust Lands, WI	857	22.7	874	48.40
Red Cliff Reservation, WI	857	21.9	874	48.40
Red Cliff Trust Lands, WI	0	0.9	0	0.00
Redding Rancheria, CA	101	0.0	72	0.00
Red Lake Reservation, MN	3699	880.1	3633	49.46
Redwood Valley Rancheria, CA	142	0.1	111	38.74
Reno-Sparks Colony, NV	264	3.2	242	39.26
Resighini Rancheria, CA	28	0.4	51	52.94
Rincon Reservation, CA	1352	6.1	1468	40.74
Roaring Creek Rancheria, CA	18	0.1	20	100.00
Robinson Rancheria, CA	139	0.4	163	41.72

(continues)



**Poverty on American Indian Reservations and Trust Lands (cont.)**

<b>Name</b>	<b>1990 Population</b>	<b>Land Area (Square Miles)</b>	<b>Persons For Whom Poverty Status Determined</b>	<b>Percent Below Poverty Level</b>
Rocky Boy's Reservation and Trust Lands, MT	1954	168.3	1927	47.48
Rocky Boy's Reservation, MT	1547	88.5	1527	48.46
Rocky Boy's Trust Lands, MT	407	79.8	400	43.75
Rohnerville Rancheria, CA	14	0.0	0	0.00
Rosebud Reservation and Trust Lands, SD	9696	1974.6	9532	53.58
Rosebud Reservation, SD	8352	1388.2	8254	50.19
Rosebud Trust Lands, SD	1344	586.4	1278	75.43
Round Valley Reservation and Trust Lands, CA	1183	94.9	1178	26.32
Round Valley Reservation, CA	1183	78.2	1178	26.32
Round Valley Trust Lands, CA	0	16.6	0	0.00
Rumsey Rancheria, CA	8	0.1	19	0.00
Sac and Fox (Iowa) Reservation	577	5.9	585	28.55
Sac and Fox (KS-NE) Reservation and Trust Lands, KS, NE	210	24.0	162	9.26
Sac and Fox (KS-NE) Reservation, KS, NE	209	23.1	159	9.43
Sac and Fox (KS-NE) Trust Lands, KS, NE	1	0.9	3	0.00
St. Croix Reservation, WI	505	2.9	483	49.48
St. Regis Mohawk Reservation, NY	1978	19.0	1974	26.44
Salt River Reservation, AZ	4852	80.0	4722	40.15
San Carlos Reservation, AZ	7294	2910.6	7174	61.99
Sandia Pueblo, NM	3971	39.0	3918	26.70
Sandy Lake Reservation, MN	37	0.4	28	25.00
San Felipe Pueblo, NM	2434	78.6	2517	35.28
San Felipe/Santa Ana joint area, NM	0	1.1	0	0.00
San Felipe/Santo Domingo joint area, NM	0	1.2	0	0.00
San Ildefonso Pueblo, NM	1499	43.7	1585	11.42
San Juan Pueblo, NM	5209	26.7	5231	30.70
San Manuel Reservation, CA	80	1.0	59	54.24
San Pasqual Reservation, CA	512	2.2	514	31.71
Santa Ana Pueblo, NM	593	101.2	624	13.14
Santa Clara Pueblo, NM	10193	76.8	10081	24.08
Santa Rosa Rancheria, CA	323	0.3	319	48.59
Santa Rosa Reservation, CA	50	17.1	58	70.69
Santa Ynez Reservation, CA	279	0.2	317	16.09
Santa Ysabel Reservation, CA	169	14.4	165	10.30
Santee Reservation, NE	758	172.9	740	41.08
Santo Domingo Pueblo, NM	2992	107.2	2773	33.32
San Xavier Reservation, AZ	1172	111.4	1123	64.92
Sauk-Suiattle Reservation, WA	124	0.1	112	26.79

*(continues)*





## Poverty on American Indian Reservations and Trust Lands (cont.)

Name	1990 Population	Land Area (Square Miles)	Persons For Whom Poverty Status Determined	Percent Below Poverty Level
Sault Ste. Marie Reservation and Trust Lands, MI	768	1.3	720	38.06
Sault Ste. Marie Reservation, MI	385	0.9	357	42.30
Sault Ste. Marie Trust Lands, MI	383	0.4	363	33.88
Schaghticoke Reservation, CT (state)	10	0.4	10	20.00
Seminole Trust Lands, FL	114	0.1	105	45.71
Shakopee Community, MN	203	0.5	225	4.44
Sheep Ranch Rancheria, CA	0	0.0	0	0.00
Sherwood Valley Rancheria, CA	15	0.5	6	0.00
Shingle Springs Rancheria, CA	18	0.3	12	0.00
Shinnecock Reservation, NY (state)	375	1.3	397	15.11
Shoalwater Reservation, WA	131	1.2	124	80.65
Siletz Reservation, OR	5	5.8	0	0.00
Skokomish Reservation, WA	614	8.2	607	46.13
Skull Valley Reservation, UT	32	28.2	17	0.00
Smith River Rancheria, CA	104	0.2	179	2.79
Soboba Reservation, CA	369	9.1	435	25.98
Sokaogon Chippewa Community and Trust Lands, WI	357	2.9	333	64.26
Sokaogon Chippewa Community, WI	266	2.4	298	67.11
Sokaogon Chippewa Trust Lands, WI	91	0.4	35	40.00
Southern Ute Reservation, CO	7804	1058.6	7855	17.91
Spokane Reservation, WA	1502	237.5	1435	37.14
Squaxin Island Reservation and Trust Lands, WA	157	2.5	194	29.90
Squaxin Island Reservation, WA	0	2.2	0	0.00
Squaxin Island Trust Lands, WA	157	0.3	194	29.90
Standing Rock Reservation, ND, SD	7956	3567.3	7917	44.81
Stewarts Point Rancheria, CA	91	0.1	89	62.92
Stillaguamish Reservation, WA	113	0.0	112	76.79
Stockbridge Reservation, WI	581	34.8	563	25.04
Sulphur Bank (El-Em) Rancheria, CA	93	0.1	96	50.00
Summit Lake Reservation, NV	7	17.4	8	0.00
Susanville Reservation, CA	454	0.2	490	20.61
Swinomish Reservation, WA	2282	11.4	2277	15.42
Sycuan Reservation, CA	4	1.0	0	0.00
Table Bluff Rancheria, CA	48	0.0	45	64.44
Table Mountain Rancheria, CA	51	0.2	44	22.73
Tama Reservation, GA (state)	22	0.1	20	70.00
Taos Pueblo and Trust Lands, NM	4745	156.1	4682	32.14
Taos Pueblo, NM	4681	154.9	4610	31.91
Taos Trust Lands, NM	64	1.2	72	47.22
Te-Moak Reservation and Trust Lands, NV	949	27.8	950	35.68
Te-Moak Reservation, NV	918	16.6	923	36.08
Te-Moak Trust Lands, NV	21	11.2	27	22.22
Tesuque Pueblo and Trust Lands, NM	697	27.0	700	15.43
Tesuque Pueblo, NM	697	26.5	700	15.43

(continues)



**Poverty on American Indian Reservations and Trust Lands (cont.)**

<b>Name</b>	<b>1990 Population</b>	<b>Land Area (Square Miles)</b>	<b>Persons For Whom Poverty Status Determined</b>	<b>Percent Below Poverty Level</b>
Tesuque Trust Lands, NM	0	0.5	0	0.00
Tonawanda Reservation, NY	501	11.8	483	15.53
Torres-Martinez Reservation, CA	1462	34.5	1628	51.29
Trinidad Rancheria, CA	78	0.1	71	4.23
Tulalip Reservation, WA	7103	35.2	7060	10.44
Tule River Reservation, CA	798	84.4	798	43.86
Tunica-Biloxi Reservation, LA	29	0.2	32	6.25
Tuolumne Rancheria, CA	135	0.5	85	25.88
Turtle Mountain Reservation and Trust Lands, ND, SD	7106	138.8	7022	54.00
Turtle Mountain Reservation, ND	4987	69.9	4952	52.40
Turtle Mountain Trust Lands, ND, SD	2119	68.8	2070	57.83
Tuscarora Reservation, NY	772	9.3	709	5.22
Twenty-Nine Palms Reservation, CA	0	0.2	0	0.00
Uintah and Ouray Reservation, UT	17224	6768.2	17105	22.95
Umatilla Reservation, OR	2502	271.1	2474	22.03
Upper Lake Rancheria, CA	76	0.7	68	47.06
Upper Sioux Community, MN	49	1.2	26	34.62
Upper Skagit Reservation, WA	180	0.2	173	50.87
Ute Mountain Reservation and Trust Lands, CO, NM, UT	1320	900.6	1352	48.30
Ute Mountain Reservation, CO, NM, UT	1314	888.9	1344	48.59
Ute Mountain Trust Lands, UT	6	11.6	8	0.00
Vermillion Lake Reservation, MN	91	1.6	35	0.00
Viejas Rancheria, CA	411	2.5	422	26.30
Walker River Reservation, NV	802	534.4	703	27.88
Warm Springs Reservation and Trust Lands, OR	3076	1019.3	3033	28.59
Warm Springs Reservation, OR	3076	1010.5	3033	28.59
Warm Springs Trust Lands, OR	0	8.8	0	0.00
Washoe Reservation, NV	157	4.5	112	16.07
White Earth Reservation, MN	8727	1088.4	8677	30.78
Wind River Reservation, WY	21851	3471.4	21568	22.44
Winnebago Reservation, NE	2341	173.4	2339	27.45
Winnemucca Colony, NV	67	0.6	54	11.11
Wisconsin Winnebago Reservation and Trust Lands, WI	700	5.0	603	42.95
Wisconsin Winnebago Reservation, WI	506	1.3	449	51.00
Wisconsin Winnebago Trust Lands, WI	194	3.7	154	19.48
Woodfords Community, CA	14	0.6	20	0.00
XL Ranch Reservation, CA	35	14.4	23	34.78
Yakima Reservation and Trust Lands, WA	27668	2137.6	26691	32.81
Yakima Reservation, WA	27522	2104.3	26654	32.84
Yakima Trust Lands, WA	146	33.3	37	10.81
Yankton Reservation, SD	6269	665.8	6072	37.30

*(continues)*





## Poverty on American Indian Reservations and Trust Lands (cont.)

Name	1990 Population	Land Area (Square Miles)	Persons For Whom Poverty Status Determined	Percent Below Poverty Level
Yavapai Reservation, AZ	176	2.2	190	17.89
Yerington Reservation and Trust Lands, NV	428	2.6	401	30.17
Yerington Reservation, NV	275	2.5	244	24.59
Yerington Trust Lands, NV	153	0	157	38.85
Yomba Reservation, NV	95	7.3	94	39.36
Ysleta Del Sur Pueblo, TX	292	0.2	370	26.22
Yurok Reservation, CA	1357	84.7	1218	38.92
Zia Pueblo and Trust Lands, NM	637	189.9	638	33.39
Zia Pueblo, NM	637	186.6	638	33.39
Zia Trust Lands, NM	0	3.3	0	0.00
Zuni Pueblo, AZ, NM	7412	654.3	7422	50.59

Source: United States Census, [www.census.gov/geo/www/ezstate/airpov.pdf](http://www.census.gov/geo/www/ezstate/airpov.pdf), accessed April 27, 2007.

## Native American Terminated Tribes, 1955–1969

Tribes	Date of Termination	Tribal Membership	Tribal Land (acres)
Alabama-Couchatta Tribes, Texas	1955	450	3,200
California Rancherias and Reservations	1969	1,107	4,316
Catawba of South Carolina	1962	631	3,388
Klamath Tribe of Oregon	1961	2,133	862,662
Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin	1961	3,270	233,881
Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma	1959	630	0
Paiute Indians of Utah	1957	232	42,839
Peoria Tribe of Oklahoma	1959	640	0
Ponca Tribe of Nebraska	1966	442	834
Uintah and Ouray Utes of Utah	1961	490	211,430
Western Oregon Indians (60 bands)	1956	2,081	3,158
Wyandot Tribe of Oklahoma	1959	1,157	94
Totals		13,263	1,365,802

Source: Hirschfelder, Arlene, and Martha Kreipe de Montañño, *The Native American Almanac* (1993). Macmillan General Reference, New York.





## Canadian First Nations

### British Columbia

Yavs9

Akisk'nuk First Nation

P.O. BOX 130

WINDERMERE, BC, V0B 2L0

Adams Lake

P.O. BOX 588

BC, CHASE, BC, V0E 1M0

Ahousaht

GENERAL DELIVERY

AHOUSAHT, BC, V0R 1A0

Aitchelitz

8150 AITKEN ROAD

CHILLIWACK, BC, V2R 4H5

Alexandria

7 - 423 Elliot Street

Quesnel, BC, V2J 1Y6

Alexis Creek

P.O. BOX 69

CHILANKO FORKS, BC, V0L 1H0

Ashcroft

P.O. BOX 440

ASHCROFT, BC, V0K 1A0

Beecher Bay

4901B EAST SOOKE ROAD

RR 6, SOOKE, BC, V0S 1N0

Blueberry River First Nations

P.O. BOX 3009

BUICK, BC, V0C 2R0

Bonaparte

P.O. BOX 669

CACHE CREEK, BC, V0K 1H0

Boothroyd

P.O. BOX 295

BOSTON BAR, BC, V0K 1C0

Boston Bar First Nation

P.O. BOX 369

BOSTON BAR, BC, V0K 1C0

Bridge River

P.O. BOX 190

LILLOOET, BC, V0K 1V0

Burns Lake

BAG 9000

BURNS LAKE, BC, V0J 1E0

Burrard

3075 TAKAYA DRIVE

NORTH VANCOUVER, BC, V7H 2V6

Campbell River

1400 WEIWAIKUM ROAD

CAMPBELL RIVER, BC, V9W 5W8

Canim Lake

P.O. BOX 1030

100 MILE HOUSE, BC, V0K 2E0

Canoe Creek

GENERAL DELIVERY

DOG CREEK, BC, V0L 1J0

Cape Mudge

P.O. BOX 220

QUATHIASKI COVE, BC, V0P 1N0

Cayoose Creek

P.O. BOX 484

LILLOOET, BC, V0K 1V0

Chawathil

4-60814 LOUGHEED HIGHWAY

HOPE, BC, V0X 1L3

Cheam

52130 OLD YALE ROAD

ROSEDALE, BC, V0X 1X0

Chehalis

4690 Salish Way

CHEHALIS ROAD, AGASSIZ, BC, V0M 1A0

Chemainus First Nation

12611-A TRANS CANADA HIGHWAY

LADYSMITH, BC, V9G 1M5





Cheslatta Carrier Nation  
P.O. BOX 909  
BURNS LAKE, BC, V0J 1E0

Coldwater  
P.O. BOX 4600  
MERRITT, BC, V1K 1B8

Comox  
3320 COMOX ROAD  
COURTENAY, BC, V9N 3P8

Cook's Ferry  
P.O. BOX 130  
SPENCES BRIDGE, BC, V0K 2L0

Cowichan  
5760 ALLENBY ROAD  
DUNCAN, BC, V9L 5J1

Da'naxda'xw First Nation  
P.O. BOX 330  
ALERT BAY, BC, V0N 1A0

Ditidaht  
P.O. BOX 340  
PORT ALBERNI, BC, V9Y 7M8

Doig River  
P.O. BOX 56  
ROSE PRAIRIE, BC, V0C 2H0

Douglas  
P.O. BOX 606  
MOUNT CURRIE, BC, V0N 2K0

Ehattesaht  
P.O. BOX 59  
ZEBALLOS, BC, V0P 2A0

Esketemc  
P.O. BOX 4479  
WILLIAMS LAKE, BC, V2G 2V5

Esquimalt  
1189 Kosapsum Crescent  
VICTORIA, BC, V9A 7K7

Fort Nelson First Nation  
MILE 293 ALASKA HWY  
RR 1, FORT NELSON, BC, V0C 1R0

Gitanmaax  
P.O. BOX 440  
HAZELTON, BC, V0J 1Y0

Gitanyow  
P.O. BOX 340  
KITWANGA, BC, V0J 2A0

Gitsegukla  
36 CASCADE AVENUE  
RR 1, SOUTH HAZELTON, BC, V0J 2R0

Gitwangak  
P.O. BOX 400  
KITWANGA, BC, V0J 2A0

Gitxaala Nation  
P.O. BOX 149  
KITKATLA, BC, V0V 1C0

Glen Vowell  
RR 1 SITE J COMP 43  
HAZELTON, BC, V0J 1Y0

Gwa'Sala-Nakwaxda'xw  
P.O. BOX 998  
PORT HARDY, BC, V0N 2P0

Gwawaenuk Tribe  
P.O. BOX 344  
PORT MCNEIL, BC, V0N 2R0

Hagwilget Village  
P.O. BOX 460  
NEW HAZELTON, BC, V0J 2J0

Halalt  
8017 CHEMAINUS ROAD  
CHEMAINUS, BC, V0R 1K5

Halfway River First Nation  
P.O. BOX 59  
WONOWON, BC, V0C 2N0

Hartley Bay  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
445 HAYIMIISAXAA WAY, HARTLEY BAY, BC,  
V0V 1A0

Heiltsuk  
P.O. BOX 880  
WAGLISLA, BC, V0T 1Z0





Hesquiaht  
P.O. BOX 2000  
TOFINO, BC, V0R 2Z0

High Bar  
P.O. BOX 458  
CLINTON, BC, V0K 1K0

Homalco  
1218 BUTE CRESCENT  
CAMPBELL RIVER, BC, V9H 1G5

Hupacasath First Nation  
P.O. BOX 211  
PORT ALBERNI, BC, V9Y 7M7

Huu-ay-aht First Nations  
P.O. BOX 70  
BAMFIELD, BC, V0R 1B0

Iskut  
P.O. BOX 30  
ISKUT, BC, V0J 1K0

Ka:'yu:'k't'h' / Che:k:tl̓es7et'h' First Nations  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
KYUQUOT, BC, V0P 1J0

Kamloops  
202 - 355 YELLOWHEAD HWY  
KAMLOOPS, BC, V2H 1H1

Kanaka Bar  
P.O. BOX 210  
LYTTON, BC, V0K 1Z0

Katzie  
10946 KATZIE ROAD  
PITT MEADOWS, BC, V3Y 2G6

Kispiox  
COMP 25, SITE K, RR 1  
HAZELTON, BC, V0J 1Y0

Kitamaat  
P.O. BOX 1101  
HAISLA, BC, V0T 2B0

Kitasoo  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
KLEMTU, BC, V0T 1L0

Kitselas  
5500 GITAUS ROAD, RR 2  
TERRACE, BC, V8G 3Z9

Kitsumkalum  
P.O. BOX 544  
TERRACE, BC, V8G 4B5

Klahoose First Nation  
P.O. BOX 9, SQUIRREL COVE  
MANSONS LANDING, BC, V0P 1K0

Kluskus  
P.O. BOX 4639  
QUESNEL, BC, V2J 3J8

Kwadacha  
207 - 513 AHBAU STREET  
PRINCE GEORGE, BC, V2M 3R8

Kwakiutl  
P.O. BOX 1440  
PORT HARDY, BC, V0N 2P0

Kwantlen First Nation  
23690 GABRIEL LANE, P.O. BOX 108  
FORT LANGLEY, BC, V1M 2R4

Kwaw-kwaw-Apilt  
P.O. BOX 2065 STN MAIN, 8775 ASHWELL ROAD  
CHILLIWACK, BC, V2R 1A5

Kwiakah  
1440 OLD ISLAND HWY  
CAMPBELL RIVER, BC, V9W 2E3

Kwicksutaineuk-ah-kwaw-ah-mish  
P.O. BOX 10, 1 Front Street  
ALERT BAY, BC, V0N 1A0

Kwikwetlem First Nation  
65 COLONY FARM ROAD  
COQUITLAM, BC, V3C 3V4

Lake Babine Nation  
P.O. BOX 879  
BURNS LAKE, BC, V0J 1E0

Lake Cowichan First Nation  
1609 DOUGLAS ST  
VICTORIA, BC, V8W 2G5





Lax-kw'alaams  
206 SHASHAAK STREET  
PORT SIMPSON, BC, V0V 1H0

Leq' a: mel First Nation  
43101 Leq'a:mel Way  
DEROCHE, BC, V0M 1G0

Lheidli T'enneh  
1041 WHENUN ROAD  
PRINCE GEORGE, BC, V2K 5X8

Little Shuswap Lake  
P.O. BOX 1100  
CHASE, BC, V0E 1M0

Lower Kootenay  
830 SIMON ROAD  
CRESTON, BC, V0B 1G2

Lower Nicola  
181 NAWISHASKIN LANE  
MERRITT, BC, V1K 1N2

Lower Similkameen  
P.O. BOX 100  
KEREMEOS, BC, V0X 1N0

Lyackson  
9137 CHEMAINUS ROAD  
CHEMAINUS, BC, V0R 1K5

Lytton  
P.O. BOX 20  
LYTTON, BC, V0K 1Z0

Malahat First Nation  
110 Thunder Rd. RR4  
MILL BAY, BC, V0R 2P4

Mamalilikulla-Qwe'Qwa'Sot'Em  
1441A OLD ISLAND HWY  
CAMPBELL RIVER, BC, V9W 2E4

Matsqui  
P.O. BOX 10  
MATSQUI, BC, V4X 3R2

McLeod Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
MCLEOD LAKE, BC, V0J 2G0

Metlakatla  
P.O. BOX 459  
PRINCE RUPERT, BC, V8J 3R2

Moricetown  
205 BEAVER ROAD  
SMITHERS, BC, V0J 2N1

Mount Currie  
P.O. BOX 602  
MOUNT CURRIE, BC, V0N 2K0

Mowachaht/Muchalaht  
P.O. BOX 459  
GOLD RIVER, BC, V0P 1G0

Musqueam  
6735 SALISH DRIVE  
VANCOUVER, BC, V6N 4C4

N'Quatqua  
P.O. BOX 88  
D'ARCY, BC, V0N 1L0

Nadleh Whuten  
P.O. BOX 36  
FORT FRASER, BC, V0J 1N0

Nak'azdli  
P.O. BOX 1329  
FORT ST. JAMES, BC, V0J 1P0

Namgis First Nation  
P.O. BOX 210  
ALERT BAY, BC, V0N 1A0

Nanoose First Nation  
209 MALLARD WAY  
LANTZVILLE, BC, V0R 2H0

Nazko  
P.O. Box 4129  
QUESNEL, BC, V2J 3J2

Nee-Tahi-Buhn  
RR 2 SITE 7 COMP 28  
BURNS LAKE, BC, V0J 1E0

Neskonlith  
P.O. BOX 608  
CHASE, BC, V0E 1M0





New Westminster  
105 - 3680 RAE AVENUE  
VANCOUVER, BC, V5R 2P5

Nicomen  
P.O. BOX 670  
LYTTON, BC, V0K 1Z0

Nisga'a Village of Gingolx  
1304 BROAD STREET  
KINCOLITH, BC, V0V 1B0

Nisga'a Village of Gitwinksihlkw  
P.O. BOX 1  
GITWINKSIHLKW, BC, V0J 3T0

Nisga'a Village of Laxgalt'sap  
P.O. BOX 200  
GREENVILLE, BC, V0J 1X0

Nisga'a Village of New Aiyansh  
P.O. BOX 233  
NEW AIYANSH, BC, V0J 1A0

Nooaitch  
18 SHACKELLY ROAD  
MERRITT, BC, V1K 1N9

Nuchatlaht  
P.O. BOX 40  
ZEBALLOS, BC, V0P 2A0

Nuxalk Nation  
P.O. BOX 65  
BELLA COOLA, BC, V0T 1C0

Okanagan  
12420 WESTSIDE ROAD  
VERNON, BC, V1H 2A4

Old Massett Village Council  
P.O. BOX 189  
OLD MASSET, BC, V0T 1M0

Oregon Jack Creek  
P.O. BOX 940  
ASHCROFT, BC, V0K 1A0

Osoyoos  
RR 3 SITE 25 COMP 1  
OLIVER, BC, V0H 1T0

Oweekeno/Wuikinuxv Nation  
P.O. BOX 3500  
OWEKENO VILLAGE RIVERS INLET, PORT  
HARDY, BC, V0N 2P0

Pacheedaht First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
PORT RENFREW, BC, V0S 1K0

Pauquachin  
9010 WEST SAANICH ROAD  
SIDNEY, BC, V8L 5W4

Penelakut  
P.O. BOX 360  
CHEMAINUS, BC, V0K 1K0

Penticton  
RR 2 SITE 80 COMP 19  
PENTICTON, BC, V2A 6J7

Peters  
16870 PETERS ROAD  
RR 2, HOPE, BC, V0X 1L2

Popkum  
C/O STO:LO NATION, 1-7201 VEDDER ROAD  
CHILLIWACK, BC, V2R 4G5

Prophet River First Nation  
P.O. BOX 3250  
FORT NELSON, BC, V0C 1R0

Qualicum First Nation  
5850 RIVER ROAD  
QUALICUM BEACH, BC, V9K 1Z5

Quatsino  
P.O. BOX 100  
COAL HARBOUR, BC, V0N 1K0

Red Bluff  
1515 ARBUTUS ROAD, P.O. BOX 4693  
QUESNEL, BC, V2J 3J9

Saik'uz First Nation  
RR 1 SITE 12 COMP 26  
VANDERHOOF, BC, V0J 3A0

Samahquam  
P.O. BOX 610  
MOUNT CURRIE, BC, V0N 2K0





Saulteau First Nations  
P.O. BOX 330  
MOBERLY LAKE, BC, V0C 1X0

Scowlitz  
P.O. BOX 76  
LAKE ERROCK, BC, V0M 1N0

Seabird Island  
P.O. BOX 650  
AGASSIZ, BC, V0M 1A0

Sechelt  
P.O. BOX 740  
SECHELT, BC, V0N 3A0

Semiahmoo  
16049 BEACH ROAD  
SURREY, BC, V4P 3C5

Seton Lake  
SITE 3 BOX 76  
SHALALTH, BC, V0N 3C0

Shackan  
2160 SETTLER'S ROAD  
LOWER NICOLA, BC, V1K 1M9

Shuswap  
P.O. BOX 790  
INVERMERE, BC, V0A 1K0

Shxw'ow'hamel First Nation  
58700A ST ELMO ROAD  
HOPE, BC, V0X 1L2

Shxwhá:y Village  
44680 SCHWEYEWY ROAD  
CHILLIWACK, BC, V2R 5M5

Simpcw First Nation  
P.O. BOX 220  
BARRIERE, BC, V0E 1E0

Siska  
P.O. BOX 519  
LYTTON, BC, V0K 1Z0

Skatin Nations  
P.O. BOX 190  
PEMBERTON, BC, V0N 2L0

Skawahlook First Nation  
58611A LOUGHEED HWY  
AGASSIZ, BC, V0M 1A2

Skeetchestn  
P.O. BOX 178  
SAVONA, BC, V0K 2J0

Skidegate  
P.O. BOX 1301  
SKIDEGATE, BC, V0T 1S1

Skin Tyee  
P.O. BOX 131  
SOUTHBANK, BC, V0J 2P0

Skowkale  
P.O. BOX 2159  
SARDIS, BC, V2R 1A7

Skuppah  
P.O. BOX 400  
LYTTON, BC, V0K 1Z0

Skwah  
P.O. BOX 178  
CHILLIWACK, BC, V2P 6H7

SlIAMmon  
RR 2, SLIAMMON RD  
POWELL RIVER, BC, V8A 4Z3

Snuneymuxw First Nation  
668 CENTRE STREET  
NANAIMO, BC, V9R 4Z4

Soda Creek  
3405 MOUNTAIN HOUSE ROAD  
WILLIAMS LAKE, BC, V2G 5L5

Songhees First Nation  
1500D ADMIRALS ROAD  
VICTORIA, BC, V9A 2R1

Soowahlie  
4172 SOOWAHLIE ROAD  
CULTUS LAKE, BC, V2R 4Y2

Spallumcheen  
P.O. BOX 460  
ENDERBY, BC, V0E 1V0





Spuzzum  
SITE 3, C-11, RR 1  
YALE, BC, V0K 2S0

Squamish  
P.O. BOX 86131  
NORTH VANCOUVER, BC, V7L 4J5

Squiala First Nation  
8528 ASHWELL ROAD  
CHILLIWACK, BC, V2P 7Z9

St. Mary's  
7470 MISSION ROAD  
CRANBROOK, BC, V1C 7E5

Stellat'en First Nation  
P.O. BOX 760  
FRASER LAKE, BC, V0J 1S0

Stone  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
HANCEVILLE, BC, V0L 1K0

Sumas First Nation  
3092 SUMAS MOUNTAIN ROAD, RR 4  
ABBOTSFORD, BC, V3G 2J2

T'Sou-ke First Nation  
P.O. BOX 307, 2154 LAZZAR ROAD  
SOOKE, BC, V0S 1N0

T'it'q'et  
P.O. BOX 615  
LILLOOET, BC, V0K 1V0

Tahltan  
P.O. BOX 46  
TELEGRAPH CREEK, BC, V0J 2W0

Takla Lake First Nation  
P.O. BOX 2310  
PRINCE GEORGE, BC, V2L 3N2

Tl'azt'en Nation  
P.O. BOX 670  
FORT ST. JAMES, BC, V0J 1P0

Tl'etinqox-t'in Government Office  
P.O. BOX 168  
ALEXIS CREEK, BC, V0L 1A0

Tla-o-qui-aht First Nations  
P.O. BOX 18  
TOFINO, BC, V0R 2Z0

Tlatlasikwala  
P.O. BOX 578  
PORT HARDY, BC, V0N 2P0

Tlowitsis Tribe  
106-1434 ISLAND HIGHWAY  
CAMPBELL RIVER, BC, V9W 8C9

Tobacco Plains  
P.O. BOX 76  
GRASMERE, BC, V0B 1R0

Toosey  
P.O. BOX 80  
RISKE CREEK, BC, V0L 1T0

Toquaht  
P.O. BOX 759, 1316 PINE STREET  
UCLUELET, BC, V0R 3A0

Ts'kw'aylaxw First Nation  
P.O. BOX 2200  
LILLOOET, BC, V0K 1V0

Tsartlip  
P.O. BOX 70, 800 STELLYS CROSS ROAD  
BRENTWOOD BAY, BC, V8M 1R3

Tsawataineuk  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
KINGCOME INLET, BC, V0N 2B0

Tsawout First Nation  
P.O. BOX 121  
SAANICHTON, BC, V8M 2C3

Tsawwassen First Nation  
131 TSAWWASSEN DRIVE NORTH  
DELTA, BC, V4M 4G2

Tsay Keh Dene  
11 - 1839 1ST AVENUE  
PRINCE GEORGE, BC, V2L 2Y8

Tseshaht  
P.O. BOX 1218  
PORT ALBERNI, BC, V9Y 7M1





Tseycum  
1210 TOTEM LANE  
SIDNEY, BC, V8L 5S4

Tzeachten  
45855 PROMONTORY ROAD  
CHILLIWACK, BC, V2R 4E2

Uchucklesaht  
P.O. BOX 1118  
PORT ALBERNI, BC, V9Y 7L9

Ucluelet First Nation  
P.O. BOX 699  
UCLUELET, BC, V0R 3A0

Ulkatcho  
P.O. BOX 3430  
ANAHIM LAKE, BC, V0L 1C0

Union Bar  
P.O. BOX 788  
HOPE, BC, V0X 1L0

Upper Nicola  
P.O. BOX 3700  
MERRITT, BC, V1K 1B8

Upper Similkameen  
P.O. BOX 310  
KEREMEOS, BC, V0X 1N0

West Moberly First Nations  
P.O. BOX 90  
MOBERLY LAKE, BC, V0C 1X0

Westbank First Nation  
301-515 HWY 97 SOUTH  
KELOWNA, BC, V1Z 3J2

Wet'suwet'en First Nation  
P.O. BOX 760  
BURNS LAKE, BC, V0J 1E0

Whispering Pines/Canton  
615 WHISPERING PINES DRIVE  
KAMLOOPS, BC, V2B 8S4

Williams Lake  
2672 INDIAN DRIVE  
WILLIAMS LAKE, BC, V2G 5K9

Xaxli'p  
P.O. BOX 1330  
LILLOOET, BC, V0K 1V0

Xeni Gwet'in First Nations Government  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
NEMIAH VALLEY, BC, V0L 1X0

Yakwekwioose  
RR 2, 7176 CHILLIWACK RIVER ROAD  
SARDIS, BC, V2R 1B1

Yale First Nation  
P.O. BOX 1869  
HOPE, BC, V0X 1L0

Yekooche  
1890 - 3RD AVENUE  
PRINCE GEORGE, BC, V2M 1G4

## Alberta

Alexander  
P.O. BOX 3419  
MORINVILLE, AB, T8R 1S3

Alexis Nakota Sioux Nation  
P.O. BOX 7  
GLENEVIS, AB, T0E 0X0

Athabasca Chipewyan First Nation  
P.O. BOX 366  
FORT CHIPEWYAN, AB, T0P 1B0

Bearspaw

Beaver First Nation  
P.O. BOX 2700  
HIGH LEVEL, AB, T0H 1Z0

Beaver Lake Cree Nation  
P.O. BOX 960  
LAC LA BICHE, AB, T0A 2C0

Bigstone Cree Nation  
P.O. BOX 960  
DESMARAIS, AB, T0G 2K0

Blood  
P.O. BOX 60  
STANDOFF, AB, T0L 1Y0





Chiniki  
P.O. BOX 40  
MORLEY, AB, T0L 1N0

Chipewyan Prairie First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
CHARD, AB, T0P 1G0

Cold Lake First Nations  
P.O. BOX 1769  
COLD LAKE, AB, T9M 1P4

Dene Tha'  
P.O. BOX 120  
CHATEH, AB, T0H 0S0

Driftpile First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
DRIFTPILE, AB, T0G 0V0

Duncan's First Nation  
P.O. BOX 148  
BROWVALE, AB, T0H 0L0

Enoch Cree Nation #440  
P.O. BOX 29  
ENOCH, AB, T7X 3Y3

Ermineskin Tribe  
P.O. BOX 219  
HOBBEMA, AB, T0C 1N0

Fort McKay First Nation  
P.O. BOX 5360  
FORT MCMURRAY, AB, T9H 3G4

Fort McMurray #468 First Nation  
P.O. BOX 6130  
CLEARWATER STATION, FORT MCMURRAY, AB,  
T9H 4W1

Frog Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
FROG LAKE, AB, T0A 1M0

Heart Lake  
P.O. BOX 447  
LAC LA BICHE, AB, T0A 2C0

Horse Lake First Nation  
P.O. BOX 303  
HYTHE, AB, T0H 2C0

Kapawe'no First Nation  
P.O. BOX 10  
GROUARD, AB, T0G 1C0

Kehewin Cree Nation  
P.O. BOX 220  
KEHEWIN, AB, T0A 1C0

Little Red River Cree Nation  
P.O. BOX 30  
JOHN D'OR PRAIRIE, AB, T0H 3X0

Loon River Cree  
P.O. BOX 189  
RED EARTH CREEK, AB, T0G 1X0

Louis Bull  
P.O. BOX 130  
HOBBEMA, AB, T0C 1N0

Lubicon Lake  
P.O. BOX 6731  
PEACE RIVER, AB, T8S 1S5

Mikisew Cree First Nation  
P.O. BOX 90  
FORT CHIPEWYAN, AB, T0P 1B0

Montana  
P.O. BOX 70  
HOBBEMA, AB, T0C 1N0

O'Chiese  
P.O. BOX 1570  
ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE, AB, T4T 1B2

Paul  
P.O. BOX 89  
DUFFIELD, AB, T0E 0N0

Piikani Nation  
P.O. BOX 70  
BROCKET, AB, T0K 0H0

Saddle Lake  
P.O. BOX 100  
SADDLE LAKE, AB, T0A 3T0

Samson  
P.O. BOX 159  
HOBBEMA, AB, T0C 1N0





Sawridge  
P.O. BOX 326  
SLAVE LAKE, AB, T0G 2A0

Siksika Nation  
P.O. BOX 1100  
SIKSIKA, AB, T0J 3W0

Smith's Landing First Nation  
P.O. BOX 1470  
FORT SMITH, NT, X0E 0P0

Sturgeon Lake Cree Nation  
P.O. BOX 757  
VALLEYVIEW, AB, T0H 3N0

Sucker Creek  
P.O. BOX 65  
ENILDA, AB, T0G 0W0

Sunchild First Nation  
P.O. BOX 747  
ROCKY MOUNTAIN HOUSE, AB, T4T 1A5

Swan River First Nation  
P.O. BOX 270  
KINUSO, AB, T0G 1K0

Tallcree  
P.O. BOX 100  
FORT VERMILION, AB, T0H 1N0

Tsuu T'Ina Nation  
9911 CHULA BLVD SW, SUITE 200  
TSUU T'INA, AB, T2W 6H6

Wesley  
Whitefish Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
ATIKAMEG, AB, T0G 0C0

Woodland Cree First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
CADOTTE LAKE, AB, T0H 0N0

**Saskatchewan**  
Ahtahkakoop  
P.O. BOX 220  
SHELL LAKE, SK, S0J 2G0

Beardy's and Okemasis  
P.O. BOX 340  
DUCK LAKE, SK, S0K 1J0

Big Island Lake Cree Nation  
P.O. BOX 309  
PIERCELAND, SK, S0M 2K0

Big River  
P.O. BOX 519  
DEBDEN, SK, S0J 0S0

Birch Narrows First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
TURNOR LAKE, SK, S0M 3E0

Black Lake  
P.O. BOX 27  
BLACK LAKE, SK, S0J 0H0

Buffalo River Dene Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
DILLON, SK, S0M 0S0

Canoe Lake Cree First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
CANOE NARROWS, SK, S0M 0K0

Carry The Kettle  
P.O. BOX 57  
SINTALUTA, SK, S0G 4N0

Clearwater River Dene  
P.O. BOX 5050  
CLEARWATER RIVER, SK, S0M 3H0

Cote First Nation 366  
P.O. BOX 1659  
KAMSACK, SK, S0A 1S0

Cowessess  
P.O. BOX 100  
COWESSESS, SK, S0G 5L0

Cumberland House Cree Nation  
P.O. BOX 220  
CUMBERLAND HOUSE, SK, S0E 0S0

Day Star  
P.O. BOX 277  
PUNNICHY, SK, S0A 3C0





English River First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
PATUANAK, SK, S0M 2H0

Fishing Lake First Nation  
P.O. BOX 508  
WADENA, SK, S0A 4J0

Flying Dust First Nation  
8001 FLYING DUST RESERVE  
MEADOW LAKE, SK, S9X 1T8

Fond du Lac  
P.O. BOX 211  
FOND DU LAC, SK, S0J 0W0

Gordon  
P.O. BOX 248  
PUNNICHY, SK, S0A 3C0

Hatchet Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
WOLLASTON LAKE, SK, S0J 3C0

Island Lake First Nation  
P.O. BOX 240  
ISLAND LAKE, SK, S0M 3G0

James Smith  
P.O. BOX 1059  
MELFORT, SK, S0E 1A0

Kahkewistahaw  
P.O. BOX 609  
BROADVIEW, SK, S0G 0K0

Kawacatoose  
P.O. BOX 640  
RAYMORE, SK, S0A 3J0

Keeseekoose  
P.O. BOX 1120  
KAMSACK, SK, S0A 1S0

Kinistin Saulteaux Nation  
P.O. BOX 2590  
TISDALE, SK, S0E 1T0

Lac La Ronge  
P.O. BOX 480  
LA RONGE, SK, S0J 1L0

Little Black Bear  
P.O. BOX 40  
GOODEVE, SK, S0A 1C0

Little Pine  
P.O. BOX 70  
PAYNTON, SK, S0M 2J0

Lucky Man  
103B PACKHAM AVENUE  
SASKATOON, SK, S7N 4K4

Makwa Sahgaiehcan First Nation  
P.O. BOX 340  
LOON LAKE, SK, S0M 1L0

Mistawasis  
P.O. BOX 250  
LEASK, SK, S0J 1M0

Montreal Lake  
BOX 106  
MONTREAL LAKE, SK, S0J 1Y0

Moosomin  
P.O. BOX 98  
COCHIN, SK, S0M 0L0

Mosquito, Grizzly Bear's Head, Lean Man  
Fst.Natns.  
P.O. BOX 177  
CANDO, SK, S0K 0V0

Muscowpetung  
P.O. BOX 1310  
FORT QU'APPELLE, SK, S0G 1S0

Muskeg Lake  
P.O. BOX 248  
MARCELIN, SK, S0J 1R0

Muskoday First Nation  
P.O. BOX 99  
MUSKODAY, SK, S0J 3H0

Muskowekwan  
P.O. BOX 249  
LESTOCK, SK, S0A 2G0

Nekaneet  
P.O. BOX 548  
MAPLE CREEK, SK, S0N 1N0





Ocean Man  
P.O. BOX 157  
STOUGHTON, SK, S0G 4T0

Ochapowace  
P.O. BOX 550  
WHITEWOOD, SK, S0G 5C0

Okanese  
P.O. BOX 759  
BALCARRES, SK, S0G 0C0

One Arrow  
P.O. BOX 147  
BELLEVUE, SK, S0K 3Y0

Onion Lake  
P.O. BOX 100  
ONION LAKE, SK, S0M 2E0

Pasqua First Nation #79  
P.O. BOX 79  
PASQUA, SK, S0G 5M0

Peepeekisis  
P.O. BOX 518  
BALCARRES, SK, S0G 0C0

Pelican Lake  
P.O. BOX 399  
LEOVILLE, SK, S0J 1N0

Peter Ballantyne Cree Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
PELICAN NARROWS, SK, S0P 0E0

Pheasant Rump Nakota  
P.O. BOX 238  
KISBEY, SK, S0C 1L0

Piapot  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
ZEHNER, SK, S0G 5K0

Poundmaker  
P.O. BOX 610  
CUTKNIFE, SK, S0M 0N0

Red Earth  
P.O. BOX 109  
RED EARTH, SK, S0E 1K0

Red Pheasant  
P.O. BOX 70  
CANDO, SK, S0K 0V0

Sakimay First Nations  
P.O. BOX 339  
GRENFELL, SK, S0G 2B0

Saulteaux  
P.O. BOX 159  
COCHIN, SK, S0M 0L0

Shoal Lake Cree Nation  
BOX 51  
PAKWAW, SK, S0E 1G0

Standing Buffalo  
P.O. BOX 128  
FORT QU'APPELLE, SK, S0G 1S0

Star Blanket  
P.O. BOX 456  
BALCARRES, SK, S0G 0C0

Sturgeon Lake First Nation  
RR 1 SITE 12, P.O. BOX 5  
SHELLBROOK, SK, S0J 2E0

Sweetgrass  
P.O. BOX 147  
GALLIVAN, SK, S0M 0X0

The Key First Nation  
P.O. BOX 70  
NORQUAY, SK, S0A 2V0

Thunderchild First Nation  
P.O. BOX 600  
TURTLEFORD, SK, S0M 2Y0

Wahpeton Dakota Nation  
P.O. BOX 128  
PRINCE ALBERT, SK, S6V 5R4

Waterhen Lake  
P.O. BOX 9  
WATERHEN LAKE, SK, S0M 3B0

White Bear  
P.O. BOX 700  
CARLYLE, SK, S0C 0R0





Whitecap Dakota First Nation  
RR 5 SITE 507, P.O. BOX 28  
SASKATOON, SK, S7K 3J8

Witchehan Lake  
P.O. BOX 879  
SPIRITWOOD, SK, S0J 2M0

Wood Mountain  
P.O. BOX 1792  
ASSINIBOIA, SK, S0H 0B0

Yellow Quill  
P.O. BOX 40  
YELLOW QUILL, SK, S0A 3A0

#### **Manitoba**

Barren Lands  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
BROCHET, MB, R0B 0B0

Berens River  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
BERENS RIVER, MB, R0B 0A0

Birdtail Sioux  
P.O. BOX 22  
BEULAH, MB, R0M 0B0

Bloodvein  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
BLOODVEIN, MB, R0C 0J0

Brokenhead Ojibway Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
SCANTERBURY, MB, R0E 1W0

Buffalo Point First Nation  
P.O. BOX 1037  
BUFFALO POINT, MB, R0A 2W0

Bunibonibee Cree Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
OXFORD HOUSE, MB, R0B 1C0

Canupawakpa Dakota First Nation  
P.O. BOX 146  
PIPESTONE, MB, R0M 1T0

Chemawawin Cree Nation  
P.O. BOX 9  
EASTERVILLE, MB, R0C 0V0

Cross Lake First Nation  
P.O. BOX 10  
CROSS LAKE, MB, R0B 0J0

Dakota Plains  
P.O. BOX 1246  
PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE, MB, R1N 3J9

Dakota Tipi  
2020 DAKOTA DRIVE  
DAKOTA TIPI, MB, R1N 3X6

Dauphin River  
P.O. BOX 58  
GYPSUMVILLE, MB, R0C 1J0

Ebb and Flow  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
EBB AND FLOW, MB, R0L 0R0

Fisher River  
P.O. BOX 367  
KOOSTATAK, MB, R0C 1S0

Fort Alexander  
P.O. BOX 3  
FORT ALEXANDER, MB, R0E 0P0

Fox Lake  
P.O. BOX 369  
GILLAM, MB, R0B 0L0

Gamblers  
P.O. BOX 250  
BINSARTH, MB, R0J 0G0

Garden Hill First Nations  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
ISLAND LAKE, MB, R0B 0T0

God's Lake First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
GOD'S LAKE NARROWS, MB, R0B 0M0

Grand Rapids First Nation  
P.O. BOX 500  
GRAND RAPIDS, MB, R0C 1E0





Hollow Water  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
WANIPIGOW, MB, R0E 2E0

Keeseekoowenin  
P.O. BOX 100  
ELPHINSTONE, MB, R0J 0N0

Kinonjeoshtegon First Nation  
BOX 359  
HODGSON, MB, R0C 1N0

Lake Manitoba  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
VOGAR, MB, R0C 3C0

Lake St. Martin  
P.O. BOX 69  
GYPSUMVILLE, MB, R0C 1J0

Little Black River  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
O'HANLEY, MB, R0E 1K0

Little Grand Rapids  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
LITTLE GRAND RAPIDS, MB, R0B 0V0

Little Saskatchewan  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
GYPSUMVILLE, MB, R0C 1J0

Long Plain  
P.O. BOX 430  
PORTAGE LA PRAIRIE, MB, R1N 3B7

Manto Sipi Cree Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
GOD'S RIVER, MB, R0B 0N0

Marcel Colomb First Nation  
P.O. BOX 1150  
LYNN LAKE, MB, R0B 0W0

Mathias Colomb  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
PUKATAWAGAN, MB, R0B 1G0

Mosakahiken Cree Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
MOOSE LAKE, MB, R0B 0Y0

Nisichawayasihk Cree Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
NELSON HOUSE, MB, R0B 1A0

Northlands  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
LAC BROCHET, MB, R0B 2E0

Norway House Cree Nation  
P.O. BOX 250  
NORWAY HOUSE, MB, R0B 1B0

O-Chi-Chak-Ko-Sipi First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
CRANE RIVER, MB, R0L 0M0

O-Pipon-Na-Piwin Cree Nation  
Box 13  
South Indian Lake, MB, R0B 1N0

Opaskwayak Cree Nation  
P.O. BOX 1000  
OTINEKA MALL, THE PAS, MB, R9A 1L1

Pauingassi First Nation  
P.O. BOX 60  
PAUINGASSI, MB, R0B 2G0

Peguis  
P.O. BOX 10  
PEGUIS RESERVE, MB, R0C 3J0

Pinaymootang First Nation  
P.O. BOX 279  
FAIRFORD, MB, R0C 0X0

Pine Creek  
P.O. BOX 70  
CAMPERVILLE, MB, R0L 0J0

Poplar River First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
VIA NEGGINAN, NEGGINAN, MB, R0B 0Z0

Red Sucker Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
RED SUCKER LAKE, MB, R0B 1H0

Rolling River  
P.O. BOX 145  
ERICKSON, MB, R0J 0P0





Roseau River Anishinabe First Nation Government  
P.O. BOX 30  
GINEW, MB, R0A 2R0

Sandy Bay  
P.O. BOX 109  
MARIUS, MB, R0H 0T0

Sapotaweyak Cree Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
VIA PELICAN RAPIDS, PELICAN RAPIDS, MB,  
R0L 1L0

Sayisi Dene First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
TADOULE LAKE, MB, R0B 2C0

Shamattawa First Nation  
P.O. BOX 210  
SHAMATTAWA, MB, R0B 1K0

Sioux Valley Dakota Nation  
P.O. BOX 38  
GRISWOLD, MB, R0M 0S0

Skownan First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
SKOWNAN, MB, R0L 1Y0

St. Theresa Point  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
ST THERESA POINT, MB, R0B 1J0

Swan Lake  
P.O. BOX 368  
SWAN LAKE, MB, R0G 2S0

Tataskweyak Cree Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
SPLIT LAKE, MB, R0B 1P0

Tootinaowaziibeeng Treaty Reserve  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
SHORTDALE, MB, R0L 1W0

War Lake First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
ILFORD, MB, R0B 0S0

Wasagamack First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
WASAGAMACK, MB, R0B 1Z0

Waywayseecappo First Nation Treaty Four – 1874  
P.O. BOX 9  
WAYWAYSEECAPPO, MB, R0J 1S0

Wuskwi Sipihk First Nation  
P.O. BOX 220  
BIRCH RIVER, MB, R0L 0E0

York Factory First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
YORK LANDING, MB, R0B 2B0

### Ontario

Aamjiwnaang  
978 TASHMOO AVENUE  
SARNIA, ON, N7T 7H5

Albany  
P.O. BOX 1  
FORT ALBANY, ON, P0L 1H0

Alderville First Nation  
P.O. BOX 46  
ROSENEATH, ON, K0K 2X0

Algonquins of Pikwakanagan  
P.O. BOX 100  
GOLDEN LAKE, ON, K0J 1X0

Animbiigoo Zaagi'igan Anishinaabek  
P.O. BOX 120  
BEARDMORE, ON, P0T 2G0

Anishinabe of Wauzhushk Onigum  
P.O. BOX 1850  
KENORA, ON, P9N 3X8

Anishnaabeg of Naongashiing  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
MORSON, ON, P0W 1J0

Aroland  
P.O. BOX 10  
AROLAND, ON, P0T 1B0

Attawapiskat  
P.O. BOX 248  
ATTAWAPISKAT, ON, P0L 1A0

Aundeck-Omni-Kaning  
P.O. BOX 21, RR 1  
LITTLE CURRENT, ON, P0P 1K0





Batchewana First Nation  
236 FRONTENAC STREET  
SAULT STE MARIE, ON, P6A 5K9

Bay of Quinte Mohawk

Bearfoot Onondaga

Bearskin Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
BEARSKIN LAKE, ON, P0V 1E0

Beausoleil  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
CEDAR POINT, ON, L0K 1C0

Big Grassy  
P.O. BOX 414  
MORSON, ON, P0W 1J0

Biinjitiwaabik Zaaging Anishinaabek  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
MACDIARMID, ON, P0T 2B0

Brunswick House  
P.O. BOX 1178  
CHAPLEAU, ON, P0M 1K0

Caldwell  
10297 TALBOT ROAD  
BLENHEIM, ON, N0P 1A0

Cat Lake  
P.O. BOX 81  
CAT LAKE, ON, P0V 1J0

Chapleau Cree First Nation  
P.O. BOX 400  
CHAPLEAU, ON, P0M 1K0

Chapleau Ojibway  
P.O. BOX 279  
CHAPLEAU, ON, P0M 1K0

Chippewas of Georgina Island  
RR 2, P.O. BOX 13  
SUTTON WEST, ON, L0E 1R0

Chippewas of Kettle and Stony Point  
RR 2  
FOREST, ON, N0N 1J0

Chippewas of Mnjikaning First Nation  
5884 RAMA ROAD, SUITE 200  
RAMA, ON, L0K 1T0

Chippewas of Nawash First Nation  
RR 5  
WIARTON, ON, N0H 2T0

Chippewas of the Thames First Nation  
RR 1  
MUNCEY, ON, N0L 1Y0

Constance Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
CALSTOCK, ON, P0L 1B0

Couchiching First Nation  
RR 2 RMB 2027  
FORT FRANCES, ON, P9A 3M3

Curve Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
CURVE LAKE, ON, K0L 1R0

Deer Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
DEER LAKE, ON, P0V 1N0

Delaware

Dokis  
RR 1  
MONETVILLE, ON, P0M 2K0

Eabametoong First Nation  
P.O. BOX 298  
FORT HOPE, ON, P0T 1L0

Eagle Lake  
P.O. BOX 1001  
MIGISI SAHGAIGAN, ON, P0V 3H0

Flying Post  
P.O. BOX 1027  
NIPIGON, ON, P0T 2J0

Fort Severn  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
FORT SEVERN, ON, P0V 1W0





Fort William  
90 ANEMKI DRIVE, SUITE 200  
THUNDER BAY, ON, P7J 1L3

Garden River First Nation  
7 SHINGWAUK STREET, RR 4  
GARDEN RIVER, ON, P6A 6Z8

Ginoogaming First Nation  
P.O. BOX 89  
LONGLAC, ON, P0T 2A0

Grassy Narrows First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
GRASSY NARROWS, ON, P0X 1B0

Gull Bay  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
GULL BAY, ON, P0T 1P0

Henvey Inlet First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
PICKEREL, ON, P0G 1J0

Hiawatha First Nation  
RR 2  
KEENE, ON, K0L 2G0

Iskatewizaagegan #39 Independent First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
KEJICK, ON, P0X 1E0

Kasabonika Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
KASABONIKA LAKE, ON, P0V 1Y0

Kee-Way-Win  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
KEEWAYWIN, ON, P0V 3G0

Kingfisher  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
KINGFISHER LAKE, ON, P0V 1Z0

Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwig  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
BIG TROUT LAKE, ON, P0V 1G0

Konadaha Seneca

Lac Des Mille Lacs  
1100 MEMORIAL AVENUE, SUITE 328  
THUNDER BAY, ON, P7B 4A3

Lac La Croix  
P.O. BOX 640  
FORT FRANCES, ON, P9A 3M9

Lac Seul  
P.O. BOX 100  
HUDSON, ON, P0V 1X0

Long Lake No.58 First Nation  
P.O. BOX 609  
LONGLAC, ON, P0T 2A0

Lower Cayuga

Lower Mohawk

M'Chigeeng First Nation  
P.O. BOX 2  
M'CHIGEENG, ON, P0P 1G0

Magnetawan  
P.O. BOX 15, RR 1  
BRITT, ON, P0G 1A0

Martin Falls  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
OGOKI, ON, P0T 2L0

Matachewan  
P.O. BOX 208  
MATACHEWAN, ON, P0K 1M0

Mattagami  
P.O. BOX 99  
GOGAMA, ON, P0M 1W0

McDowell Lake  
P.O. BOX 321  
RED LAKE, ON, P0V 2M0

Michipicoten  
P.O. BOX 1  
WAWA, ON, P0S 1K0

Mishkeegogamang  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
OSNABURGH, ON, P0V 2H0





Missanabie Cree  
7 SHINGWAUK STREET  
GARDEN RIVER, ON, P6A 6Z8

Mississauga  
P.O. BOX 1299  
BLIND RIVER, ON, P0R 1B0

Mississauga's of Scugog Island First Nation  
22521 ISLAND ROAD  
PORT PERRY, ON, L9L 1B6

Mississaugas of the Credit  
RR 6  
HAGERSVILLE, ON, N0A 1H0

Mohawks of Akwesasne  
P.O. BOX 579  
CORNWALL, ON, K6H 5T3

Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte  
RR 1  
DESERONTO, ON, K0K 1X0

Moose Cree First Nation  
P.O. BOX 190  
MOOSE FACTORY, ON, P0L 1W0

Moose Deer Point  
P.O. BOX 119  
MACTIER, ON, P0C 1H0

Moravian of the Thames  
RR 3  
THAMESVILLE, ON, N0P 2K0

Munsee-Delaware Nation  
RR 1  
MUNCEY, ON, N0L 1Y0

Muskrat Dam Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
MUSKRAT DAM, ON, P0V 3B0

Naicatchewenin  
P.O. BOX 15  
DEVLIN, ON, P0W 1C0

Naotkamegwaning  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
PAWITIK, ON, P0X 1L0

Neskantaga First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
VIA PICKLE LAKE, LANSDOWNE HOUSE, ON,  
P0T 1Z0

Nibinamik First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
VIA PICKLE LAKE, SUMMER BEAVER, ON,  
P0T 3B0

Nickkousemenecaning  
P.O. BOX 68  
FORT FRANCES, ON, P9A 3M5

Niharondasa Seneca

Nipissing First Nation  
36 SEMO ROAD  
GARDEN VILLAGE, ON, P2B 3K2

North Caribou Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
WEAGAMOW LAKE, ON, P0V 2Y0

North Spirit Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
NORTH SPIRIT LAKE, ON, P0V 2G0

Northwest Angle No.33  
P.O. BOX 1490  
KENORA, ON, P9N 3X7

Northwest Angle No.37  
P.O. BOX 267  
SIOUX NARROWS, ON, P0X 1N0

Obashkaandagaang  
P.O. BOX 625  
KEEWATIN, ON, P0X 1C0

Ochiichagwe'babigo'ining First Nation  
RR 1, DALLES ROAD  
KENORA, ON, P9N 3W7

Ojibway Nation of Saugeen  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
SAVANT LAKE, ON, P0V 2S0

Ojibways of Onigaming First Nation  
P.O. BOX 160  
NESTOR FALLS, ON, P0X 1K0





Ojibways of the Pic River First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
HERON BAY, ON, P0T 1R0

Oneida

Oneida Nation of the Thames  
RR 2  
SOUTHWOLD, ON, N0L 2G0

Onondaga Clear Sky

Pays Plat  
10 CENTRAL PLACE  
PAYS PLAT, ON, P0T 3C0

Pic Mobert  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
MOBERT, ON, P0M 2J0

Pikangikum  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
PIKANGIKUM, ON, P0V 2L0

Poplar Hill  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
POPLAR HILL, ON, P0V 3E0

Rainy River First Nations  
P.O. BOX 450  
EMO, ON, P0W 1E0

Red Rock  
P.O. BOX 1030  
NIPIGON, ON, P0T 2J0

Sachigo Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
SACHIGO LAKE, ON, P0V 2P0

Sagamok Anishnawbek  
P.O. BOX 610  
MASSEY, ON, P0P 1P0

Sandpoint  
682 CITY ROAD  
THUNDER BAY, ON, P7J 1K3

Sandy Lake  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
SANDY LAKE, ON, P0V 1V0

Saugeen  
RR 1  
SOUTHAMPTON, ON, N0H 2L0

Seine River First Nation  
P.O. BOX 124  
MINE CENTRE, ON, P0W 1H0

Serpent River  
48 VILLAGE ROAD  
CUTLER, ON, P0P 1B0

Shawanaga First Nation  
RR 1  
NOBEL, ON, P0G 1G0

Sheguiandah  
P.O. BOX 101  
SHEGUIANDAH, ON, P0P 1W0

Sheshegwaning  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
SHESHEGWANING, ON, P0P 1X0

Shoal Lake No.40  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
KEJICK, ON, P0X 1E0

Six Nations of the Grand River  
P.O. BOX 5000  
OHSWEKEN, ON, N0A 1M0

Slate Falls Nation  
48 LAKEVIEW DR  
SLATE FALLS, ON, P0V 3C0

Stanjikoming First Nation  
P.O. BOX 609  
FORT FRANCES, ON, P9A 3M9

Taykwa Tagamou Nation  
P.O. BOX 3310, RR 3  
COCHRANE, ON, P0L 1C0

Temagami First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
VIA BEAR ISLAND, TEMAGAMI, ON, P0H 2H0

Thessalon  
P.O. BOX 9  
THESSALON, ON, P0R 1L0





Tuscarora	Weenusk P.O. BOX 1 PEAWANUCK, ON, P0L 2H0
Upper Cayuga	
Upper Mohawk	Whitefish Lake P.O. BOX 39 NAUGHTON, ON, P0M 2M0
Wabaseemoong Independent Nations GENERAL DELIVERY WHITEDOG, ON, P0X 1P0	Whitefish River GENERAL DELIVERY BIRCH ISLAND, ON, P0P 1A0
Wabauskang First Nation P.O. BOX 418 EAR FALLS, ON, P0V 1T0	Whitesand P.O. BOX 68 ARMSTRONG, ON, P0T 1A0
Wabigoon Lake Ojibway Nation RR 1, SITE 115, P.O. BOX 300 DRYDEN, ON, P8N 2Y4	Wikwemikong P.O. BOX 112 WIKWEMIKONG, ON, P0P 2J0
Wahgoshig P.O. BOX 629 MATHESON, ON, P0K 1N0	Wunnumin P.O. BOX 105 WUNNUMIN LAKE, ON, P0V 2Z0
Wahnapiatae P.O. BOX 1119 CAPREOL, ON, P0M 1H0	Zhiibaahaasing First Nation GENERAL DELIVERY SIVLER WATER, ON, P0P 1Y0
Wahta Mohawk P.O. BOX 260 BALA, ON, P0C 1A0	<b>Quebec</b> Abénakis de Wôlinak 10120 RUE KOLIPAIO BÉCANCOUR, QC, G0X 1B0
Walker Mohawk	
Walpole Island RR 3 WALLACEBURG, ON, N8A 4K9	Algonquins of Barriere Lake GENERAL DELIVERY RAPID LAKE, QC, J0W 2C0
Wapekeka GENERAL DELIVERY ANGLING LAKE, ON, P0V 1B0	Atikamekw d'Opitciwan CP 135 OBEDJIWAN, QC, G0W 3B0
Wasauksing First Nation P.O. BOX 250 PARRY SOUND, ON, P2A 2X4	Betsiamites 2 RUE ASHINI, CP 40 BETSIAMITES, QC, G0H 1B0
Wawakapewin C/O SHIBOGAMA FIRST NATION COUNCIL, P.O. BOX 449 SIOUX LOOKOUT, ON, P8T 1A5	Communauté anicinape de Kitcisakik CP 5206 VAL D'OR, QC, J9P 7C6
Webequie P.O. BOX 176 WEBEQUIE, ON, P0T 3A0	Conseil de la Première Nation Abitibiwinini 45 RUE MIGWAN PIKOGAN, QC, J9T 3A3





Conseil des Atikamekw de Wemotaci  
CP 221  
WEMOTACI, QC, G0X 3R0

Cree Nation of Chisasibi  
P.O. BOX 150  
CHISASIBI, QC, J0M 1E0

Cree Nation of Mistissini  
ISAAC SHECAPIO SR ADMIN BLDG,  
187 MAIN STREET  
MISTISSINI, QC, G0W 1C0

Cree Nation of Nemaska  
1 LAKESHORE ROAD  
NÉMISCAU, QC, J0Y 3B0

Cree Nation of Wemindji  
16 BEAVER ROAD, P.O. BOX 60  
WEMINDJI, QC, J0M 1L0

Eagle Village First Nation – Kipawa  
P.O. BOX 756, EAGLE VILLAGE FIRST NATION  
TÉMISCAMING, QC, J0Z 3R0

Eastmain  
P.O. BOX 90  
EASTMAIN, QC, J0M 1W0

Innu Takuaikan Uashat Mak Mani-Utenam  
1089 DEQUEN, CP 8000  
SEPT-ÎLES, QC, G4R 4L9

Innue Essipit  
32 RUE DE LA RESERVE, CP 820  
LES ESCOUMINS, QC, G0T 1K0

Kahnawake  
P.O. BOX 720  
KAHNAWAKE, QC, J0L 1B0

Kitigan Zibi Anishinabeg  
P.O. BOX 309  
MANIWAKI, QC, J9E 3C9

La Nation Innu Matimekush-Lac John  
CP 1390  
SCHEFFERVILLE, QC, G0G 2T0

La Nation Micmac de Gespeg  
783 BOUL POINTE NAVARRE, CP 69  
FONTENELLE, QC, G4X 1J0

Les Atikamekw de Manawan  
135 RUE KICIK  
MANOUANE, QC, J0K 1M0

Les Innus de Ekuanitshit  
35 RUE MANITOU  
LONGUE-POINTE-DE-MINGAN, QC, G0G 1V0

Listuguj Mi'gmaq Government  
17 RIVERSIDE DRIVE WEST, P.O. BOX 298  
LISTUGUJ, QC, G0C 2R0

Long Point First Nation  
P.O. BOX 1  
WINNEWAY RIVER, QC, J0Z 2J0

Micmacs of Gesgapegiag  
P.O. BOX 1280  
MARIA, QC, G0C 1Y0

Mohawks of Kanesatake  
681 RANG SAINTE-PHILOMÈNE, RR 1  
OKA, QC, J0N 1E0

Montagnais de Natashquan  
159A RUE DES MONTAGNAIS  
NATASHQUAN, QC, G0G 2E0

Montagnais de Pakua Shipi  
CP 178  
ST-AUGUSTIN-SAGUENAY, QC, G0G 2R0

Montagnais de Unamen Shipu  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
GETHSÉMANI, QC, G0G 1M0

Montagnais du Lac St.-Jean  
1671 RUE OUIATCHOUAN  
MASHTEUIATSH, QC, G0W 2H0

Naskapi of Quebec  
P.O. BOX 5111  
KAWAWACHIKAMACH, QC, G0G 2Z0

Nation Anishnabe du Lac Simon  
1026 BOUL CICIP, CP 139  
LAC SIMON, QC, J0Y 3M0

Nation Huronne Wendat  
255 PLACE CHEF MICHEL LAVEAU  
WENDAKE, QC, G0A 4V0





Odanak  
102 RUE SIBOSIS  
ODANAK, QC, J0G 1H0

Première Nation Malecite de Viger  
112 RUE DE LA GRÈVE, P.O. BOX 10  
CACOUNA, QC, G0L 1G0

Première nation de Whapmagoostui  
P.O. BOX 390  
KUUJUUARAPIK, QC, J0M 1G0

The Crees of the Waskaganish First Nation  
P.O. BOX 60  
WASKAGANISH, QC, J0M 1R0

Timiskaming First Nation  
P.O. BOX 336  
NOTRE-DAME-DU-NORD, QC, J0Z 3B0

Waswanipi  
DIOM BLACKSMITH BUILDING, P.O. BOX 8  
WASWANIP, QC, J0Y 3C0

Wolf Lake  
P.O. BOX 998  
HUNTER'S POINT, TÉMISCAMING, QC, J0Z 3R0

**New Brunswick**  
Buctouche  
9 RESERVE ROAD  
BUCTOUCHE RESERVE, NB, E4S 4G2

Burnt Church  
620 BAYVIEW DRIVE  
BURNT CHURCH, NB, E9G 2A8

Eel Ground  
47 CHURCH RD  
EEL GROUND, NB, E1V 4E6

Eel River Bar First Nation  
11 MAIN STREET, Unit 201  
EEL RIVER BAR, NB, E8C 1A1

Elsipogtog First Nation  
RR 1, 373 BIG COVE ROAD  
ELSIPOGTOG FIRST NATION, NB, E4W 2S3

Fort Folly  
P.O. BOX 1007  
DORCHESTER, NB, E4K 3V5

Indian Island  
61 INDIAN ISLAND DRIVE  
INDIAN ISLAND, NB, E4W 1S9

Kingsclear  
77 FRENCH VILLAGE RD  
KINGSCLEAR FIRST NATION, NB, E3E 1K3

Madawaska Maliseet First Nation  
1771 MAIN STREET  
MADAWASKA MALISEET FIRST NAT, NB, E7C 1W9

Metepenagiag Mi'kmaq Nation  
P.O. BOX 293  
Metepenagiag Mi'kmaq Nation, NB, E9E 2P2

Oromocto  
P.O. BOX 417  
OROMOCTO, NB, E2V 2J2

Pabineau  
1290 PABINEAU FALLS ROAD  
PABINEAU FIRST NATION, NB, E2A 7M3

Saint Mary's  
150 CLIFFE STREET  
FREDERICTON, NB, E3A 0A1

Tobique  
13156 ROUTE 105  
TOBIQUE FIRST NATION, NB, E7H 5M7

Woodstock  
3 WULASTOOK COURT  
WOODSTOCK FIRST NATION, NB, E7M 4K6

**Nova Scotia**  
Acadia  
10526 Highway 3  
YARMOUTH, NS, B5A 4A8

Annapolis Valley  
P.O. BOX 89  
CAMBRIDGE STATION, NS, B0P 1G0

Bear River  
P.O. BOX 210  
BEAR RIVER, NS, B0S 1B0





Chapel Island First Nation  
P.O. BOX 538  
CHAPEL ISLAND, NS, B0E 3B0

Eskasoni  
P.O. BOX 7040, 63 MINI MALL DRIVE  
ESKASONI, NS, B1W 1A1

Glooscap First Nation  
P.O. BOX 449  
HANTSPORT, NS, B0P 1P0

Membertou  
111 MEMBERTOU STREET  
SYDNEY, NS, B1S 2M9

Millbrook  
P.O. BOX 634  
TRURO, NS, B2N 5E5

Paq'tnkek First Nation  
RR 1  
AFTON, NS, B0H 1A0

Pictou Landing  
SITE 6, BOX 55, RR 2  
TRENTON, NS, B0K 1X0

Shubenacadie  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
MICMAC POST OFFICE, HANTS CO., NS,  
B0N 1W0

Wagmatcook  
P.O. BOX 30001  
WAGMATCOOK, NS, B0E 3N0

Waycobah First Nation  
P.O. BOX 149  
WHYCOCOMAGH, NS, B0E 3M0

#### **Prince Edward Island**

Abegweit  
P.O. BOX 36  
MOUNT STEWART, PE, C0A 1T0

Lennox Island  
P.O. BOX 134  
LENNOX ISLAND, PE, C0B 1P0

#### **Newfoundland**

Miawpukek  
P.O. BOX 10  
BAY D'ESPOIR, CONNE RIVER, NF, A0H 1J0

Mushuau Innu First Nation  
P.O. BOX 190  
NATUASHISH, NF, A0P 1A0

Sheshatshiu Innu First Nation  
P.O. BOX 160  
Sheshatshiu First Nation, NF, A0P 1M0

#### **Northwest Territories and Nunavut**

Acho Dene Koe  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
FORT LIARD, NT, X0E 0A0

Aklavik  
P.O. BOX 118  
AKLAVIK, NT, X0E 0A0

Behdzi Ahda" First Nation  
P.O. BOX 53  
COLVILLE LAKE, NT, X0E 0L0

Dechi Laot'i First Nations  
P.O. BOX 69  
WEKWETI, NT, X0E 1W0

Deh Gah Gotie Dene Council  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
FORT PROVIDENCE, NT, X0E 0L0

Deline First Nation  
P.O. BOX 158  
DELINE, NT, X0E 0G0

Deninu K'ue First Nation  
BOX 1899  
FORT RESOLUTION, NT, X0E 0M0

Dog Rib Rae  
P.O. BOX 8  
FORT RAE, NT, X0E 0Y0

Fort Good Hope  
P.O. BOX 80  
FORT GOOD HOPE, NT, X0E 0H0





Gameti First Nation  
P.O. BOX 1  
RAE LAKES, NT, X0E 1R0

Gwichya Gwich'in  
P.O. BOX 4  
TSIIGEHTCHIC, NT, X0E 0B0

Inuvik Native  
P.O. BOX 2570  
INUVIK, NT, X0E 0T0

Jean Marie River First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
JEAN MARIE RIVER, NT, X0E 0N0

K'atlodeeche First Nation  
P.O. BOX 3060  
HAY RIVER RESERVE, NT, X0E 1G4

Ka'a'gee Tu First Nation  
P.O. BOX 4428  
HAY RIVER, NT, X0E 1G3

Liidlii Kue First Nation  
P.O. BOX 469  
FORT SIMPSON, NT, X0E 0N0

Lutsel K'e Dene First Nation  
P.O. BOX 28  
LUTSEL K'E, NT, X0E 1A0

Nahanni Butte  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
NAHANNI BUTTE, NT, X0E 0N0

Pehdzeh Ki First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
WRIGLEY, NT, X0E 1E0

Salt River First Nation #195  
P.O. BOX 960  
FORT SMITH, NT, X0E 0P0

Sambaa K'e (Trout Lake) Dene  
P.O. BOX 10, VIA FORT SIMPSON  
TROUT LAKE, NT, X0E 0N0

Tetlit Gwich'in  
P.O. BOX 30  
FORT MCPHERSON, NT, X0E 0J0

Tulita Dene  
P.O. BOX 118  
TULITA, NT, X0E 0K0

West Point First Nation  
1 - 47031 MACKENZIE HWY  
HAY RIVER, NT, X0E 0R9

Wha Ti First Nation  
P.O. BOX 92  
WHA TI, NT, X0E 1P0

Yellowknives Dene First Nation  
P.O. BOX 2514  
YELLOWKNIFE, NT, X1A 2P8

**Aishihik, Yukon**  
Carcross/Tagish First Nations  
P.O. BOX 130  
CARCROSS, YT, Y0B 1B0

Champagne

Champagne and Aishihik First Nations  
P.O. BOX 5309  
HAINES JUNCTION, YT, Y0B 1L0

Dease River  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
GOOD HOPE LAKE, BC, V0C 2Z0

First Nation of Nacho Nyak Dun  
P.O. BOX 220  
MAYO, YT, Y0B 1M0

Kluane First Nation  
BOX 20  
BURWASH LANDING, YT, Y0B 1H0

Kwanlin Dun First Nation  
35 McIntyre Street  
WHITEHORSE, YT, Y1A 5S5

Liard First Nation  
P.O. BOX 328  
WATSON LAKE, YT, Y0A 1C0

Little Salmon/Carmacks First Nation  
P.O. BOX 135  
CARMACKS, YT, Y0B 1C0





Ross River  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
ROSS RIVER, YT, Y0B 1S0

Selkirk First Nation  
BOX 40  
PELLEY CROSSING, YT, Y0B 1P0

Ta'an Kwach'an  
117 Industrial Road  
WHITEHORSE, YT, Y1A 2T8

Taku River Tlingit  
P.O. BOX 132  
ATLIN, YT, V0W 1A0

Teslin Tlingit Council  
BOX 133  
TESLIN, YT, Y0A 1B0  
Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in  
P.O. BOX 599  
DAWSON CITY, YT, Y0B 1G0

Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
OLD CROW, YT, Y0B 1N0

White River First Nation  
GENERAL DELIVERY  
BEAVER CREEK, YT, Y0B 1A0

*Source:* Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, [http://pse2-esd2.ainc-inac.gc.ca/FNProfiles/FNProfiles\\_home.htm](http://pse2-esd2.ainc-inac.gc.ca/FNProfiles/FNProfiles_home.htm), accessed April 27, 2007.

## Heads of Indian Affairs, 1824–2007

Name	Title	Term
Thomas L. McKenney	Head of Office of Indian Affairs <sup>1</sup>	1824–1829
Samuel S. Hamilton	Head of Office of Indian Affairs	1830–1831
Elbert Herring	Head of Office of Indian Affairs	1831–1832
Elbert Herring	Commissioner of Indian Affairs <sup>2</sup>	1832–1836
Carey A. Harris	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1836–1838
Thomas H. Crawford	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1838–1845
William Medill	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1845–1849
Orlando Brown	Commissioner of Indian Affairs <sup>3</sup>	1849–1850
Luke Lea	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1850–1853
George W. Manypenny	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1853–1857
James W. Denver	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1857–1859
Charles E. Mix	Commissioner of Indian Affairs (interim)	1858
Alfred B. Greenwood	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1859–1861
William P. Dole	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1861–1865
Dennis N. Cooley	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1865–1866
Lewis Vital Bogy	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1866–1867
Nathaniel G. Taylor	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1867–1869
Ely S. Parker (Seneca)	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1869–1871
Francis A. Walker	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1871–1872
Edward P. Smith	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1873–1875
John Q. Smith	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1875–1877
Ezra A. Hayt	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1877–1880
Rowland E. Trowbridge	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1880–1881
Hiram Price	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1881–1885

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## Heads of Indian Affairs, 1824–2007 (cont.)

Name	Title	Term
John D. C. Atkins	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1885–1888
John H. Oberly	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1888–1889
Thomas J. Morgan	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1889–1893
Daniel M. Browning	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1893–1897
William A. Jones	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1897–1905
Francis E. Leupp	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1905–1909
Robert G. Valentine	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1909–1912
Cato Sells	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1912–1920
Charles H. Burke	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1921–1929
Charles J. Rhoads	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1929–1932
John Collier	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1933–1945
William A. Brophy	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1945–1948
John R. Nichols	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1949–1950
Dillon S. Myer	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1950–1953
Glenn L. Emmons	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1953–1961
Philleo Nash	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1961–1966
Robert LaFollette Bennett (Oneida)	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1966–1969
Louis R. Bruce Jr. (Mohawk/Oglala Sioux)	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1969–1972
Morris Thompson (Athabaskan)	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1973–1976
Benjamin Reifel (Brulé Sioux)	Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1976–1977
Forrest J. Gerard (Blackfeet)	Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs <sup>4</sup>	1977–1981
Raymond Butler (Blackfeet)	Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1977
Martin Seneca Jr. (Seneca)	Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs	1978
William E. Hallett (Chippewa)	Commissioner of Indian Affairs <sup>5</sup>	1979–1981
Tom Fredericks (Mandan-Hidatsa)	Temporary Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs	1981
Kenneth L. Smith (Wasco)	Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs	1981–1985
Ross Swimmer (Cherokee)	Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs	1985–1989
Eddie Brown (Pascua Yaqui)	Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs	1989–1993
Ada Deer (Menominee)	Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs	1993–1997
Kevin Gover (Pawnee)	Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs	1997–2001
Neil McCaleb (Chickasaw)	Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs	2001–2003
David Anderson (Lake Superior Chippewa)	Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs	2003–2005
Carl J. Artman (Oneida)	Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs <sup>6</sup>	2007–Present

<sup>1</sup>From 1789 to 1832, the secretary of war was officially in charge of Indian affairs, but in 1824, an Office of Indian Affairs was created within the War Department, and a head of Indian affairs was appointed to oversee it.

<sup>2</sup>In 1832, the secretary of war created the position of commissioner of Indian affairs within the War Department to manage Indian affairs.

<sup>3</sup>In 1849, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its head, the commissioner of Indian affairs, moved from the War Department to the Department of the Interior.

<sup>4</sup>In 1977, Congress created the position of assistant secretary of the interior for Indian affairs to aid the interior secretary with Indian policy. The commissioner of Indian affairs continued to oversee the operations of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

<sup>5</sup>William E. Hallett served as the last commissioner of Indian affairs. Since 1981, the position has remained vacant, and the assistant secretary for Indian affairs has assumed responsibility for Indian affairs.

<sup>6</sup>The position of Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs was vacant from 2005–2007.

Sources: Bureau of Indian Affairs (<http://www.doi.gov/bureau-indian-affairs.html>); Grossman, Mark, ABC-CLIO, *Companion to the Native American Rights Movement*, 1996; Hirschfelder, Arlene, and Martha Kreipe de Montaña, *The Native American Almanac*, 1993. Accessed April 24, 2007





## Native American Treaties with the United States, 1778–1883

Treaty	Year	Treaty	Year
Treaty with the Delawares	1778	Treaty with the Wea	1809
Treaty with the Six Nations	1784	Treaty with the Kickapoo	1809
Treaty with the Wyandot, etc.	1785	Treaty with the Wyandot, etc.	1814
Treaty with the Cherokee	1785	Treaty with the Creeks	1814
Treaty with the Choctaw	1786	Treaty with the Potawatomi	1815
Treaty with the Chickasaw	1786	Treaty with the Piankashaw	1815
Treaty with the Shawnee	1786	Treaty with the Teton	1815
Treaty with the Wyandot, etc.	1789	Treaty with the Sioux of the Lakes	1815
Treaty with the Six Nations	1789	Treaty with the Sioux of St. Peter's River	1815
Treaty with the Creeks	1790	Treaty with the Yankton Sioux	1815
Treaty with the Cherokee	1791	Treaty with the Makah	1815
Agreement with the Five Nations of Indians	1792	Treaty with the Kickapoo	1815
Treaty with the Cherokee	1794	Treaty with the Wyandot, etc.	1815
Treaty with the Six Nations	1794	Treaty with the Osage	1815
Treaty with the Oneida, etc.	1794	Treaty with the Sauk	1815
Treaty with the Wyandot, etc.	1795	Treaty with the Foxes	1815
Treaty with the Seven Nations of Canada	1796	Treaty with the Iowa	1815
Treaty with the Creeks	1796	Treaty with the Kansa	1815
Treaty with the Mohawk	1797	Treaty with the Cherokee	1816
Agreement with the Seneca	1797	Treaty with the Cherokee	1816
Treaty with the Cherokee	1798	Treaty with the Sauk	1816
Treaty with the Chickasaw	1801	Treaty with the Sioux	1816
Treaty with the Choctaw	1801	Treaty with the Winnebago	1816
Treaty with the Creeks	1802	Treaty with the Wea and Kickapoo	1816
Treaty with the Seneca	1802	Treaty with the Ottawa, etc.	1816
Treaty with the Seneca	1802	Treaty with the Cherokee	1816
Treaty with the Choctaw	1802	Treaty with the Chickasaw	1816
Treaty with the Delawares, etc.	1803	Treaty with the Choctaw	1816
Treaty with the Eel River, etc.	1803	Treaty with the Menominee	1817
Treaty with the Kaskaskia	1803	Treaty with the Oto	1817
Treaty with the Choctaw	1803	Treaty with the Ponca	1817
Treaty with the Delawares	1804	Treaty with the Cherokee	1817
Treaty with the Piankashaw	1804	Treaty with the Wyandot, etc.	1817
Treaty with the Cherokee	1804	Treaty with the Creeks	1818
Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes	1804	Treaty with the Grand Pawnee	1818
Treaty with the Wyandot, etc.	1805	Treaty with the Noisy Pawnee	1818
Treaty with the Chickasaw	1805	Treaty with the Pawnee Republic	1818
Treaty with the Delawares, etc.	1805	Treaty with the Pawnee Marhar	1818
Treaty with the Cherokee	1805	Treaty with the Quapaw	1818
Treaty with the Cherokee	1805	Treaty with the Wyandot, etc.	1818
Treaty with the Creeks	1805	Treaty with the Wyandot.	1818
Treaty with the Choctaw	1805	Treaty with the Peoria, etc.	1818
Treaty with the Piankashaw	1805	Treaty with the Osage	1818
Treaty with the Sioux	1805	Treaty with the Potawatomi	1818
Treaty with the Cherokee	1806	Treaty with the Wea	1818
Treaty with the Ottawa, etc.	1807	Treaty with the Delawares	1818
Treaty with the Osage	1808	Treaty with the Miami	1818
Treaty with the Chippewa, etc.	1808	Treaty with the Chickasaw	1818
Treaty with the Delawares, etc.	1809	Agreement with the Piankashaw	1818
Supplementary Treaty with the Miami, etc.	1809	Treaty with the Cherokee	1819

(continues)





## Native American Treaties with the United States, 1778–1883 (cont.)

Treaty	Year	Treaty	Year
Treaty with the Kickapoo	1819	Treaty with the Miami	1828
Treaty with the Kickapoo	1819	Treaty with the Western Cherokee	1828
Treaty with the Chippewa	1819	Treaty with the Winnebago, etc.	1828
Treaty with the Chippewa	1820	Treaty with the Potawatomi	1828
Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa	1820	Treaty with the Chippewa, etc.	1829
Treaty with the Kickapoo	1820	Treaty with the Winnebago	1829
Treaty with the Wea	1820	Treaty with the Delawares	1829
Treaty with the Kickapoo of the Vermilion	1820	Treaty with the Delawares	1829
Treaty with the Choctaw	1820	Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes, etc.	1830
Treaty with the Creeks	1821	Treaty with the Choctaw	1830
Treaty with the Creeks	1821	Treaty with the Chickasaw	1830
Treaty with the Ottawa, etc.	1821	Treaty with the Menominee	1831
Treaty with the Osage	1822	Treaty with the Menominee	1831
Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes	1822	Treaty with the Seneca	1831
Treaty with the Florida Tribes of Indians	1823	Treaty with the Seneca, etc.	1831
Agreement with the Seneca	1823	Treaty with the Shawnee	1831
Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes	1824	Treaty with the Ottawa	1831
Treaty with the Iowa	1824	Treaty with the Wyandot	1832
Treaty with the Quapaw	1824	Treaty with the Creeks	1832
Treaty with the Choctaw	1825	Treaty with the Seminole	1832
Treaty with the Creeks	1825	Treaty with the Winnebago	1832
Treaty with the Osage	1825	Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes	1832
Treaty with the Kansa	1825	Treaty with the Appalachicola Band	1832
Treaty with the Ponca	1825	Treaty with the Potawatomi	1832
Treaty with the Teton, etc. Sioux	1825	Treaty with the Chickasaw	1832
Treaty with the Sioune and Oglala Tribes	1825	Treaty with the Chickasaw	1832
Treaty with the Cheyenne Tribe	1825	Treaty with the Kickapoo	1832
Treaty with the Hunkpapa Band of the Sioux Tribe	1825	Treaty with the Potawatomi	1832
Treaty with the Arikara Tribe	1825	Treaty with the Shawnee, etc.	1832
Treaty with the Belantse-Etoa or Minitaree Tribe	1825	Treaty with the Potawatomi	1832
Treaty with the Mandan Tribe	1825	Treaty with the Kaskaskia, etc.	1832
Treaty with the Crow Tribe	1825	Treaty with the Menominee	1832
Treaty with the Great and Little Osage	1825	Treaty with the Piankashaw and Wea	1832
Treaty with the Kansa	1825	Treaty with the Seneca and Shawnee	1832
Treaty with the Sioux, etc.	1825	Treaty with the Western Cherokee	1833
Treaty with the Oto and Missouri Tribe	1825	Treaty with the Creeks	1833
Treaty with the Pawnee Tribe	1825	Treaty with the Ottawa	1833
Treaty with the Makah Tribe	1825	Treaty with the Seminole	1833
Treaty with the Shawnee	1825	Treaty with the Quapaw	1833
Agreement with the Creeks	1825	Treaty with the Appalachicola Band	1833
Treaty with the Creeks	1826	Treaty with the Oto and Missouri	1833
Treaty with the Chippewa	1826	Treaty with the Chippewa, etc.	1833
Treaty with the Potawatomi	1826	Treaty with the Pawnee	1833
Treaty with the Miami	1826	Treaty with the Chickasaw	1834
Treaty with the Chippewa, etc.	1827	Treaty with the Miami	1834
Treaty with the Potawatomi	1827	Treaty with the Potawatomi	1834
Treaty with the Creeks	1827	Treaty with the Potawatomi	1834
		Treaty with the Potawatomi	1834

(continues)



**Native American Treaties with the United States, 1778–1883 (cont.)**

<b>Treaty</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Treaty</b>	<b>Year</b>
Treaty with the Caddo	1835	Treaty with the Chippewa	1842
Treaty with the Comanche, etc.	1835	Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes	1842
Treaty with the Cherokee (Treaty of New Echota)	1835	Agreement with the Delawares and Wyandot	1843
Agreement with the Cherokee	1835	Treaty with the Creeks and Seminole	1845
Treaty with the Potawatomi	1836	Treaty with the Kansa Tribe	1846
Treaty with the Ottawa, etc.	1836	Treaty with the Comanche, Aionai, Anadarko, Caddo, etc.	1846
Treaty with the Potawatomi	1836	Treaty with the Potawatomi Nation	1846
Treaty with the Potawatomi	1836	Treaty with the Cherokee	1846
Treaty with the Potawatomi	1836	Treaty with the Winnebago	1846
Treaty with the Wyandot	1836	Treaty with the Chippewa of the Mississippi and Lake Superior	1847
Treaty with the Chippewa	1836	Treaty with the Pillager Band of Chippewa Indians	1847
Treaty with the Potawatomi	1836	Treaty with the Pawnee-Grand Loups Republicans, etc.	1848
Treaty with the Menominee	1836	Treaty with the Menominee	1848
Treaty with the Sioux	1836	Treaty with the Stockbridge Tribe	1848
Treaty with the Iowa, etc.	1836	Treaty with the Navaho	1849
Treaty with the Potawatomi	1836	Treaty with the Utah	1849
Treaty with the Potawatomi	1836	Treaty with the Wyandot	1850
Treaty with the Sauk and Fox Tribe	1836	Treaty with the Sioux–Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands	1851
Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes	1836	Treaty with the Sioux–Mdewakanton and Wahpakoota Bands	1851
Treaty with the Oto, etc.	1836	Treaty of Fort Laramie with Sioux, etc.	1851
Treaty with the Sioux	1836	Treaty with the Chickasaw	1852
Treaty with the Chippewa	1837	Treaty with the Apache	1852
Treaty with the Choctaw and Chickasaw	1837	Treaty with the Comanche Kiowa and Apache	1853
Treaty with the Potawatomi	1837	Agreement with the Rogue River	1853
Treaty with the Kiowa, etc.	1837	Treaty with the Rogue River	1853
Treaty with the Chippewa	1837	Treaty with the Umpqua-Cow Creek Band	1853
Treaty with the Sioux	1837	Treaty with the Oto and Missouri	1854
Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes	1837	Treaty with the Omaha	1854
Treaty with the Yankton Sioux	1837	Treaty with the Delawares	1854
Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes	1837	Treaty with the Shawnee	1854
Treaty with the Winnebago	1837	Treaty with the Menominee	1854
Treaty with the Iowa	1837	Treaty with the Iowa	1854
Treaty with the Chippewa	1837	Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes of Missouri	1854
Treaty with the New York Indians	1838	Treaty with the Kickapoo	1854
Treaty with the Chippewa	1838	Treaty with the Kaskaskia Peoria, etc.	1854
Treaty with the Oneida	1838	Treaty with the Miami	1854
Treaty with the Iowa	1838	Treaty with the Creeks	1854
Treaty with the Miami	1838	Treaty with the Chippewa	1854
Treaty with the Creeks	1838	Treaty with the Choctaw and Chickasaw	1854
Treaty with the Osage	1839	Treaty with the Rogue River	1854
Treaty with the Chippewa	1839	Treaty with the Chasta, etc.	1854
Treaty with the Stockbridge and Munsee	1839		
Treaty with the Miami	1840		
Treaty with the Wyandot	1842		
Treaty with the Seneca	1842		

*(continues)*





## Native American Treaties with the United States, 1778–1883 (cont.)

Treaty	Year	Treaty	Year
Treaty with the Umpqua and Kalapuya	1854	Treaty with the Eastern Shoshoni	1863
Treaty with the Confederated Oto and Missouri	1854	Treaty with the Shoshoni–Northwestern Bands	1863
Treaty with the Nisqualli Puyallup, etc.	1854	Treaty with the Western Shoshoni	1863
Treaty with the Kalapuya, etc.	1855	Treaty with the Chippewa–Red Lake and Pembina Bands	1863
Treaty with the Dwamish Suquamish, etc.	1855	Treaty with the Utah–Tabeguache Band	1863
Treaty with the S'klallam	1855	Treaty with the Shoshoni–Goship	1863
Treaty with the Wyandot	1855	Treaty with the Chippewa–Red Lake and Pembina Bands	1864
Treaty with the Makah	1855	Treaty with the Chippewa, Mississippi, and Pillager and Lake Winnibigoshish Bands	1864
Treaty with the Chippewa	1855	Treaty with the Klamath, etc.	1864
Treaty with the Winnebago	1855	Treaty with the Chippewa of Saginaw	1864
Treaty with the Wallawalla Cayuse, etc.	1855	Swan Creek and Black River	1864
Treaty with the Yakima	1855	Treaty with the Omaha	1865
Treaty with the Nez Percés	1855	Treaty with the Winnebago	1865
Treaty with the Choctaw and Chickasaw	1855	Treaty with the Ponca	1865
Treaty with the Tribes of Middle Oregon	1855	Treaty with the Snake	1865
Treaty with the Quinaiet, etc.	1855	Treaty with the Osage	1865
Treaty with the Flatheads, etc.	1855	Treaty with the Sioux–Miniconjou Band	1865
Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa	1855	Treaty with the Sioux–Lower Brulé Band	1865
Treaty with the Chippewa of Sault Ste. Marie	1855	Agreement with the Cherokee and Other Tribes in the Indian Territory	1865
Treaty with the Chippewa of Saginaw, etc.	1855	Treaty with the Cheyenne and Arapaho	1865
Treaty with the Blackfeet	1855	Treaty with the Apache Cheyenne and Arapaho	1865
Treaty with the Molala	1855	Treaty with the Comanche and Kiowa	1865
Treaty with the Stockbridge and Munsee	1856	Treaty with the Sioux–Two-Kettle Band	1865
Treaty with the Menominee	1856	Treaty with the Blackfeet Sioux	1865
Treaty with the Creeks, etc.	1856	Treaty with the Sioux–Sans Arc Band	1865
Treaty with the Pawnee	1857	Treaty with the Sioux–Hunkpapa Band	1865
Treaty with the Seneca Tonawanda Band	1857	Treaty with the Sioux–Yanktonai Band	1865
Treaty with the Ponca	1858	Treaty with the Sioux–Upper Yanktonai Band	1865
Treaty with the Yankton Sioux	1858	Treaty with the Sioux–Oglala Band	1865
Treaty with the Sioux	1858	Treaty with the Middle Oregon Tribes	1865
Treaty with the Sioux	1858	Treaty with the Seminole	1866
Treaty with the Winnebago	1859	Treaty with the Potawatomi	1866
Treaty with the Chippewa, etc.	1859	Treaty with the Chippewa–Bois Fort Band	1866
Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes	1859	Treaty with the Choctaw and Chickasaw	1866
Treaty with the Kansa Tribe	1859	Treaty with the Creeks	1866
Treaty with the Delawares	1860	Treaty with the Delawares	1866
Treaty with the Arapaho and Cheyenne	1861	Agreement at Fort Berthold	1866
Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes, etc.	1861	Treaty with the Cherokee	1866
Treaty with the Delawares	1861	Treaty with the Sauk and Foxes	1867
Treaty with the Potawatomi	1861	Treaty with the Sioux–Sisseton and Wahpeton Bands	1867
Treaty with the Kansa Indians	1862	Treaty with the Seneca, Mixed Seneca, and Shawnee Quapaw, etc.	1867
Treaty with the Ottawa of Blanchard's Fork and Roche de Boeuf	1862		
Treaty with the Kickapoo	1862		
Treaty with the Chippewa of the Mississippi and the Pillager and Lake Winnibigoshish Bands	1863		
Treaty with the Nez Percés	1863		

(continues)





**Native American Treaties with the United States, 1778–1883 (cont.)**

<b>Treaty</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Treaty</b>	<b>Year</b>
Treaty with the Potawatomi	1867	Treaty with the Navaho	1868
Treaty with the Chippewa of the Mississippi	1867	Treaty with the Eastern Band Shoshoni	
Treaty with the Kiowa and Comanche	1867	and Bannock	1868
Treaty with the Kiowa, Comanche, and		Treaty with the Nez Percés	1868
Apache	1867	Agreement with the Sisseton and Wahpet	
Treaty with the Cheyenne and Arapaho	1867	on Bands of Sioux Indians	1872
Treaty with the Ute	1868	Amended Agreement with Certain	
Treaty with the Cherokee	1868	Sioux Indians	1873
Treaty with the Sioux—Brûlé, Oglala,		Agreement with the Crows	1880
Miniconjou, Yanktonai, Hunkpapa,		Agreement with the Sioux of	
Blackfeet, Cuthead, Two Kettle, Sans		Various Tribes	1882–1883
Arcs, and Santee—and Arapaho (Treaty		Agreement with the Columbia and	
of Fort Laramie)	1868	Colville	1883
Treaty with the Crows	1868		
Treaty with the Northern Cheyenne and			
Northern Arapaho	1868		

*Source: Kappler's Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties* (1906). Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904.







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